

Salient

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BLACK AND WHITE AUSTRALIA

The Aborigine is Doomed

"TRAVEL and Exchange" may contradict my "absurd statement" that the policy of the Australian Government is the extermination of the Aborigines. His contradiction does not, of course, make my statement any less correct. In point of fact I stated that "The policy of the Australian Government is leading to the extermination of the Aborigines." Let's have a look at this a bit closer. "Travel and Exchange" says that "Their rights are not the same as those granted to our Maori friends."

What are the rights of the Northern Territory Aborigine?

He can't vote.

He pays income tax (if he earns enough), while even the richest whites in the Northern Territory are exempt.

He can't travel about his own country without a permit. (Anyone, black or white who gives a native a lift in a car from one district to another is liable to jail.)

If he gets a permit to travel by train, he must carry his rations, and can't obtain other food.

He may drink no beer or other intoxicating liquor.

Aborigines on cattle-stations cannot claim their money from the employer, who must turn it over to the Native Affairs Department. (Because of restrictions, many natives never claim it from the Department.)

He can send his children to school only if he gets the approval and support of the local whites.

He may be sent without trial and for an indefinite period to any of the Northern Territory reserves.

"Travel and Exchange" says: "The Aborigines receive an allowance and food. New camps are being built and attempts are being made to educate them."

The Darwin newspaper "Northern Standard" says this of Aborigine conditions: "Many natives, collectively and singly, have told the 'Northern Standard' of the poor quality of the food served at Berrimah Compound. Breakfast seldom comprises more than tea ('not too good,' say the natives) and dry bread—no butter or even jam. Lunch is pretty much the same, and for tea they are often served a thin watery stew, 'sometimes a little bit meat, sometimes little bit potato, little bit onion.'

"More than 50 natives were questioned regarding the wages they received. The cross-section comprised 40 males and 18 females. Of the males, 15 received £1 per week, 12/- and 1 10/-. Eight others ranged from £1 to 30/- per week, 9 received £2, and 4 £3. Highest wage received by any female was 30/-, and that only in one instance. Ten are paid £1 per week, and five others less than that. One magnificent employer receives the services of a house-girl for 4/- per week. Many of these Aborigines, both male and female, are doing the same work as white people who receive the full award rates."

Becoming dissatisfied with these conditions, the Aborigines in the Darwin area went on strike last December. Their first leaders, Billy and Lawrence, were jailed. Their third leader, Fred Waters, was shanghaied by Native Affairs officials to the Haast Bluff Government settlement 100 miles west of Alice Springs, and 1100 miles from Darwin, his tribe, wife, and family. What life at Haast Bluff means to

Fred Waters or any other coastal Aborigine sent there includes complete loss of the four freedoms (to which Australia is pledged under the wartime charters).

FREEDOM OF SPEECH:

Natives at Haast Bluff speak no language that a coastal Aborigine can understand.

FREEDOM FROM FEAR:

Coastal Aborigines are alien and the object of suspicion to Desert tribesmen and are liable to get a spear in the back.

FREEDOM FROM WANT:

As a Government ration station, Haast Bluff provides a handout of porridge served in a dirty bath-tub, and dipped out by dirty hands or dusty cans.

FREEDOM OF WORSHIP:

Haast Bluff is administered by Lutherans. No other creed, other than primitive tribal rites is catered for.

When the whites first settled in Australia, the native people were a happy and vigorous race. "CIVILISATION," "CHRISTIANITY," and "EDUCATION" have reduced the great Aborigine population of a century and a half ago to a mere remnant of 60,000 full-bloods.

Whilst in Canberra I visited the National Institute of Anatomy. Among the exhibits was a photograph of some 30 natives, mainly youngsters. The inscription read: "Last wild tribe in N.S.W.—descendant of Naanya, an Aborigine Murray River outlaw, and 2 gins who escaped to the Desert known as Scotia Blocks in 1854, between Wentworth and the South Australia border. Discovered and brought into civilisation 1892. Nearly all dead 1912."

Dr. Donald Thomson was commissioned by the Commonwealth Government to conduct a scientific survey of the natives of Arnhemland in 1935-6-7. Dr. R. M. Crookston, who accompanied Dr. Thomson on the Queensland part of his expedition, told a Sydney audience on April 30, 1939, that he knew of a missionary in Queensland who chained young native women to posts, whipped them and turned them into the bush. He characterised the employment of the Aborigines by the Queensland Government as a "slave-trade." In his report to the Government, Dr. Thomson stated that the area controlled by the Mapoon Presbyterian Mission, Port Musgrave, Gulf of Carpentaria, three tribes had declined in number from 400 in 1903, to only 20 at the time of his visit in 1933.

Again in this report Dr. Thomson stated: "The facts must be faced; if we desire to preserve the remnant of the natives of Australia, we must take the most drastic steps to preserve their culture also—the culture on which their highly specialised organisation depends. If on the other hand we fail to take the necessary steps at this time, we doom the remainder of the native population; we do so with open eyes, knowingly accepting the responsibility."

A new deal is needed for the na-

tives. It should be self-evident that so-called "spiritual teaching" can never compensate for the confiscation of tribal lands, the trampling of their own beliefs and culture, their forced conformity to dogmas, the loss of their traditional livelihood, and their conversion into paupers and mendicants, later to be victimised by greedy exploiters and dissolute whites who have been encouraged by the general belief in racial superiority to treat the native Australians, especially the women, as legitimate prey for their own depravity.

As an example of mission activities deliberately destroying tribal organisation, Monsignor Gsell in the press and in public lectures has boasted of his "purchases" of girls at Bathurst Island Mission Station—purchases made with a little flour or tobacco and other goods valued at £2—the girls later are married to "Christian youths" on the mission station.

In the "Sydney Daily Telegraph" of March 3, 1951, appear the comments of Bill Harney, author of "Taboo," "North of 23 Degrees," and "Songs of the Solomon." Anthropologists and ethnologists, among them Professor Elkin of Sydney University, say Bill Harney is the greatest living lay authority on the Australian Aborigine. This is what he says: "Under the present system of native control in the Northern Territory, the Aborigine is doomed to extinction. The mission personnel and the NATIVE AFFAIRS OFFICIALS are sincere and well-meaning, but they ARE CARRYING OUT THE DEATH-SENTENCE OF NATIVES AS IMPLACABLY AS IF THEY HAD CONDEMNED THEM TO THE SCAFFOLD."

"The Missions bribed the blacks into denominational Christianity with tobacco, tea, flour, and unhealthy clothing.

"Then they get all righteous and cut off the tobacco-supply, so the

natives walk into Darwin where they get the stuff.

"Next to Tasmania, Darwin is the greatest graveyard of the Aborigine in Australian history.

"The Missions keep them moving in from their tribal country. Native Affairs is not quite sure what to do with them when they get them there. They are taught white men's ways, and when they get a glimmer of emancipation, and white feller fashion strike for better food or pay, they slap them in jail, or exile them to strange country.

"Twenty years ago the highly cultured Oenpelli tribe was nearly 1000 strong. Now only two old men survive among the millions of magnificent rock-paintings which their people have left for us to dribble over.

"A MISSION CAN KILL OFF A TRIBE IN 20 YEARS. A CATTLE STATION USUALLY TAKES A LITTLE LONGER TO DO THE JOB."

"In 50 years' time, an enlightened generation of Australians may regret in poetry, music, ballet, or what have you, the passing of the Aborigine.

"IN THE MEANTIME WE ARE SPENDING MILLIONS OF TAXPAYERS' MONEY TO HASTEN THE VANISHING TRIBE ON THEIR WAY TO THE DREAMING TIME."

These are the opinions of authorities. Compare these opinions with the aggressive ignorance of "Travel and Exchange." Unquestionably the policy of the Australian authorities is leading to the extermination of the Aborigines.

DOUG FOY.

["Travel and Exchange" did not write to deny that the policy of the authorities is leading to extermination, but that the declared policy is not one of extermination.—Ed.]

Guilt Complexes in Foreign Policy . . .

Provocation by the East

—Defence in the West

A POLICY FOR PEACE

"THE process of sovietizing Eastern Germany began not as a reaction to any moves but on the very morrow of the Russian occupation. . . Social Democrats who would not accept Communist dictation were already in concentration camps by Christmas 1945. The forced fusion of the Socialists with the Communists to form the Communist dominated Socialist Unity Party took place in 1946 while there was still four power administration of Berlin. From the day of the fusion, the Socialist Unity Party had steadily usurped all the powers of single-party rule. The process was no reaction to Western policy. On the contrary it was the evident fact of sovietization in the East that changed the occupation into a frontier between two opposite ways of life."

In this manner Barbara Ward, once assistant editor to the Economist tackles the problem of the fact of Soviet hostility in her latest book "Policy for the West" recently published in the Penguin series.

One of the results of this book, if not part of its stated purpose, is to demolish those feelings of guilt which the Soviet and its sympathisers tries to sow in the minds of the free West.

It will be an interesting problem for future historians who will be faced with thousands of people whose nations honestly worked for peace, whose leaders were provoked into taking strong measures for survival by a hostile system, while the people themselves very often believed that most of the blame or a great part of it was the result of their own nation's policies.

In Korea the air bombings, the corruptions within Rhee's government and the stupidities of some of the United Nations forces have been used to make some sincere people in the West uneasy as to the justice of the cause. While Eastern Germany has been turned into police state, while the police forces have been armed, political parties suppressed, the West has been accused of provocation when it belatedly decides to rearm Western Germany. The victory of Mao Tse Tung has almost been justified in some minds by the stress laid on the corruption of Nationalist China, and nothing is said of the bloody executions now being broadcast by Peking Radio, a spectacle which should horrify the West. It is there-

(Continued on page 3.)

Salient

Thursday, July 26, 1951.

LESS COMMUNISM

IDEOLOGICALLY Communism is dead. It lives by its works and with those works involving the constant suppression of liberties by its governments the idealistic are beginning to see those works for what they are: zeal by the doers and political capital for the party.

If the West can renew its faith in man rather than the omnipotent State, discard national greed and assist the downtrodden the present crisis will be partly solved. For some people at least a return to Christianity would also be desirable.

This ideological controversy merits less space in Salient and in fact arguments as to beliefs of Communism no longer interest the party apologists. The coverage of College affairs is therefore to be increased and a Salient staff member has been given a page to devote to these affairs—apart from major events—and to encourage staff contributions. Editorials will avoid devoting space to the Communism v. the free West conflict, although space will have to be used to place such articles C.B.'s referred to below in perspective.

This editor of Salient does not wish to see Salient desert its traditions but we make little effort to create a College consciousness which is one of those traditions. International and national affairs are important and we must not encourage hysterical radical hunting by equating red and radical views, or by allowing the public or the press to equate them. It is difficult to tread warily but necessary if we are to avoid a stick in the mud liberalism on the one hand, and a stick in the mud Red Fascism on the other.

ARE WE OUT OF TOUCH?

This editorial has been prompted by two facts: first Salient's low circulation which is possibly due to apathy, and secondly by the refusal of Professor Marsh to answer a critic of his who wrote in our last issue.

A College newspaper should be read and argued about, written to and read with interest. It is obvious that Salient is either out of touch or the students wish to be woolly minded, complacent and inactive, interested solely in the earning of a degree and the making of money. Can Salient provoke a more mature outlook?

SALIENT'S DUTY

In this issue we publish an article about the free press, a reply to three correspondents. Most of the readers of Salient will know that some of the accusations made are true, but most will also know that our press is much more free than those newspapers which echo not "the screaming prejudices of capitalism" but the screaming prejudices of red fascism.

An article which pretends to speak of freedom of the press and yet presents such a partial treatment, a condemnation of only one offender stinks of hypocrisy. Salient's shackles have been forged. We do not pay enough attention to affairs within the College. This is the result of a policy which, until 1950, was directed at the preaching of a cause. Salient is called a red rag to this day, not because it was or is radical but because until 1950 that tag was true. Salient was only free to display its bias and in that it was no better than the Press C.B. takes so much space to condemn. —M.McL

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ERRORS IN VITAL QUESTIONS

SIR.—I will immediately send Mr. Cody's question to Cros and Pat who are going to the Festival in Berlin. It is necessary however to point out several errors of fact in Mr. Cody's letter.

1. The Peace Movement does not oppose conscription anywhere, till the present at least. It advocates as immediate objectives the banning of A-bomb; progressive disarmament of conventional weapons, the conclusion of a 5 Power Peace Pact.

2. The interview with Stalin published in Pravda February 17th this year is the latest of dozens of statements by Communist leaders that peaceful co-existence is possible and that war is not inevitable. Communists of course are in a very small minority in the World Peace movement. There are about 22 million party members in the world according to Washington State Department; there are 750,000,000 signatories to the Stockholm appeal.

3. Yugoslavia has banned the Stockholm Appeal, the first plank in the platform of the peace movement. Hence the expulsion of the official representatives of that country. There is a growing underground peace movement there.

4. The World Peace Movement condemns inflammatory war propaganda of any kind.

5. The Warsaw Congress of the Peace Movement calls for an immediate cease fire in Korea, the withdrawal of all foreign troops; the hearing of both sides of the dispute before a full meeting of the Security Council. Aid given by the U.S.S.R. is justifiable in view of the American seizure and blockade of Formosa as well as air attacks on the mainland.

H. C. MacNeill.

EXTRAV CLERICS BAD TASTE?

SIR.—It was my intention to make it quite clear in my criticism of "Siderella" that the only people I indicted of being members of "The Party" were the authors of the script. It seems, from Mr. Hutchison's confusion, I did not make that distinction clear enough, and for that I apologise. Since the cast included members of what I presume Mr. Hutchison means by "my party," I have probably offended all three parties, his, mine and The.

I agree entirely that religious leaders may be criticised like other public figures. I do not agree that they should be impersonated in Extrav if identified as specific figures. My reasons for criticising the impersonation of the Archbishop were these:

(1). I considered it in bad taste, admittedly a personal opinion—and I am not an Anglican.

(2). One may impersonate a political leader and at the same time criticise the party which he represents without doing any great harm. I consider, however, that the sacredness of the Archbishop's calling is such that while criticism of him as an individual is possible, such criticism of him as spiritual head of a Christian church is undesirable and unnecessary; and that it is practically impossible in an Extravaganza to make fun of any one specific cleric without casting aspersions on the spiritual body to which he belongs.

(3). It was my impression that the script aimed precisely at exploiting this duality—by impersonating the individual to ridicule his vocation. I think an examination of the script would support me in this, particularly with regard to the gratuitous and, I consider, unnecessary wisecracks about other religions.

For these same reasons I would not agree to a caricature in Extrav of the "Red Dean," even though I would probably appreciate it.

D.E.H.

THE STAFF'S IVORY TOWER

SIR.—Your belated report of the Staff debate did no more to me than provoke me to write and say that

it was, like its predecessors, funny but fatuous. Can't the staff rise up to or come down to our level just a couple of times in each year for our mutual benefit.

What say the staff? The Debating Club? The Students?

Wodehouse only Rarely.

Dr. Munz's "Proud Young Man"

Respectfully Answers Back

SIR.—Dr. Munz is a man of many fulminations, and in his fulminations on misrepresentation he has misrepresented me, "the proud young man" to whom he refers.

At no time did I mention transubstantiation. I commenced, amidst laughter from the audience, by saying I would like to help Dr. Munz. I attempted to do so. It seemed to me that in his attempt to discover the order and significance of the early church services, he had failed to utilise the historical principle of interpreting the past in the light of the present. I was struck by the resemblance between the order of the early church services as he postulated them, and the present order in the Catholic Church. I was speaking of order, not transubstantiation. I thought, for instance, that my reference to the disposal of surplus communion breads in the Russian Rite would help him in his problem of surplus altar breads in the early church, something which he said puzzled him. Incidentally, my mention of this difference in rites, answers the misrepresentation that I claimed they corresponded in every detail.

Dr. Munz attempts to place me in a dilemma so that either way I am impaled. I admit I did not mention the difference in communion of one kind for the laity—for which there are good reasons, theological, economical, hygienic and practical. (Does Dr. Munz know the definition of transubstantiation commonly accepted? The context in which he has used it, linking it with communion of one kind, suggests otherwise). The point is, I did not say every detail. Unfortunately for Dr. Munz, he has the usual amount of bull behind the horns of his dilemma.

I do not deny I was a proud young man. The observance of the same order of service (as distinct from transubstantiation) in most details after 2000 years, seemed to me an achievement to be proud of. I hasten to disclaim responsibility for that achievement. I am only basking in reflected glory.

Propagandising? Certainly! The command, "Go ye, and teach all nations" implies to me something imperative and dynamic. I cannot see that it can be interpreted as meaning to formulate one's own private religion and then studiously conceal it in the depths of one's good manners and complacency from the rest of one's fellowmen. And why this twentieth century horror of "propagandising"? Was not Dr. Munz, in his lecture, propagandising Munzianism?

Finally, I would renounce any claims to being a good Catholic. I claim only to be a Catholic attempting to be good, and between these two claims is all the depth and breadth of sanctity.

Let me quote Dr. Munz ("Hilltop") to Dr. Munz ("Salient").

"Transubstantiation is, after all, a very woolly concept, and we have found that there can be no ultimate truth about it since so many people who are obviously very intelligent seem to hold contradictory views about it." Dr. Munz's views on early Christianity seem so woolly, one can well wonder whether there is any ultimate truth about them, either.

—"PROUD YOUNG MAN."

P.S.: I am not "Historian."

SOCIALIST CLUB EMERGENCY MEETING

THE adjourned annual general meeting failed to obtain the quorum on Thursday evening last, but the Socialist Club took opportunity to hold a special meeting, in view of the latest political developments.

For the first time since its formation activists among club members will be able to participate fully in pre-election agitation and campaigning. Usually national elections come uncomfortably close to finals. There seemed to be complete unanimity among those present on the question of the common foe to be fought, but precious little agreement on which if any group could be confidently regarded as firm allies. Members felt that it was necessary to state a minimum programme which should be spread abroad and put to both parties. Mr. Bollinger pointed out that students of the leftist persuasion in Australia had a great deal of success in bringing their own programme before electors and candidates. Mr. Foy moved "That N.Z. pursue an independent and peaceful policy in international affairs and that the remilitarisation of Germany and Japan be strongly opposed." This motion was carried unanimously. There were plenty of cynical observations from those present. Mr. T. Beaglehole felt that if the Socialist Club desired a victory for the Labour Party then the sanest way of bringing this about was to wholeheartedly and vociferously as possible to support the National Party candidates.

Members had very unquiet consciences about supporting the Labour Party, after all, the way McLagan smashed the Auckland carpenters was not so very different from the way Bill Sullivan smashed the wharfies. There was no disagreement about matters of purely student concern. It was resolved to place the Student Labour Federation

Bursary Proposals before both parties and extract promises if possible. Mr. Bill McLeod made the point that it was essential for enthusiasts in the club to concentrate on the marginal Tory seats.

Other resolutions included instructions to the executive to prepare an information bulletin to maximise efficiency in the fight, and instructions to invite a Labour candidate to speak at the College and/or have a debate with a Nationalist if that were possible.

A prominent member of the executive of the Charta Society was present and made some very constructive suggestions. The club executive confidently expects that many mighty and famous statesmen of 1991 will make their debut, this election, under the banner of the University Muscovites.

H. C. MacNEILL,
Secretary.

Reply to Dr. Munz

(Continued from Page 8)

answer what, on the face of it, appeared to be reasonably critical letters which appeared in the press.

My suggestion was that the University cannot afford to be an Ivory tower of scholarship.

YOUR MOVE DR. MUNZ

Finally Dr. Munz who has accused me of propagandistic ruses involving an immoral view of means and ends an assertion which he has little evidence for; having judged another critic as either a bad Catholic or a liar, and taken the liberty of criticising me in one of his lectures should look to his manners. He ends his letter with talk of the kind man, a rare miracle and an infinite act of divine grace. True, but in the context not very impressive.

"HISTORIAN."

A Policy For Peace

(Continued from page 1.)

fore refreshing to read a book which is not written by a person who feels the West has been wrong everywhere, a person who still realises that the West is far from perfect.

Partisan's review of Basil Davidson's book on West Germany relies on just this feeling of guilt. It tries to make us feel that we have the wrong cause, that we are the dupes of Wall Street, the heirs of capitalist corruption. As to the state of affairs in Eastern Germany we know and can find out nothing.

This sort of nonsense does not appeal to Barbara Ward. On page 16 of "Policy for the West" she sums up the attitude which must direct the present policy of the free West:

"Can the West believe, in the face of this evidence, that anything it could have done or left undone would have altered or modified Soviet distrust and hostility? If the most subject collaborators are shot for not collaborating enough, if the smallest tinge of national sentiment in a man's view of Communism can send him to the firing squad, if the total acceptance and practice of Communism cannot save Tito once he hankers for a hairbreadth of independence, why pretend that the West, whose sacrifices of national interest and national sovereignty would inevitably have been more moderate, could ever have found a way by sweetness and light and conciliation to make itself acceptable to the men of the Kremlin? No western state could have made the advances of Petkov, the sacrifices of a Benes, the submission of a Rajik, the Communist parades of a Tito.

"And they have all been balanced in the Soviet scales and found wanting. The Western powers can therefore deplore Soviet hostility. They can fear it, they can seek to understand it, they can look for ways of deflecting it. But there is one thing they cannot do. They cannot take any blame for it. It is self caused and self sustained, even if the years since the war had been one long record of Western acceptance, compliance and accommodation, the hostility of the Soviet world would have remained as intense as it is. For one thing only assuages it—the certainty of total control."

PRACTICAL POLICIES FOR PEACE

The book faces up to this fact and sets out ways and means of straightening the Western world as well as maintaining our living standards.

The Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, the Policy of Containment and the risk of inflation receive a thorough and understandable treatment. It is not simply a matter of comparing the West and East: war potential for war potential. The economics of the book are dependent upon the facts of the situation.

The preliminary questions: "The fact of Soviet hostility," "Do we face General War?", "The Policy of Containment" and the strengths once compared lead to discussion of what can be done besides defending the free world.

Barbara Ward is not one who sees

the West as an ideal, nor does she disregard those factors which have made Communism the faith of so many sincere persons. This leads her argument into the question of Western Unity and practical federalism. It is in the last chapter that the crux of the problem is tackled.

FAITH FOR FREEDOM

"Any human enterprise, even the smallest, needs a measure of faith." The contrast between the West and the East is very great. It is the faith which is fed to the common people which keeps the Soviet world going. Listen to the radio commentators of Moscow:

"Spring has come. It has come here, it has come in China in the new streets of Warsaw, in Prague, in the gardens of Bucharest, in the villages of Bulgaria . . . It is marching like a master upon the piazzas of Rome. In Calcutta, Karachi and Bombay, it sings of freedom. Our Stalin, whose hand guides the spring of humanity, is leading us to victory."

But this has no appeal for a writer who can see Communism as it is and not as the propagandists would wish her to see it.

"It is the tragedy of Marxian Communism that it restores the old fetters of fatality and tyranny. Because it borrows from the terminology of the West and speaks of true freedom, and true democracy and true science men often overlook the profoundly and terrifyingly reactionary character of its doctrine. The free and normally responsible human being with rights and duties and aspirations vanishes. Why? Because there is nothing beyond the social order. Every act of human life, every thought of human minds is entirely conditioned by material events at the time."

It is a courageous thesis: freedom, democratic organisations, the United Nations, the rejection of scientific fatalism and the approval of the great acts of the free West.

"THIS SURELY IS THE CRUX..."

In all that they say of the Western world, the Communists are proclaiming the fatal laws of historical necessity. Capitalist society must collapse. The United States must practice selfish imperialism. The Western states must exploit their workers, fight for markets in the world at large, trample down their Asiatic helots, and plunge the world into wars of aggression. It follows that every policy of the West which contradicts these years—every Marshall Plan, every extension of economic aid to backward areas, every increase in social and economic opportunity, every act of justice and reconciliation—breaks with the Communists fundamental gospel, the fatality of history, and restores, triumphantly and creatively, the freedom of the West.

We are not bound by collective selfishness. No iron law of economics holds us down. The Western world is a world of freedom and in it the Western powers can freely choose and freely act."

"Ecko."

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IT'S AN ILL WIND . . .

(From the East)

One perquisite in Salient is the stamps off mail from Eastern Europe. Piles of pamphlets descend upon us—WFDY has popped up in Hungary—and the stamps make quite an unusual display. The organisers of the Berlin Youth Conference have been spending a fortune on airmailed literature, bless their little hearts.

... ELECTION BOMBSHELL

THIS writer has his own fish that got away—or horse that just got beaten—story about Mr. Holland's announcement. Thinking that Wednesday evening would be an interesting debate, he sat watching Parliament through two hours of not always interesting debate. Came 9.45, he left to catch the bus home; heard the news from the B.B.C. next morning. Ain't wireless wunnerful!

IF YOU'RE NOT IN . . .

The Socialist Club filled in a recent evening with a discussion on election policy. Fully reported elsewhere, this illustrates very well the dilemma of the Labour Party. The young enthusiasts now in the Socialist Club are those who should be coming up in the Labour Party, but the Auckland Labour Club has pointedly disaffiliated from the Labour Party, and its V.U.C. counterpart seems to have little in common with the L.P. either.

NO PAYEE, NO COPYEE

In repay, as per last issue. One student asked the rates paid when approached for copy, so after reading last issue he understands the Literary Editor's amazement.

"POWER WITHOUT GLORY"

Balzac in Australia . . .
or Marx in Melbourne?

PROBABLY the most important of recent books on the Australian Political scene, Frank Hardy's revealing analysis of the background of Victorian State Politics deserves the attention of all students of politics. Hardy, a Melbourne journalist, has selected for the scene of his novel the working class suburb of Collingwood disguised in the book as Carringbush, and draws upon his experience for his characterisation.

The story begins with John West and his fellow unemployed boot machinists searching for a method of making a little money during the depression of the nineties. West conceives the idea of "rigging" a pigeon race, on which he and his cronies have run a penny book. With the small capital gained from his enterprise West establishes himself as a bookmaker and operator of an illegal tote.

Taking full advantage of the Australian gambling mania and aided by his rather elastic morality West proceeds to amass considerable wealth. As his sporting power grows it brings him in contact with the people who make and administer the law, and John West discovers that money alone is insignificant unless it can be measured in terms of power.

Searching for a means to attain this power he finds the nascent Labour Party in Victoria is very susceptible to his influence. West rapidly attains a grip over the inner councils of the Party and has his creatures elected to important positions very much as he pleases.

World War I finds John West intensely patriotic and he enters wholeheartedly into the conscription campaigns of 1916, '17. It is this issue which brings him into conflict with the second most important character in the book, Dr. Malone, who by virtue of his position as head of the Roman Catholic Church in Victoria also exerts considerable influence among the working class movement.

With the end of the War West is driven by his own fear of death together with his growing anti-Communist obsession into close association with his fellow Roman Catholics and it is the rise of Catholic Action in the Labour Party which largely contributes to the decline of West's personal power. The story ends with the picture of an old fear-crazed man unhappy in his family relations, awaiting death with the cynical disillusion which comes from the possession of material wealth without the power it is capable of bringing.

BALZAC

The author states that "Power without Glory" is intended to be the first of a series of novels patterned after Balzac's "Human Comedy," the remaining books to be illustrative of other aspects of the contemporary Australian scene. However this aim is qualified by the authors explanation of his view of the nature of history which follows the Marxist theory of Dialectical Materialism. The book is therefore susceptible to the criticisms pertaining to historicism in political science generally. The lack of an objective approach and the authors obsession to depict capitalism in its death throes has its effect upon the characterisation, the Labour politicians who appear in the story tend in general to appear as mere puppet figures and little attempt is made to diagnose the motives underlying their attitudes.

Little credit is given to those who attempted to withstand their corrupt influence within the Labour movement itself. A notable exception is Frank Armstrong whose inner conflict between his Socialist convictions on the one hand and his political opportunism and personal weakness on the other is dealt with in graphic fashion. It is perhaps a little much

to believe that the only idealism within the working class movement reposes in the Communist group and the rather sudden switch from the cynical approach to politics in general to the wholehearted adulation of the movement against war and Fascism is unconvincing.

His political characters are thinly disguised and are easily recognised as prominent State and Federal figures of recent years, in this respect the authors documentation seems very adequate. It is a daring book, one which serves the useful purpose of revealing the pressures, particularly those emanating from the powerful Catholic Church, which are always in evidence in political movements of the working class. The Labour party emerges rather tarnished from Mr. Hardy's scrutiny, and many of his criticisms would seem equally applicable to the New Zealand party.

As a study in power within a restricted horizon the portrait of John West is a very real one and should be a source of satisfaction, if not inspiration to those adhering to the machiavellian school of political thought which would view politics as the study of "Influence and the Influential." (Modern Books: 25/-).

—J. D. Milburn.

LITERARY LETTERS

POETRY

SIR.—How refreshing and welcome it is to see that "Salient" has perceived the literary starvation only too apparent in the College and has had the courage to print some really first-class poetry; I refer to the metaphysical poems by Oakden Parker Davies published in the issue of July 12. What a welcome change it is from the concentrated guff rammed down the throats of the advanced English classes: what bliss, what rapture is experienced when one can read a poem without having an incest theme or a coy libido pointed out with an obvious relish! Would it be asking too much of "Salient" to print more of this contemporary poetry and give to the jaded English student a glimpse of modern beauty rather than let his powers of appreciation atrophy and stultify in the atmosphere of such out-worn poets as Cowper and Blake?

Yours, etc.,
3rd-Year English Student.
OAKDONNE?

SIR.—
if the £
is not a full £
but only nineteen
and six
is there any possibility
of it paying
a dividend?
yours undonne,
John D. Rockefeller Eliot

CANT KEEP A GOOD MAN DOWN!

Ex-President Kevin O'Brien is as busy as ever now he's become president of the Island Bay National Party. Those who heard his presentation of the VUCSA budget at the AGM would concede his talent for higher office, and his chances of eventually following in the steps of VUC graduate the Hon. J. R. Marshall seem bright.

Soul, Sonnets and Smoo

THE DRAMA CLUB DO 3 ONE-ACTS.

DO you by any chance like wine? Good wine that is, not too sugary, not too thick? If you do I know a most excellent verse about it, which Crabbe wrote to show that he was wiser at twenty-one than most New Zealanders are at fifty-one:

Lo! the poor toper whose untutored sense
Sees bliss in ale, and can with wine dispense;
Whose proud head fancy never taught to steer
Beyond the muddy ecstasies of beer.

Good, is it not?

(Reader: What has all this to do with the Drama Club's one-act plays?
Writer: Nothing, but when one attends Drama Club productions one must be prepared for a wait, on this occasion, for instance, the audience had to wait 25 minutes, and if you know such verse you can . . .

Reader: Well now you can get on with it. Why not say they started late as usual?

Writer: Because there is more, as you will see.)

The King arrived late, too, or at least when he did arrive the effort had been too much for him and he was played very slowly as though gasping for breath behind a very dusty curtain and ashamed to show his head.

(How about the plays?) Ah, yes—the plays.

THE PLAYS

No one can deny that the plays were well chosen and ambition did not come before a fall. There could easily have been such a resounding thump especially "The Corridors of the Soul."

The unusual setting of "The Corridors of the Soul," inside the human body, was explanation enough without the introduction but perhaps this sort of approach needs to be explained to some people. If "The Corridors of the Soul" did present difficulties it was in the translation, and the Idealised wife forced into some anger by the taunts of the Idealised Inamorata only manages—"Don't force me into extreme measures!" Nevertheless the play survived its translation.

To be platitudinous "The Dark Lady of the Sonnets" (G.B.S.) was a contrast, and if anything provided a play which in a good year even

the Little Puddlecombe Drama Club could do without disgrace. It's Shavian froth, part serious and part humour, bridged the gap very well between Evreinov's serious comedy and Tennessee Williams' atmosphere with a point to it.

"Lord Byron's Love Letter" reminded me of the short stories of Mark Hellinger. Three or four columns of atmosphere and three lines of punch. Until the end of this play the dialogue did not sparkle but the atmosphere of staid, down at heel aristocracy in New Orleans almost filled the theatre with the scent of moth balls.

An ambitious trio to chose, made more difficult, I am assured, by the fact that the Little Theatre had been booked for every night in the previous week by Training College for rehearsal of their major production. Still, audiences never know these things.

SATURDAY, JULY 28

PLUNKET MEDAL

T. E. Lawrence M. O'Reilly
Dr. Buchman D. E. Garrett
Te Rauparaha W. McLeod
Charles I J. Mutch
Charles Darwin G. Sullivan
Sir Joseph Banks F. Curtin
James Joyce D. Walsh
K. Marx B. Harland

CONCERT CHAMBER,
WELLINGTON TOWN
HALL

THE PLAYERS

To begin well the acting was good. It is true that many of the players had little to do but those who did were more than competent in most cases. "The Corridors of the Soul" is only partly an actor's play—the scenery has so much to do—and the players have to forget humanity for a time and present idealisations of the best and worst. Those who did, did it well, although Bruce Hamlin's difficult introduction could have been a little less enunciated, a little less vigorous.

In "The Dark Lady of the Sonnets" on the other hand the excellent Will Shakespeare could have enunciated just a little more clearly. Elaine Casserly outshone the rest of the cast, but then she was meant to and if the Beebeater had managed it the director would have been asleep.

It was the director of "The Dark Lady of the Sonnets" who held the floor in Lord Byron's Love Letter. Ross Gibertson cocked an eye and Anne MacLeod cackled well enough while Margaret Loftus was the ideal scatty, culture hunting ignorant American. I sometimes suspect that these are not so common proportionately as some people would like to think.

BITS AND PIECES

Direction was good. Nothing more can be said of it than that for, it was not possible for a critic to know whether the director inspired the players. That is really for the players to say.

I have already said that the plays started late but as soon as they started the intervals were not over-long.

A bouquet to the designer of the scenery for "The Corridors of the Soul."

Make-up was competent, except in the case of the Professor who should know better than to have an apparent difference between skin and make-up in the region of the neck.

If the Drama Club must charge threepence for a cyclostyled quarto page programme, then it should make sure that a character as prominent as Ron Read, the Rational Self, appears therein.

But finally Salient wishes to know why so many people never attend Drama Club productions when there are several hundred art students alone—it also wishes to thank: The Drama Club for a most enjoyable and interesting evening.

FOOTNOTE: Why oh why does Ann McLeod always have to appear as an old and ancient lady? Surely she is versatile in other directions or can it be that no one else is versatile enough?

THE GOOD COMPANIONS

One Salient staffer has two relatives in hospital. Originally there was one, with a broken leg. Her sister was on the way to visit her, slipped, and landed into the next bed with a broken leg, too. Which wasn't fun, although they do see its funny side.

Four Men Look Out on Life . . .

FROM BEHIND IRON BARS

Ernst Toller, "Letters from Prison." Eng. Trans. 1936.

Ralph Chaplin, "Bars and Shadows," 1922.

Ormond Burton, "In Prison," 1945.

Julius Fuchik, "Notes from the Gallows," Eng. Trans., 1948.

Men go to jail for many reasons. Few would defend the right of Al Capone or Jack the Ripper or Alfred Krupp to go free: but the law never took its revenge on them. Too often the jails of society have been used to house other than society's enemies.

Some of the finest minds of all time have had to look out on life from behind iron bars. We are going to look for a moment at the thoughts of four of them.

NIEDERSCHOENFELD

Ernst Toller was a student and an idealist, blinded by the stars of Prussia's glory, who rushed into the fray as an officer in 1914. The grim horror of war, the comradeship of the trenches, the constructive revolt of 1918, drove him into the camp of revolutionary socialism.

Toller's poems are well known to German readers. His early reaction to war is expressed in his song addressed to the smug drawing-rooms of middle-class Germany and the world:

"Mothers,
That hope of yours, your joyful
burden
Lies in the torn and turned up
earth,
Rattles between the entangled
wires . . .

Dig you deeper in your pangs,
Let it rend and tear and burn,
Wring your grief-contracted hands
Be volcanoes, seas of fire:
Action is born of pangs.

Your pain, o million mothers,
May be the seed for ploughed up
soil,
May help humanity grow."

Into the nightmare of the war burst Russia's Bolshevik Revolution, a new hope for Germany's war-worn, hungry millions. Soldiers, deserters, industrial workers, united in revolt. Toller emerged as President of the Bavarian Workers' Council, claiming sovereignty over South Germany.

Days of bloodshed—ruthless stamping out of revolution by the forerunners of the Gestapo under right-wing "Socialist" Noske—ended in the triumph of reaction. Toller was sentenced to indefinite imprisonment.

In a poem to the workers of Germany, he said:

"Time
Presses you down
In the depths,
Fling wide
The gates
To a joyfuller morning."

His six years in the prisons of the Weimar "democratic" republic were years of creation. Here he wrote his plays "Transfiguration" and "Masses and Man," for years popular with experimental drama groups all over the world. Here, too, most of his poetry was written—looking back on the lost hopes of the past, and forward to the unfulfilled hopes of the future.

His letters are poignant. He describes the yobs of warders crying through the spy-hole of his cell: "There's the red swine!" To a comrade outside he wrote in 1923 some prophetic words:

"The forces of reaction today join fervently with the lower middle classes in a demand for a dictatorship . . . It is the desire for castration, for serfdom . . . True democracy brings discomfort; it means that the people have to take a considered part in public life, self-administration, with every single man ready to accept responsibility."

That was the faith of a socialist. In 1924 he was freed, but on the condition of exile—from his wife, his comrades, and his Germany. In his preface to this English edition he wrote: "What are the bitterness

and humiliations that we had to suffer in comparison with the tortures inflicted on the prisoners of the Third Reich, prisoners whose only crime is their love of freedom and justice."

Overwhelmed by the triumph of Hitlerism, cut off from his German radical movement, broken and alone, Ernst Toller cut his throat in a New York garret in 1939.

SING-SING

Our second jailbird was himself an American: Ralph Chaplin, leader of the American "Wobblies" (the Industrial Workers of the World) and editor of their journal "SOLIDARITY." Wobbly influence was strong in Australasia, in the days when Messrs. Semple and Fraser terrorised Waihi and the Wellington wharves. In America, right up till the 1920's, the I.W.W. had a firm foothold. Chaplin was in the thick of the struggles till he was jailed in 1917 for "conspiring to oppose the war." In that time he wrote such ever-popular labour songs as "Solidarity Forever, for the Union makes us strong," and "One Big Industrial Union."

His 20-year sentence was, as Professor Scott Nearing says in the Preface to "Bars and Shadows," not for opposing just the war. "Chaplin was guilty of the most serious social offence that a man can commit. While living in an old and shattered social order, he championed a new order of society. . . . Socrates and Jesus, for like offences, lost their lives."

So, too, did Chaplin. For he did not live to see freedom again.

His prison poems are at once the expression of a sensitive intelligence, and the manifestoes of a social dynamic. His great anti-war poem, "The Red Feast," opens:

"Go fight you fools! Tear up the
earth with strife
And spill each other's guts upon the
field;
Serve unto death the men you served
in life
So that their wide dominions may
not yield.

But whether it be yours to fall or
kill

You must not pause to question why
nor where,
You see the tiny crosses on that
hill?
(It took all those to make one
millionaire."

Perhaps his greatest poem is especially appropriate to a university audience:

"Mourn not the dead that in the cool
earth lie—
Dust unto dust—
The calm sweet earth that mothers
all who die
As all men must;

But rather mourn the apathetic
through—
The cowed and the meek—
Who see the world's great anguish
and its wrong
And dare not speak."

Those lines are a profession of faith. But the sharp touch of his personal sufferings, a man who loved living shut up in a cell, would have some effect on the hardest cynic of us all.

Memories of freedom crowd in on him:—

"Mist on the water
And mist in the sky;
Netted with silver
The waves ripple by.

Ghost of a solitude
Lit with dead stars.
You have your memories,
I have my bars."

And again, from a sonnet:

"Above the moist earth, tremulous
and bright,
The stars creep forth—stars that I
cannot see;
And to my cell creeps, oh so tenderly,
The dewy fragrance of a summer
night . . .
Oh loveliness, why do you torture so
With such keen beauty till the day
appears?
Ghostly—like wind-tossed seagulls
calling low
Out of the poignant vistas of the
years?"

A-bomb politics and the dollars behind it have been built up on the crucifixion of men like Chaplin. The best comment on that fact is to compare Chaplin himself with the complacently irresponsible nonentities who rule America as he described them himself:

"My kind but scorn your dull
success,
Your subtle ways to win—
We eat our hearts in solitude
Or sear our souls with sin;
Yet we are better men than you
Who fit so snugly in."

MOUNT CRAWFORD

From America, we step home to New Zealand for a few remarks on Ormond Burton's outstanding book "In Prison."

After the works of two romantic poets, it may seem prosaic, dull. But Burton's mind is none the less sensitive—more so, maybe, as his socialism is far less of a mass faith. Burton is a pacifist whose self-abnegation has been unequalled by that of any New Zealander. His book would embarrass do-good Christians, because it shames them.

Although it is, in essence, the story of his own imprisonment, his experiences and his reflections on them, "In Prison" is also a thesis on the New Zealand prison system. His general remarks are of permanent value—for example, his suggestion that male homosexuals "would probably be more likely to be reformed if they were put into a Girls' Borsal," and his comments on the comforting breadth and hospitality of the C. of E. as opposed to his (then) own Methodist Church.

Without malice, he attacks the whole basis of our prison system by a number of humanitarian and concrete suggestions for reform. But prisons themselves must surely be alien to Mr. Burton's own essentially anarchist concept of the Christian world. But maybe where his theories would leave no impression, the barb of his closing lines would bite deep. "New life would com-

mence to flow again in the veins of the Church," he says, "if she once again were to feel the glow of generous passion for the sinful and the lost."

Burton brings Toller and Chaplin close to us, for he, too, was jailed for nothing more than his opinions. The brutality of German and American jails is still foreign in its intensity to New Zealand—but in days of emergency regulations and security pimping, one wonders for how long more.

PANKRATS

Last—perhaps greatest—of our four books is the diary of a Czech Communist resistance leader. "Notes from the Gallows" describes briefly, realistically, the life of Julius Fuchik from the time of the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia (following the Munich sell-out) till just before his summary execution.

In her introduction, Mme. Fuchik tells how, in those terrible days under the iron heel, a Czech guard carried pencil and paper to Fuchik's cell in the Pankrats' prison, and smuggled the notes out sheet by sheet.

No one who has read this book can say he does not know what a Communist is, and I am not sure that anyone who hasn't read it can say that he does. It is a story of unparalleled bravery. It tells how a man who had devoted his life to the struggle of his people for socialism carried on that work under the terror of fascism; how he was arrested in the midst of his work; how he never flinched under torture, but went defiantly to death.

There is no word of boasting; he speaks of duty, and expects his comrades to behave as he does. There is no personal hate—he even speaks sympathetically of the brutal Gestapo who were mere tools of an evil machine. He describes how, while he was awaiting an interrogation, one hard-faced gunman threw him a cigarette . . . "Kind, very small and unimportant, and yet I shall never forget it."

His memories, his experiences, his summings-up that have no regrets—all open to us the heart of the Czech people. Fuchik felt and did what millions of his countrymen felt and did. He had worked tirelessly to bring Czechoslovakia to the road she was later to follow, but he was not to live to help lead her along it.

The book ends abruptly with an entry of June 9, 1943:

"We always reckoned with death. We knew that falling into the hands of the Gestapo meant the end. And we acted, accordingly, both in our own souls and in relation to others, even after being caught.

"My play nears its end. I can't write that end, for I don't yet know what it will be. This is no longer a play. This is life.

"The curtain rises on the last act.

"I loved you all, friends. Be on guard."

PARTISAN.

FOR POLITICAL
SCIENCE
STUDENTS

A HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHERS, by George Catlin (Allen and Unwin, 30/-).

PROFESSOR Catlin calls his HISTORY "a guide to political theory intelligible to the common reader;" but the student of political science or philosophy will find the book as useful as the "common reader" finds it informative. Professor Catlin has performed the difficult feat of being at once scholarly and readable, and occasionally witty.

The History will be particularly valuable for the undergraduate in his first or second year of political science or philosophy. Professor Catlin is both clear and concise—his treatment of Hegel, for example, is interesting as being the opinion of a recognised authority, and is at the same time intelligible even for the

beginner in its general description of Hegel's philosophy. He does not minimise Hegel's obscurity, but also clarifies and explains his main tenets.

Over two-thirds of the book deals with the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, and in the first 200 pages Professor Catlin skips over the great Greek philosophers, the Roman lawyers, the Renaissance and the Reformation, up to the time of Hobbes, not to forget the 40 pages which seem to be the maximum modern writers are prepared to devote to the Middle Ages. The stress is upon recent schools and theories, and the most important philosophers from the time of Locke are treated very fully.

Everyone interested in philosophy will enjoy Professor Catlin's comments. The only disconcerting thing about the book is his habit of italicising key words and phrases, which he says is for "the guidance of the eye." Even so, we wouldn't advise you to read just the passages which contain the italics—the whole book is excellent.

PROF PIDDINGTON ON: PEOPLE

MORE MALINOWSKI—LESS MEAD

In a series of three public lectures recently delivered in the college by R. O. Piddington M.A., Ph.D.—newly appointed Professor of Anthropology at Auckland, the question of the interrelations and common meeting ground of Psychology and Anthropology was discussed. Prof. Piddington approached the problem from the methodological point of view. He pointed out that the social sciences are all subject to human welfare, and began by stating his attitude that the social sciences are a practical knowledge—a tool for the use of mankind, as against the commonly held concept of an abstract philosophy or a humanitarian theory.

Rapidly cantering over the history of anthropology, he gave his whole-hearted support to Malinowski—"the Darwin of anthropology" and his theory that all cultures are a response to human needs. Man is unique in that his needs are greater and more extensive than those of other animals and embrace "social" needs. For instance, religio-magical systems are a response to the need for social control as well as a direct attempt at conditioning the future. Because all human groups have needs in common there are certain "Universal" aspects of culture. For instance the universality of language as a response to a universal need of communication is a significant fact which has not received due attention from social anthropologists.

Prof. Piddington regarded Malinowski's work as "the charter for all research in anthropology."

Speaking of the common ground in the "difficult borderland" between psychology and anthropology, Prof. Piddington emphasised the danger of constructing a universal psychology on the narrow basis of one culture. Thus Freud's account of the Oedipus situation, based on his clinical studies of "Viennese neurotics," does not arise in the Trobriand Islands where customary disciplinarian is the mother's brother. Similarly, as Margaret Mead points out, the emotional crises of adolescence which are regarded as normal in "Western" countries, are not found in the youth of Samoa.

But on the whole Prof. Piddington was not impressed with the culture pattern theorists. Franz Boas was "good for his time" but Ruth Benedict has dared to contradict the idol Malinowski! Margaret Mead's Samoan work would pass and "Growing up in New Guinea" might get through although "she passes over some problems"; but, in "Sex and Temperament" "the rot set in" and "the canons of science were thrown to the wind."

The Piddington Idea

The second lecture in the series was an application of the Piddington idea that methodological principles are of prime importance and that forthright criticism of the culture pattern theorists is a constructive approach. He criticised Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead on the grounds of inaccurately weighted and inadequate field work. Two major points raised were those of multiple determination of personality and the principle of situational variation.

Prof. Piddington pointed out the evidence which lent support to the Malinowski Universals and had a final lash at Mead's "Sex and Temperament"—"a retrograde step in anthropological field work." He believes that perhaps the major contribution made by this group to the science of anthropology was a "popularisation of anthropology."

Prof. Beaglehole Delicately

The Professor gave the impression that his main quarrel was with the popular work of this group and ap-

peared to be relatively unacquainted with the ethnographic data presented by Mead in a B.P. Museum Monograph for her Samoan work, and in Annals of the American Institute of Natural History for the New Guinea work. This fact was delicately pointed out by Prof. Beaglehole.

Question time at the conclusion of the second lecture saw Prof. Piddington subjected to a barrage of questions. It was obvious that the Professor's empirical anthropological approach was very divergent from the dynamic patterns or gestalt approach of the majority of the questioners. For this reason the full significance of both questions and replies was to a certain extent lost. The Prof. was required to answer questions which were framed in a manner which he could not fully comprehend without the philosophical psychology background of the questioners. Similarly the replies to questioners left many unhappy because the Prof. inclined to make empirical assumptions (e.g. Malinowski's universals) which the greater part of the audience would not have been prepared to accept.

Judgement by Contribution

In his final lecture, Prof. Piddington reiterated that social science was related to the satisfaction of human needs, and the work of a scientist is to be judged on his contribution to

VUC DEBATING SOCIETY PLUNKET MEDAL Annual Oratory Contest

CONCERT CHAMBER,
TOWN HALL
Saturday, July 28
The Forensic Event of the
Year!

human adjustment. He considered that we are as yet only on the fringes of the problems of social science and that present trends may prove to be inadequate and incorrect in the light of subsequent research.

He appealed to future social anthropologists and psychologists to master the culture before they attempted to equate culture and personality and to refrain from "blanket" statements which tend to obscure the particular problems involved. In particular he stressed the need for fully documented and thorough field work.

With reference to the application of psychological tests to the general field he pointed out that relative culture complexity cannot be equated with the relative level of intelligence, and that so-called cultural inferiority can always be explained in terms of factors affecting the culture at any given time. There is no valid evidence of quantitative racial differences in intelligence. The test situation has to be re-oriented if it is to be used cross-culturally. There is some evidence that the Rorschach and other projective tests of basic affective characteristics can be used cross-culturally, but there should be tests of cognitive as well as affective mental processes as determined by culture.

1984 AGAIN?

ENTER CITIZENS, by Alexander Clifford (Evans Brothers Ltd., 12/6).

ENTER CITIZENS is almost as frightening as George Orwell's NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR. Although, of course, the kind of future states which the novelist and the journalist describe are different in outline, their citizens are uncomfortably similar. Orwell's "prole," immersed in work, beer and the races, is the counterpart of Clifford's Mass-Produced Man.

Alexander Clifford draws on his experiences as an English journalist who has been reporting on European affairs for Reuters since 1938 for this series of essays. They range from the highlighted account of his personal experiences as a Parisian householder to a general survey of European economics and politics. The result is naturally uneven, and occasionally unsound, as when the author draws a conclusion from premises based partly on what he has observed, partly on his own essentially pragmatic philosophy.

But all through the book the most important consideration is the new and universal ruler of modern Europe—the Mass-Produced Man; and here, Mr. Clifford is only too obviously accurate.

He says that the crucial factor in post-war Europe is the advance of the mass of the people to real power—not only in the political sphere, but in the social, economic and religious fields as well.

Unfortunately, a new civilisation has not emerged also. The most striking symptom of the evolution of the New Man is that the lower classes have captured the pleasures and habits of the upper classes; they

boast at once of their material facilities and of their "low brow" tastes in the intellectual field. Mr. Clifford decides that, now that vox populi, vox dei is almost literally true as theory, mankind is becoming stupid. For the Mass-Produced Man it is a virtue to be ordinary; he thinks he is as good as anyone else, and he makes no effort to improve—everything is brought down to the lowest common denominator.

This cult of ordinariness means that the Mass-Produced Man is not equipped for thinking for himself. He is interested in the physical attributes of civilisation, its material products, but not in its philosophical laws. Dangers consequent on this attitude are a growing distaste for work, a growing consciousness of power, extreme vulnerability to demagoguery, and a tendency to resort to violence rather than reason.

Mr. Clifford examines the four methods in use in Europe today for handling the Mass-Produced Man as the ruler of society. He concludes that Liberal Democracy is "too high an exercise for the human race," and that it has not worked well in Europe. Fascism has virtually disappeared and the victory will lie between Communism, which offers the Mass-Produced Man the short cut to his future materialistic heaven, and the Catholic Church.

Mr. Clifford says that the Mass-Produced Man is committing economic suicide in demanding luxuries which he considers necessary. This is leading inevitably to dictatorship and the breakdown of all intellectual life and the arts.

The author is gloomy as to the future of European civilisation, but his prophecy is not necessary to the importance or enjoyment of this book; its value lies in its clever and biting portrait of the average citizen-ruler of twentieth-century Europe.

—P.B.

STUDENT PRESS

Continued from page 7

seek for knowledge, and to think with precision.

For that reason, it is our duty to print what the daily Press will not print, when we know it is right. It is equally our duty to decline to be a mere pretentious echo of the daily Press, to repeat in more intellectual tones the screamed prejudices of capitalism.

Victoria College has often come under fire from the powers that be because it has fostered independent thought and freedom of action and utterance. Controversy must be the life-blood of any university. Our tradition is not a shackling thing, as Salient's editor seems to think, but a living thing, a spur to active thinking against the easy flow of the stream. When Mr. Parr, Sir Will Appleton, "Freedom," "Truth," and all the rest of them are attacking us, we know we are not going far wrong.

Salient must never let go the burden of her duty.

—C.B.

SOCIALIST CLUB HYPOCRITES

SIR.—So the Socialist (Communist) Club held a weekend. The subject Peace. What hypocrisy.

Socialists cause revolt in Viet Nam, war in Korea, revolt in Malaya, riots in France, the air lift in Berlin, censorship and tyranny in Eastern Europe, strikes in struggling Britain, religious depression, mass executions in China (broadcast if you please!) and intermittent executions of one-time supporters in the people's democracies. More could be said.

Pravda and Radio Moscow and Peking continue to pour forth unreasonable diatribes vilifying the West and the United Nations, hailing Stalin as the new God.

These peace-lovers ignore all this to criticise their own country which has been provoked into strengthening its defences from constant fear since the war ended. Let us export the Socialist School to their sort of those two worlds they so often talk about.

Realist.

Saturday, July 28

PLUNKET
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VUC's Public
Speakers

Saturday, July 28

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The Duties of a Student Press?

STILL an idealist at well past 60, Mr. F. L. Combs told the Students' Congress in 1949 that the values of the capitalist world could be summed up in the motto: "Cram for Jam," and (to quote Salient of 23/2/49) that "Students owe a duty to the world in combating this spirit with one of community consciousness. He even dreamed of a university daily to counteract the hysteria and low motivation of the privately owned press with objective reporting, and giving a forum to all views."

If a programme is wanted to achieve these aims, the much discussed five-point programme put forward by Old Timer in a letter in 1951's first issue of Salient could scarcely be bettered. Salient, he said, should aim to lead students in fulfilment of their responsibilities and maintenance of their rights, keep them informed of college and outside events, act as an honest muck-raker, stimulate intellectual controversy and create a college-consciousness.

SALIENT'S PAST

The concern for events outside our own brick walls appears to disturb Messrs. McLeod, Hatton and Hill. But Salient's first editorial pointed out that Salient replaced predecessor Snad for the precise reason that "It was felt the spirit of the times demanded that any suggestion of Olympian grandeur or academic isolation from the affairs of the world should be dropped and replaced by a policy which aims firstly to link the University more closely to the realities of the world."

In 13½ years of existence Salient has not done badly. But I certainly do not believe it should relax in the slightest degree from its traditional role. The daily press is a powerful force and in the battle of ideas it throws its weight firmly (and daily) on the side of possessions and privilege.

When John Swinton retired from the position of editor of the "New York Times" in 1946, he had a great deal to say when someone rose to toast the "Independent Press!" These were his words:

MEN BEHIND THE SCENES

"There is no such thing as an independent Press. You know it, as I know it. . . . I am paid 250 dollars a week to keep my honest opinions out of the paper I am connected with. . . . The business of the journalist is to destroy the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of Mammon and to sell himself, his country and his race for his daily bread. . . . We are tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. . . . Our talents and our lives are the property of these men."

Swinton is not the only great American to say things that needed to be said about the American Press. In the autumn of 1940, when American publishers decided to hold a "National Newspaper Week," the "Editor and Publisher," organ of the newspaper publishers, planned a special issue in honour of the "free Press of America" and asked a number of prominent citizens to contribute statements that would "emphasise America's fortunate position with respect to a free Press." One of the persons thus approached was the great writer Theodore Dreiser.

Dreiser duly replied. But his article did not appear either in the special issue of the magazine or in any of the subsequent issues. The bald truth about the "free" Press of America, as set down by one who had first-hand experience of it, was distasteful to the press-moguls sponsoring the "national newspaper week." What did Dreiser say? Here is the letter he wrote to the "Editor and Publisher," dated September 18, 1940:

THE FREE PRESS

"Your letter of September 9 outlining the plan of the 'newspapers of the nation' to 'bring home to America the blessings of her free Press' by the observance of a National Newspaper Week, October 1 to October 7' and selecting me

among others for the honourable task of preparing a 'brief expression of appreciation of one of the most vital bulwarks of American freedom, an uncensored Press,' is before me. What between sheer awe of the corporation gall which unquestionably prompts and no doubt finances this industrious labour of yours, and wonder as to how, at this late date, I still come to be on your National Corporation sucker list, I am fairly flattened—not flattered.

"For as you know, or should know, I was in the service of various American newspapers as a reporter and travelling correspondent for five years of my life; also editor-in-chief of four advertising-kept magazines for five years more—so I ought to know something about the blessings of a free Press. And again, before I was ever a newspaperman even, I was a citizen of Chicago when Mr Cleveland sent 3000 Federal troops into the city to protect the robbing and thieving railways of that day from their underpaid and ill-used workers, and I noticed then with interest and some rage the editorial and news barrage laid down by the leading papers of Chicago and elsewhere on behalf of the suffering railways and against the workers. And ever since, wherever labour has been employed and has struck for decent treatment, I have noted and frequently written about the zest with which our liberty-loving Press invariably sprang to action on behalf of capital and violently against labour. Also in favour of every criminal monopoly programme of our corporations since.

"I assume, of course, that you never heard of a book of mine called 'Newspaper Days'—nor another called 'Tragic America'—promptly suppressed after one month of circulation—and a sale of 5000 copies. But I wrote then: Should you come to know, to expose the very lack of this liberty-loving Press in our national life and at the same time the criminal doings of our national monopolies which today, having grown finally ponderous with stolen money, and so supremely authoritative in our American affairs of government and liberty, prompt (if they do not directly finance) such a brassy burst of propaganda as your letter outlines. Really if it weren't because of awe (inspired by this latest corporation gall stone cast at a long suffering public) I should shout with laughter at your stupidity.

CORPORATION CONTROL

"For you know that the corporations of America which control our newspapers and radio (as well as our politicians, a large majority of our judges, our State legislators, Congressmen, governors, mayors, police, chambers of commerce, banks, ministers and small loan-controlled merchants), are now planning to stage this fake demonstration of yours with the hope of either frightening or fooling the genuinely libertyless masses into imagining that there may be somewhere in America at least a percentage of the people who can say what they think and read what they would like to read without job or financial loss. . . .

"Try, if you choose, to get some favourable mention, or any mention of any innocent labour objective in the 'N.Y. Times' or 'Tribune,' any Philadelphia paper, any Pittsburgh or Chicago or Kansas City or Los Angeles or San Francisco or Portland or Seattle paper. I have tried. The corporation lce are of one mind and one pocketbook, and liberty of the Press means to them liberty to

praise the works and schemes of our American and international corporations. . . .

"If Americans knew how far we have already gone toward abolishing our democracy they would rise in anger now in defence of their most precious possession. But millions don't know, because the only sources of information they have deliberately kept them from knowing. . . .

"Actually, if this were a really liberty-protected country—one not ruled by a greedy band of profiteers, you and your paper might well be charged with fraud in this instance, and, if you ventured to take a court oath in behalf of your innocence, convicted of perjury.

"Very truly,

"Theodore Dreiser."

"PUBLIC ENEMY"

Nearer home, in November, 1944, the Australian journalist A. E. Mander published a scholarly and well documented booklet entitled "Public Enemy: the Press."

The booklet caused a great stir in Australia. It met with an angry reception in the Press (of course) and within no more than an hour after it was put on sale it disappeared from the bookshops. It later transpired that the whole edition had been bought up and withdrawn from sale by agents acting for certain individuals who were interested in preventing Mander's exposures from reaching the general reader. A second edition had to be printed, and the publishers had to take measures to distribute it through bookshops which were independent of newspaper syndicates.

Mander's book has some harsh truths to tell. It is of especial interest to us because it contains rich facts illustrating what this much-trumpeted freedom of the Press really represents.

"Freedom of the Press," he says, "is widely accepted as being, as a matter of course, an essential feature of democracy. The social value of freedom of the Press is taken as axiomatic. Freedom of the Press is looked upon as one of the most precious—and most sacred—of all the rights which 'we' enjoy. Unfortunately it is only an empty phrase. There is no such thing in reality." (Page 5).

FREEDOM OF THE PROPRIETOR

The author puts the word "we" in quotation marks because somebody really does enjoy freedom of the Press. It is not, of course, the typographical workers, for they set and print whatever is given to them. Nor is it the editors, special writers, or reporters, for they may write only what the publisher who hires them wants them to. Freedom of the Press is enjoyed only by the small group of men who own the Press and control it. Mander therefore says it would be more helpful to drop the phrase "freedom of the Press" and substitute another for it: "Freedom of the Press proprietor."

In one of his chapters Mander analyses the financial control of Australian newspapers. He gives a list of newspaper-publishers through whom the Press is closely interlocked with industry and finance. Newspaper proprietors have their own censorship and a very stringent one too. Actually it covers everything printed in the papers, from articles down to the smallest news item and even advertisements. It applies both to the most trivial points and to vital political issues.

"The proprietor's censorship normally bans all items of news reflecting to the discredit of any large advertiser in the paper. . . .

"It censors any news or views which might reflect adversely on any company in which the proprietors or his relations or friends hold shares.

"Again, the proprietor's censorship applies to politics. It censors the most telling points of speeches made by public men—if they are associated with a policy to which the proprietor's interests are opposed. . . .

"The Press proprietor (the controller) sets the general 'policy' of the paper—to support this and

oppose that; to 'build up' one public man and to 'play down' or discredit another; to give lavish publicity to such-and-such a movement, and to 'freeze out' something else; to publish prominently everything which is calculated to swing the sympathy of readers in some particular direction, and to suppress (or relegate to the bottom of a column on an unimportant page) anything which might have the opposite effect." (Page 28-36).

In a chapter entitled "Pretence of Fairness," Mander describes what the owners of the Press really mean by "fair play."

"To them, presumably, fair play includes the censorship and suppression of news which might influence readers against the views of the interests of the Press proprietors. It includes the use of misleading headlines. It includes the colouring of reports, taking sentences out of their context, twisting a speaker's words, even attributing to a man words which he never uttered. It includes the publication of an absolutely false statement featured on the front page under glaring headlines. . . . and a correction on the following day, but this time only a few lines tucked away inconspicuously somewhere near the bottom of a back page." (Page 47).

PRESS AND SUPPRESS

Anyone interested in the use of the English language could cite examples noted from his experience of this sort of subtle lying. Our New Zealand newspapers are no more free from it, nor from the financial ties, than are the American and Australian ones.

Even our sometime "Labour" paper, the "Southern Cross," gave us a most significant example when it printed an item on 20/12/48 under the title "NORTH KOREANS PREPARED TO USE FORCE" which read: "Mr. Chang, Foreign Minister of South Korea, served notice today that his government would use force if necessary to bring North Korea under its control!" Scotney's "Studies in Anti-Soviet Propaganda" quotes numerous cases of distorted and false news items from the "Dominion" and the "Evening Post" gathered from over 30 years.

At times of national tension such tricks multiply. The Press treatment of the conscription issue in 1949 interested me particularly, and I have kept a fairly comprehensive file. One glaring case of slanting was the "Dominion's" giving nine inches with a single-column headline on 27/7/49 to the reaffirmation by the 2nd NZEF Association of its anti-conscription policy, and when, the next day (as a result of gross intimidation by a departed statesman) the Association changed its mind, the same paper's giving 16 inches with an eye-catching two-column headline at the top of the page, as well as eight inches of editorial space on the 29th! That was one of the Press's least offences in that sordid campaign. A pamphlet about the referendum concluded a section on the part played by the big dailies with these words: "Thus did the great principles of Freedom of the Press operate during those months in 1949. It gives a clue to the general reliability of newspapers at all times."

The gagging of the Watersiders' case in the current dispute, and the vicious law giving expression to a situation that already existed as far as the Press was concerned, serve but to underline these remarks.

Our Press is not free, it is not honest, it is not fair and it is certainly not democratic.

WHAT IS OUR DUTY?

What, in the face of a daily paper curtain around the truth, is the duty of a student Press?

Surely our first duty is to seek to counteract the bad influence of the interested Press, as Mr. Combs has suggested. Students claim to be especially qualified to make objective utterances, to see things clearly—because they are trained to study, to

(Continued on page 6.)

Dear Dr. Munz, in Reply to Yours Some History Please--

I SHOULD be pleased that Dr. Munz replied to my provocation—and Mr. Robinson too—but the gilt is off the gingerbread. Dr. Munz and I are in the same boat with him calling me a liar ("misrepresentation for propagandistic purposes") and my replying: bad historian. What I wanted Dr. Munz to do, among other things was to present some evidence against historicity, but I have already said that the gilt is off the gingerbread.

Dr. Munz and his defender, Mr. Robinson, do not seem to be at one. Did Dr. Munz deny the historicity of the Gospels? I say he did. Mr. Robinson takes a slightly different view, but at least I have proved to Dr. Munz's satisfaction my ignorance on the subject of early Christianity; a considerable feat since I did not set out to prove anything except my dissatisfaction with Dr. Munz's approach to history. That is the point upon which we really differ and it happens to be the very point Dr. Munz misses in his zeal to accuse me of propagandistic misrepresentation.

THE APPROACH IS IMPORTANT

For the purposes of this dispute only I am willing to admit that his description of the beliefs of the early Christians (2nd and 3rd generation) was correct. My criticism was of his treatment of the question of historicity.

From the denial of historicity Dr. Munz has evolved his concept which results in the Church being based upon the life of a "really kind man." This view I submit is an inadequate basis for a Church which has lasted 2000 years, changed the world and promises to endure in spite of schisms and heresies. At least part of the evidence which refutes the idea of Christ as the kind man comes from the gospels. Once their historicity is questioned or denied then who is to know which part of the Word of God is true, which false. Or are they the word of God at all?

NOT HISTORY BUT ARGUMENT AD HOMINUM

When Dr. Munz was questioned he made use, as he states in his epistle to the heretics, of two arguments. He did not answer the historical one and that is the fact which I criticize. Once asked to prove against historicity he adverted to the Catholic view and stressed that. Let him first put the case against historicity, answer criticisms of it, and then argue the Catholic approach if he wishes.

This he did not do, and what was worse he passed to the Catholic argument and used it to bolster up his historical weakness. Ideally he should have approached the question as an historian and ignored the secondary argument which is available to Catholics and some others of a particular view of the Church. He wasted no time relying on history but availed himself of the more propagandistic plea.

POINTS MISUNDERSTOOD

Several points made he did not answer and Harnack remains a heretic from the Munz-myth. Others he has perhaps misunderstood.

"My opponent admitted," writes Dr. Munz, "that in the last resort he would rather mistrust his reason than his faith. Faith (capital F) meaning the Church puts that reply in a different light. Which would Dr. Munz prefer his reason or the accumulated reason and knowledge of twenty centuries? In these days of intellectual pride a dangerous question but a fair one.

Again he passes judgment (what a miracle is a kind man!): "Either a very bad Catholic—or he was guilty of deliberate misrepresentation for propagandistic purposes." It should be obvious to Dr. Munz that a description of the order of a ceremony has nothing to do with the effects of that ceremony. The young man (who does believe in transubstantiation and communion in one kind) is therefore excused of deliberate misrepresentation. He compared order for order, and they were similar as Dr. Munz cannot deny. The two questions now raised complicate the issue but they are not relevant to it in the context of Dr. Munz's lecture.

THE ALL SEEING EYE

If Dr. Munz can read into my article that I am "free from confusion" and "frivolous ease... due merely to thoughtlessness and ignorance... which can lead to little that is good"; then I no longer wonder at his interpretation of history. I did not claim freedom from confusion but I was concerned at Dr. Munz's confusion in argument. It is this confusion which leads him to drag in communion in one kind and transubstantiation into a question of comparing liturgical order.

This type of confusion has irked Dr. Munz into once again avoiding history and the gospels to talk of the Church and History. Neither Loisy nor Dollinger were excommunicated for their history alone and Dr. Munz's assertion that they were nearly leads me into his "these-propagandistic-ruses-do-not-appeal-to-me" routine. (Vide Chambers Encyclopedia, Britannica do.) As for the mysterious historian Dr. Munz declines to reveal he is invited to quote the excommunication decree's reasons for the excommunication of this post-war German historian.

MR. ROBINSON AND THREE POINTS

Mr. Robinson is in error when he suggests that I desire history simple, neat and definitely known. Not all history is like that. I do say that there are some facts and events in history which we know enough about to make a decision.

The red herring concerning my

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acceptance of a view upon another's authority is not relevant to the historical argument and the historical weakness of Dr. Munz. Nevertheless it is for Mr. Robinson to show that the authority is not to be relied on. He has been accepting facts on authority all his life and because he has thought those authorities reliable has believed. My scrutiny of my authority is probably closer than the scrutiny to which Mr. Robinson subjects many of his sources of knowledge.

It is true that on this question I am not prepared to say that I am mistaken but it does not imply as much as Mr. Robinson seems to think. The Church would be willing to admit historical errors in gospel documents but not that the gospels as written were not historical.

This again is a question of authority and that authority is quite able to withstand the examinations of Mr. Robinson, if he is willing to try and see, and admit that he may be mistaken. There is little likelihood that 2 and 2 will ever make five providing their meaning remains constant. Or is truth relative Mr. Robinson?

READ THROUGH AND THOROUGHLY UNDERSTAND

Dr. Munz appears to have skip read that part of the article dealing with Professor Marsh. I was not present at the lecture given by Professor Marsh and did not say that I was. I admitted that Professor Marsh may have been badly reported but criticised his refusal to


(Continued on Page 3)

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