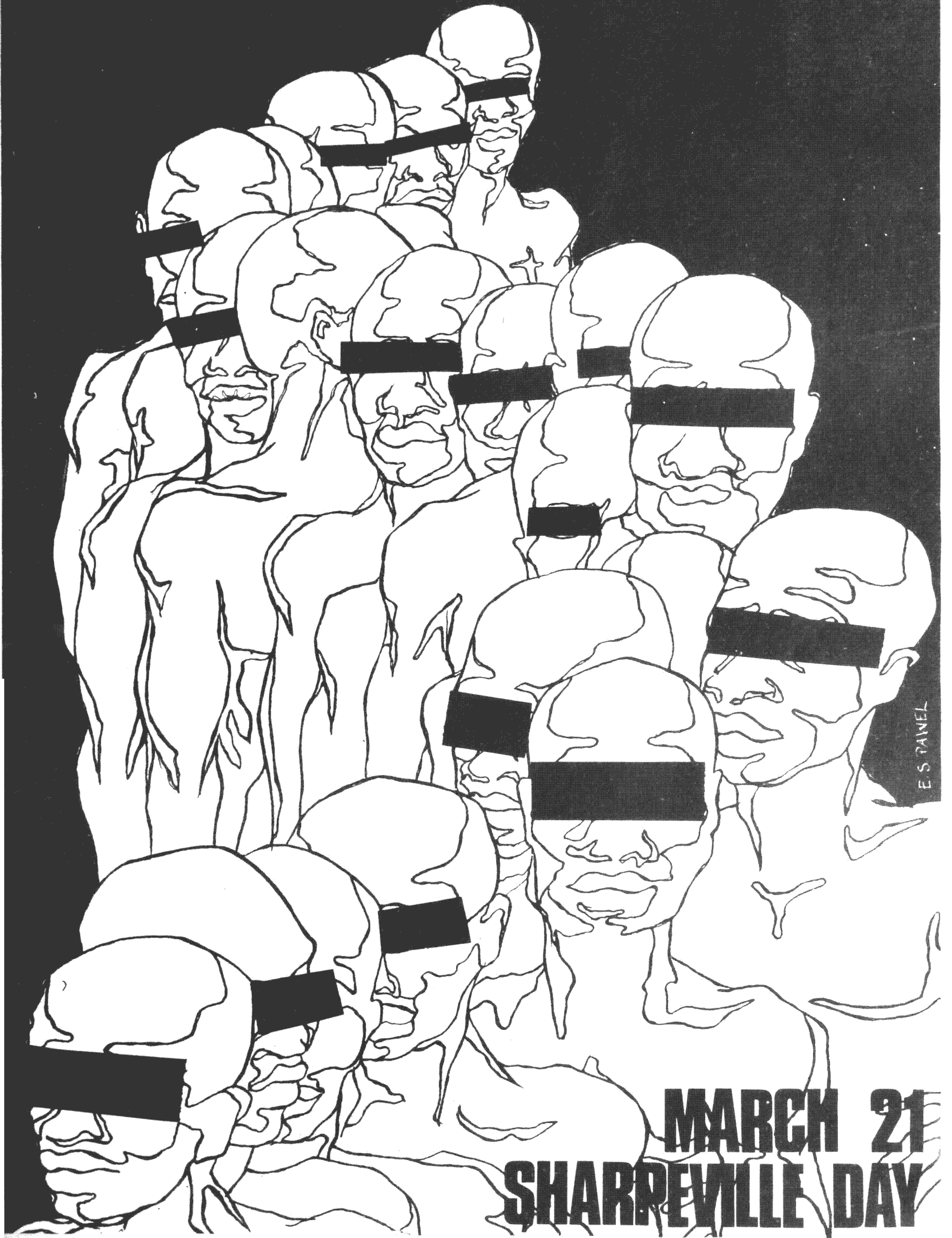


# SALIENT



E.S. PAINEL

MARCH 21  
SHARREVILLE DAY



# SHARPEVILLE

## A Massacre Recalled

By Bishop Ambrose Reeves, an Anglican minister in South Africa from 1949 to 1960. During the latter part of his service in South Africa, he was bishop of Johannesburg. An outspoken opponent of apartheid, he was active in arranging legal defence and relief for political prisoners and their families in South Africa. He organized relief for the families of those killed and wounded in the Sharpeville incident and arranged for an investigation of the incident. Shortly thereafter, he was deported from South Africa.

Events at Sharpeville on 21 March 1960 shocked the world and are still remembered with shame by civilized men everywhere. Early that morning a crowd of Africans estimated at between 5,000 and 7,000 marched through Sharpeville to the municipal offices. It appears that earlier that day people were urged to take part in this demonstration. However, many Africans joined the procession to the municipal offices quite willingly. Eventually this demonstration was dispersed by the police, using tear-gas bombs and then a baton charge. Fortunately nobody was hurt.

I was not at Sharpeville when the shooting occurred but it was familiar territory to me. Time and again I officiated at the large African Anglican church there and knew intimately many of the congregation, some of whom were to be involved in the events of that tragic day. I could so well visualize the scene. Near my home in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg was a large zoo situated in acres of parkland. By a curious anomaly the lake near the zoo was the meeting-place for Africans working in the northern suburbs on a Sunday afternoon. After work they would leisurely make their way there in small groups—a gay, colourful, jostling crowd—families and individuals—chatting, laughing, singing, gesticulating and occasionally fighting. The thud of homemade drums could be heard shattering the Sunday calm. It could so easily have been like that on that crisp autumn morning in Sharpeville. Like that, but so very different.

During the morning news spread through the township that a statement concerning passes would be made by an important person at the Police Station later that day. The result was that many drifted to the Police Station where they waited patiently for the expected announcement. And all the time the crowd grew.

Reading from the police report on what subsequently happened, the Prime Minister told the House of Assembly that evening that the police estimated 20,000 people were in the crowd. This seems to have been a serious exaggeration. From photographs taken at the time it is doubtful if there were ever more than 5,000 present at any particular moment. They were drawn to the crowd by a variety of reasons. Some wanted to protest against the pass laws; some were there out of idle curiosity;

some had heard that a statement would be made about passes.

Whatever may have brought them to the Police Station, I was unable to discover that any policeman ever tried either to find out why they were there, or ask them to disperse, in spite of the fact that their presence seems to have caused a good deal of alarm to the police. So much so that at 10 a.m. a squadron of aircraft dived low over the crowd, presumably to intimidate them to disperse.

The police claimed that the people in the crowd were shouting and brandishing weapons. The Prime Minister told the Assembly that the crowd was in a riotous and aggressive mood and stoned the police. There is no evidence to support this. On the contrary, while the crowd was noisy and excitable, singing and occasionally shouting slogans it was not a hostile crowd. Their purpose was not to fight the police but to show by their presence their hostility to the pass system. They expected that someone would make a statement about passes. Photographs taken that morning show clearly that this was no crowd spoiling for a fight with the police. Not only was the crowd unarmed, but a large proportion of those present were women and children. All through the morning no attack on the police was attempted.



An armed policeman looks down on one of the African victims of the massacre.

Even as late as one p.m. the Superintendent in charge of the township was able to walk through the crowd, was greeted by them in a friendly manner and chatted with some of them. Similarly, the drivers of two of the Saracen tanks stated subsequently that they had no difficulty in driving their vehicles into the grounds surrounding the Police Station. This testimony was borne out by photographs taken of their progress.

As the hours passed, the increasing number of people in the crowd was matched by police reinforcements. Earlier there had only been 12 policemen in the Police Station: six white and six non-white. But during the morning a series of reinforcements arrived. By lunch time there was a force of nearly 300 armed and uniformed men in addition to five Saracens.

Yet in spite of the increased force that was then available, no one asked the crowd to disperse. The police strolled around the compound with rifles slung over their shoulders, smoking and chatting with one another.

### Scene Was Set for Explosive Situation

The scene was set. Anyone who has lived in South Africa knows how explosive that situation had already become. On the one side was the ever-growing crowd of Africans. On the other side was the South African police. Every



South African policemen are shown rushing to participate in attacking the innocent and peaceful crowd; 705 rounds were shot, 30 entering from the front and 155 piercing the backs of bodies of the 69 Africans killed and 180 wounded in the Sharpeville massacre.

African fears them, whether they are traffic police, ordinary constables or members of the dreaded Special Branch. Most policemen expect unquestioning deference from Africans.

The only action taken during that morning appears to have come not from the police but from two African leaders who urged the crowd to stay away from the fence around the perimeter of the compound in order not to damage it. Then Colonel Pienaar arrived in the compound. He appears to have realized that he had come into a dangerous situation and therefore made no attempt either to use methods of persuasion on the crowd or to attempt to discover what the crowd was waiting for. Instead, about a quarter of an hour after his arrival he gave the order for his men to fall in. A little later he said, "Load five rounds." But he said no more to any of his officers, or to the men. Later, Colonel Pienaar stated that he thought his order would frighten the crowd and that his men would understand that if they had to fire they would not fire more than five rounds.

During this time Colonel Spengler, then head of the Special Branch, was arresting three African leaders. He said subsequently that he was able to carry out his arrest because the crowd was not in a violent mood.

It is extremely difficult to know what happened next. Some of the crowd near the gate of the Police Station compound said later that they heard a shot. Some said that they heard a policeman say, "Fire". Others suddenly became aware that the police were firing in their midst. But all agreed that nearly everyone turned and ran away once they realized what was happening. Colonel Pienaar asserted that he did not give the order to fire. Moreover, he declared that he would not have fired in that situation. It was stated later that two white policemen opened fire and about 50 others followed suit, using service revolvers, rifles and sten guns.

### Police Action Caused Devastating Consequences

Whatever doubts there may be of the sequence of events in those fateful minutes, there can be no argument over the devastating consequences of the action of the police on 21 March 1960 in Sharpeville. Sixty-nine people were killed, including eight women and 10 children, and 180 wounded including 31 women and 19 children.

According to medical evidence the police continued firing after the people began to flee, for while 30 shots had entered the wounded or killed from the front of their bodies no less than 155 bullets had entered the bodies of the injured and killed from their backs. All this happened in 40 seconds, when 705 rounds were fired from revolvers and sten guns. But whatever weapons were used the massacre was horrible.

Visiting the wounded the next day in Baragwaneth Hospital near Johannesburg, I discovered youngsters, women and elderly men among the injured. These people could not be described as

agitators by any stretch of the imagination. For the most part they were ordinary citizens who had merely gone to the Sharpeville Police Station to see what was going on. Talking with the wounded I found that everyone was stunned and mystified by what had taken place. They had certainly not expected that anything like this would happen. All agreed that there was no provocation for such savage action by the police. Indeed, they insisted that the political organizers who had called for the demonstration had constantly insisted that there should be no violence or fighting.

### Arrests Follow Massacre

To make matters worse, some of the wounded with whom I spoke in hospital stated that they were taunted by the police as they lay on the ground, by being told to get up and be off. Others who tried to help were told to mind their own business. At first there was only one African minister of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa who tried to help the wounded and the dying.

Later, 77 Africans were arrested in connexion with the Sharpeville demonstration in some cases while they were still in hospital. In fact, it was clear on my visits to the wards of Baragwaneth Hospital that many of the injured feared what would happen to them when they left hospital.

The attitude of the South African Government to the events at Sharpeville can be seen from its reaction to the civil claims lodged the following September by 224 persons for damages amounting to around £400,000 (\$1,120,000) arising from the Sharpeville killings. The following month the Minister of Justice announced that during the next parliamentary session the Government would introduce legislation to indemnify itself and its officials retrospectively against claims resulting from action taken during the disturbances earlier that year. This was done in the Indemnity Act No. 61 of 1961. Money could never compensate adequately for the loss of a breadwinner to a family or make up for lost limbs or permanent incapacity. But it would have been some assistance. It is true that in February 1961 the Government set up a committee to examine the claims for compensation and to recommend the payment of *ex gratia* payments in deserving cases. But this is not the same thing, and in fact by October 1962 no payments had been made.

### Failure of Police to Communicate with Crowd

Few commentators since Sharpeville have attempted to justify the action of the police. In fact, many of them have drawn special attention to the complete failure of the police to communicate with the crowd at the Police Station. If it had been a white crowd the police would have tried to find out why they were there and what they wanted. Surely their failure to do so was due to the fact that it never occurred to them, as the custodians of public order,

Wellington Sharpeville Day Activities.  
March 21:  
Picket and Leafleting: James Smith's  
Corner - 10.30 - 4.30.  
Poster Parade and Leaflet Distribution:  
12.30 - 1.30. Assemble James Smith's  
Corner.  
Contact: Trevor Richards,  
WAAC,  
Phone 51973



either to negotiate with the African leaders, or to try to persuade the crowd to disperse. Their attitude was summed up by the statement of Colonel Pienaar that "the Native mentality does not allow them to gather for a peaceful demonstration. For them to gather means violence." The same point was demonstrated even more graphically by one of his answers at the Court of Enquiry under Mr. Justice Vessels. When asked if he had learnt any useful lesson from the events in Sharpeville he replied, "Well, we may get better equipment."

What happened at Sharpeville emphasizes how far the police in South Africa are cut off from sympathy with or even understanding of Africans. At no time did the police express regret for this tragic happening.

Yet it would be folly to attempt to fasten the whole blame for the events at Sharpeville on the police. By the mass of repressive legislation which has been enacted every year since 1948, the South African Government has given the police a task which becomes ever more difficult to fulfil.

It was this legislation which was indirectly responsible for the tragedy of Sharpeville, and in particular, the "pass laws". Indeed, the immediate cause of many in the crowd assembling at the Police Station was the growing resentment of Africans to the system of passes.

#### History of Pass Laws

The pass system originated in 1760 in the Cape Colony to regulate the movement of slaves between the urban and the rural areas. The slaves had to carry passes from their masters. Subsequently, the system was extended in various forms to the whole country and was eventually collated in the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945. This Act made provision for a variety of passes, including registered service contracts and for passes permitting men to seek work in particular areas. But through the years an increasing number of Africans had been given exemption from these laws.

In 1952 a new act, ironically called "The Abolition of Passes Act", made it compulsory for every African male to carry a reference book. To the Africans, reference books are passes for they con-

tain all the details which were previously entered on the various pass documents. Failure to produce it on demand constitutes an offence for which an African may be detained up to 30 days while inquiries are being made about him. In the 12 months ending 30 June 1966 no less than 479,114 Africans were prosecuted for offences against the "pass laws". At the time of Sharpeville there were 1,000 prosecutions a day for these offences. By 1966, this had risen to over 1,300 a day. These figures speak for themselves.

#### Pass Laws Extended To Women in 1960

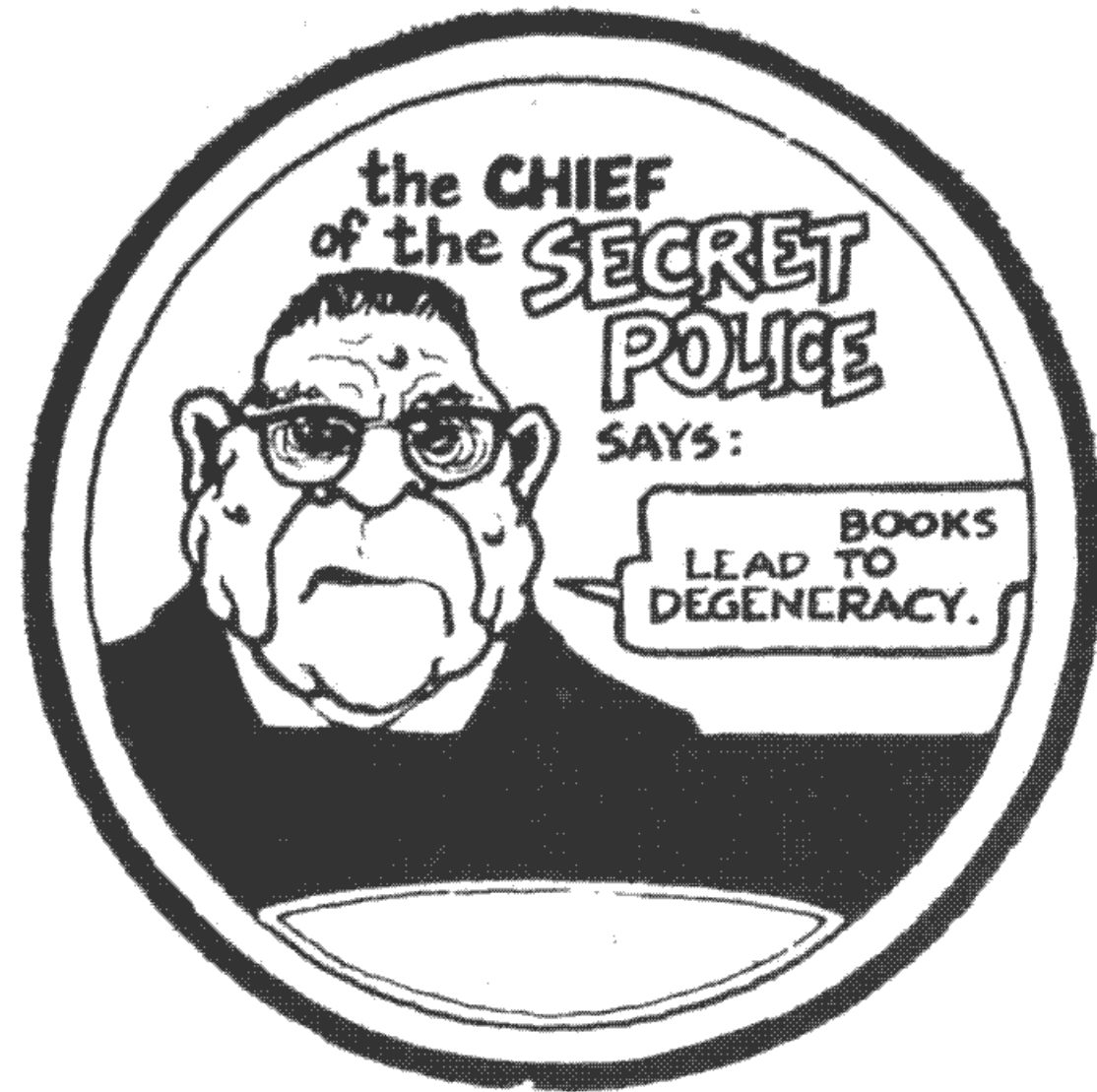
In 1960 the Government decided for the first time in South African history to extend the pass laws to African women. In their case another fear was added that they might be subjected to manhandling by the police with a further loss of human dignity. In fact, by the time of Sharpeville it was estimated that three quarters of African women were in possession of reference books.

African wages in Sharpeville in 1960 were low, partly because African Trade Unions were not, and still are not, recognized for the purpose of bargaining with employers. Moreover, the continuing colour bar in commerce and industry meant, and still means, high minimum wages for white workers and low maximum wages for the black workers who make up the great majority of the labour force.

All this means two wage structures in South Africa which have no relation to one another: in the fixing of the black wage structure the workers frequently have no say at all. Several months before the tragic events at Sharpeville it was becoming obvious that those living in the township were facing an intolerable economic situation.

Sharpeville was not an isolated incident. The 10 years before Sharpeville had seen feverish activity by the opponents of *apartheid*. By means of boycotts, mass demonstrations, strikes and protests, the non-white majority had attempted by non-violent means to compel those in power to modify their racist policies. For example, on 26 June 1952, the Campaign of Resistance to Unjust Laws had been launched. The same day three years later (26 June 1955) 3,000 delegates had adopted the Freedom

(Continued on next page)



# TEXTBOOK PROBLEMS

HAVING ANY?

Well, come and see

# UNIVERSITY BOOK CENTRE

15 Mount Street, Phone 48911





# COME TO S.R.C.

This Wednesday (the 20th that is) at 12 noon, a meeting of the Student Representative Council (SRC) will be held in the Union Hall.

All members of the Students' Association are entitled to attend, debate, vote, etc.

The SRC formulates all Students' Association policy. At this meeting some important business will be transacted.

A Woman Vice-President of the Students' Association will be co-opted. This has been made necessary by the resignation of Anne Gilbert.

Two students will be elected as members of the University Council. (The Council is the top decision stamping body of the university.)

The following officers will be elected:

Accommodation Officer  
Education Officer  
Environmental Officer  
Insurance Liaison Officer  
International Affairs Officer  
Overseas Students Officer

South Pacific Officer  
Welfare Officer  
Representatives will be appointed to work on the:

Joint Committee of Council, Prof. Board and Students' Association  
Union Management Committee  
Faculty of Arts  
Faculty of Language and Literature  
Faculty of Commerce & Administration  
Publications Board  
Professorial Board

Applications are open until the meeting, and it is normal practice to accept applications or nominations from the floor of the meeting.

Please attend this meeting. The Students' Association can only function when it is supported by its members, student representatives can only be representative when they are told what students want.

For further information call at the Students' Association Office, Ground Floor, University Union Building.



## Salient Notes

It was a dark and stormy night. A shot rang out. A woman screamed. Meanwhile back in the Salient Office, the staff suffering from a collective cold went on working long into the night. The workers were sustained by the culinary delights of Ahfo Wong, and serenaded by the singing of their leader. Among those who braved the bluster (of weather and editor alike) were:

Les Atkins, Margot Bourke, Gordon Campbell, Christine Clegg, Graeme Collins, Jesus Christ, David Cunningham, Mark Derby, Noel Gledhill, Alison MacKay, Patrick O'Hagan, Wiki Oman, Neil Pearce, Marty Pilott, Babette Polly, Bruce Robinson, David Rutherford, Graeme Simpson, Brendan Smith, Claire Smith, Billie Joye Stewart, David Tripe, David Waghorn, Lloyd Weeber, Annabel Young, Audrey Young, Ahfo Wong, Karen O'Neil.

The photos were taken by Keith Stewart (Grub) and the issue was edited by Roger Steele.

A letter we received this week, from a certain "Tiddles" asked how one gets to be a staff member of Salient. The answer is simple — you just walk in the door. We don't have a staff as such, we just have a lot of occasional helpers. Anyone can help, whether or not they have talents. Just come in or ring up. There's plenty of things to do in here. Proofreading, doing corrections, sticking copy together, selecting pictures, filing, thinking up headlines — anyone can do these small but important jobs. As far as specialist jobs go, we need photographers, cartoonists, sub-editors, typists, etc.

News writing: Anybody can write for Salient. "If you were there, Salient was there". Tell us what's on around the place. Either you write it up, or we write it up, or both. We'd like to cover everything.

Reviews: Anyone can write reviews. It helps to be interested in what you're writing about, and to have some familiarity with the topic. Our reviewers are not beyond criticism: if you think you can write a better review of a book, play, film, show, record, do it. We have some sort of system for getting such things reviewed. Come and see us, and we'll organise.

Features: If you've got a pet topic, or done some research into something interesting, there could be a feature in it. Come and have a talk about the approach, or take your own. It doesn't necessarily have to follow any 'line'. We've got a lot of ideas that need working on. If you want to get into investigative journalism, so do we.

Meetings: From time to time we have a meeting here for Salient workers and other interested people. The idea is to criticise what we've done and make collective decision and plans for future issues. The next meeting is at 7pm on Wednesday, March 27. If you can't get to that, come in any other time. There is no pressure on anybody to work or produce. Everybody's opinions count. Whether you've got five minutes a week or five hours, you can be part of Salient.

Advertising Manager: Chris MacKay (Home phone: 64-698).

Salient Office: Middle Floor, Student Union Building. Phone 70-319.

Letters: Can be put in the box outside the Salient office or sent to Box 1347 Wellington.

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(Continued from previous page)

strators and strikers. In spite of great and frequent provocation by the police, Africans remained orderly and disciplined.

### "Civilization without Mercy"

The crowd at Sharpeville was not attacking anything or anyone. Further, there is abundant evidence to show that they were unarmed. As the late Sir Winston Churchill pointed out in a debate in the British House of Commons on 8 July 1920, "There is surely one general prohibition which we can make . . . against what is called 'frightfulness'. What I mean by frightfulness is the inflicting of great slaughter or massacre upon a particular crowd of people with the intention of terrorizing not merely the rest of the crowd, but the whole district or the whole country". This is precisely what the police did at Sharpeville. On that occasion Sir Winston concluded his speech with some words of Macaulay, ". . . and then was seen what we believe to be the most frightful of spectacles, the strength of civilization without mercy". These are words which aptly summarize all that happened at Sharpeville.

Certainly the Government of South Africa, though badly shaken in the days immediately following Sharpeville, soon regained control of the situation. On 24 March 1960, the Government banned all public meetings in 24 Magisterial districts. On 18 April, the Governor-General signed a proclamation banning the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress as unlawful organizations. On 30 March, in Proclamation No. 90, the Governor-General declared a state of emergency which lasted until 31 August 1960. During that time a large number of prominent opponents of Government policy of all races were arrested and detained without trial. In addition some 20,000 Africans were rounded up, many of whom were released after screening.

After some months, at least superficially, life became at least relatively normal. But underneath the external calm dangerous fires continue to smoulder: fires that can never be extinguished, by repressive measures coupled with a

Bodies of killed and wounded African men, women and children were left for hours. Police prevented help to the wounded.



Charter which had been drafted by the Congress Alliance. This took place at a massive gathering at Kliptown, Johannesburg. The following year (1956) the Federation of South African Women held a series of spectacular demonstrations against the extension of the pass system to African women. These culminated in a mass demonstration at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, on 9 August. Some 10,000 women gathered there in an orderly fashion to present 7,000 individually signed protest forms. Again, from 7 January 1957, many thousands of African men and women for months walked 18 to 20 miles a day to and from work in Johannesburg in a boycott of the buses. Although in this particular case they gained their objective, all the various endeavours by Africans to secure change by peaceful means brought little tangible result.

The surprising thing was that in all this activity there was very little violence on the part of boycotters, demon-

constant and growing show of force.

Outside South Africa there were widespread reactions to Sharpeville which in many cases led to positive action against South Africa: action which still continues.

It is my personal belief that history will recognize that Sharpeville marked a watershed in South African affairs. Until Sharpeville, violence for the most part had been used by the white minority. Over and over again, non-white civilians were injured by police action or by assaults on them when in prison. Until Sharpeville the movements opposed to apartheid were pledged to a policy of non-violence. But on 21 March 1960, when an unarmed African crowd was confronted by 300 heavily armed police supported by five Saracen armoured vehicles, an agonizing reappraisal of the situation was inevitable. Having tried every peaceful method open to them to secure change without avail, the African leadership decided

that violence was the only alternative left to them.

As Nelson Mandela said in court at his trial in October 1962, "Government violence can do only one thing and that is to breed counter-violence. We have warned repeatedly that if there is no dawning of sanity on the part of the Government, the dispute between the Government and my people will finish up by being settled in violence and by force."

Outwardly things may go on in South Africa much as before. Visitors may find a booming economy, the white minority may seem secure in their privileged position for any foreseeable future, some urban Africans may have a higher living standard than formerly. But all this should not deceive anybody. The fact is that for the first time both sides in the racial struggle in South Africa are now committed to violence; the white minority to preserve the *status quo*: the non-white majority to change: change from a society dominated by apartheid to one that is non-racial in character.

The fact that at the moment this is being expressed through small bands of guerrillas who may be neither very well trained nor well equipped does not mean that they ought therefore to be dismissed as having little significance. After all, we have the examples of Algeria, Cuba and Viet-Nam before us as powerful reminders of what may result from very small and weak beginnings.

Unless there is a radical change in the present political and economic structures of South Africa a terrible and brutal civil war might not easily involve Africa alone but the whole world in a global racial conflict. The choice before the international community has been a clear one ever since Sharpeville. Either it takes every possible step to secure the abandonment of the present policies in South Africa or the coming years will bring increasing sorrow and strife both for South Africa and for the world. Sharpeville was a tragedy showing most plainly that the ideology of apartheid is a way of death and not of life. Can the nations recognize this before it is too late?

## Remember Sharpeville Think about Apartheid



# CURRY AND TRIPE AT M.S.A.

The Malaysian Students Association kicked this year off badly with a 'Curry, Films and Folksongs' evening, on Saturday night. While the curry was superb and the songs tolerable, one of the films was foul. About 200 students, mostly Malaysians, were unwitting victims of a cunning piece of Moral Rearmament propaganda.

The main film of the evening was a tribute to one William Mkomo, a black South African revolutionary who turned into a Jesus freak 'Moral Rearmer'. "I used to believe in violence, I swore to drive the white man from my country," said Mkomo. "But then I saw white men who had changed, who weren't arrogant. I had hated the white man because I thought he was treating me wrongly. I asked God to forgive me, and I went to the white man and apologised. The white man said, he should have apologised first."

All this apologising is very sweet, but it is hardly breaking the yoke of fascism and poverty in South Africa.

The film included a series of testimonies to Mkomo's faith, spoken by his followers looking candidly into the camera and speaking haltingly from the heart - they were so sincere, it just oozed out of the screen.

"Mkomo had a message for us," said one. "Man must change." The old freak line, no realisation that it is society that shapes man, so to change man you first must change society. The 'change yourself first' argument is popular these days, not that original sin has gone out of favour. Its little more than a rehash.

On violence, Mkomo had this to say: "When two elephants fight, the grass is trampled. It is the ordinary man who suffers." Mkomo had been bought off with a few token reforms. Crowed the narrator: "He was the first African to have a school named after him."

After another dose of "the biggest thing that man needs is to attend to his character, when we have men and women of character

in the world then we can all stand shoulder to shoulder together as sons and daughters of God," the film ended with Mkomo's religious drivel belting out while the film lingered on green, nostalgic shots of the South African veldt.

Most of the audience didn't know quite what had hit them. The film was cleverly produced and would be quite persuasive to anyone unaware of the grimness of political reality in South Africa, and unaware of the futility of personal religious conversion as a mean of social change. The MSA made no attempt to show the other side of the story.

Questioned by Salient after the film, MSA President Ken Lim, said that a member of MSA who was in the Moral Rearmament had suggested that the film be shown. None of the MSA committee were Moral Rearmers, said Lim. He had no political views either way about South Africa or about the political-religious line of the propaganda (which would apply equally well, or badly if you happen to agree with Salient, to the Malaysian revolutionary situation).

MSA has long been regarded with suspicion by progressive individuals and groups on campus, including MSSA (Malaysian Singapore Students Association). The showing of such a film can only reinforce the impression that the MSA exists to serve the interests of the reactionary elements in society.

# NURSES UNITE

A new group is about to be established at Victoria to give a voice to those nurses from all over the country who are attending this university.

It has not been unusual for nurses to attend university courses, but in 1974 for the first time at VUW a new course in nursing studies is being offered at the 300 series level. This means that more nurses are on campus this year and hopefully the number of students enrolling in this course in future will be up.

On March 6 a group of 16 nurse/students decided that they should form a VUW Nurses Society and request affiliation to the Students Association. The group has formed itself into a standing committee to publicise the proposed society to all on campus. The Committee believes that there are at least 50 nurses from around the country attending Vic.

At this stage the group have in mind a social, political and welfare body to enable nurses to voice their opinions on matters ranging from the system of nursing education and social issues to the suitability of the university course. This includes the presentation of submissions to appropriate bodies on legislation, conditions and bursaries, direct contact with the NZ Nurses Association and the welfare of nurses as a whole.

There will be an informal meeting of the group on March 21 in the Student Union Building, 5.30-6.30pm so that an election of a formal committee can be made; all are welcome.

It is important that this new body becomes effective and makes its voice heard. Too often nurses associations have neglected to carry out their duty to the public and to their members.

# Te Reo Maori

\$300 was allocated towards the purchase of a tape recorder at the A.G.M. of the Maori Language Society, Te Reo Maori, last Thursday night. The tape will be used by students to record songs, speeches, hakas etc. in the field, and will be used for teaching.

While university departments are doing what they can to record the knowledge of older Maoris, there is so much to get and time is so short that the students have to take the initiative in recording the culture.

Te Reo Maori also resolved to invite prominent Maori speakers to lecture within the varsity on topics related to Maori language and culture. Another resolution was to complete the renovation of the dining hall at Kaiwaka marae, Tikitiki, where Te Reo Maori has done work in the past.

Officers of Te Reo Maori Society elected at the meeting were President, David Rangitauira; Vice President, Whai Dewes; Secretary, Cathy Dewes; Treasurer, John Dyllal; Committee: Hakopa Te Whata, Pia Tamahori, Donna Gardiner, Ann Hiha, Judith Bailey, James Schuster, Roger Steele.

A patron for the society was elected; he is the Rev. Hemi Potatau, B.A.

Meetings of Te Reo Maori Society are held every Thursday in the Tennis Pavilion, Salamanca Rd., for a couple of hours starting at 6pm. They include speechmaking, an introduction to learning the language, other aspects of culture, and a general get-together. Everybody is welcome; it doesn't matter who you know or what you know.

# Contact

There is in this University a basic lack of communication, between staff and administration, staff and staff, staff and students; as well as between students themselves. This is what concerns Contact. You can talk until you are blue in the face about how many people sit by themselves in the cafe; or how you didn't know what course to take until you were doing the course you didn't want to take at third year level; or how to enlist the students' association is and that the average student has no way of know what is going on - and all you do is go on going blue.

There is a place called Contact. We know this is about the third time you've been told this and you've already started to yawn but it doesn't want to survive without you. Vent a little of your frustration on their ears and watch them jump. Or move a little. Rush down there to the second floor of the Union Building (committee room No. 2) and ask them

when the next bus to Dannevirke goes and watch them squirm.

We know a bit. (You know we know a bit) about timetables and clubs and staff and events and how to sit down and have a bit of peace and quiet (cynics can laugh now!). We can put you in contact with other students in order to discuss courses, revolutionising lectures or injecting enthusiasm into tutorials. We can contact people who will teach you Samoan or the guitar through the Learning Exchange. If you have any gripes about the student's association and can't do anything about it except stand for Vice-President come and see us. If you do get the chance to be Vice-President and ever want to know what students think we'll find some real live ones for you.

There are other things - from secondary school liaison groups to a place in a flat. There will be more if you are willing to participate. Believe it or not, in this place, there are people worth talking to and events which you simply must know about. Come and see us anytime about anything. Honestly, we too are nobody in particular.

CONTACT, MIDDLE FLOOR, UNION BUILDING. 10am - 3pm.

# Housing Service Fails

The Welfare Service Accommodation Officer, Mrs Brown, receives an unknown salary (she wouldn't disclose it to Salient) to help students find accommodation. A vital part of this service consists of listing vacancies for boarders and of unfilled places in flats.

Last Thursday 23 openings for boarders and 20 places in various flats were listed as available. Checking on the accuracy of this information produced results that would not surprise some students who have had contact with the Accommodation Service. Ten places listed as vacant in flats had been taken. Most of these vacancies had been filled for about two weeks. Similarly, of the 23 places listed as available for boarders eight had already been filled.

Confronted by this information Mrs Brown claimed that there was little that could be done to improve the situation. This is an amazing assertion since it took only three hours by car and phone for Salient to verify the facts above. The Accommodation Service inability to maintain a reasonable level of accuracy is causing unnecessary havoc in an area already plagued with problems.

A reorganisation of the Welfare Services supervision and directing via the establishment of the proposed Welfare Services Committee (with a student majority) would undoubtedly help overcome such inflexibility.

A petition of 'no confidence' referring to the Accommodation Service, and supporting such reorganisation will be circulated this week. Meanwhile, any students having problems with the Welfare Services, including the Accommodation Service, are invited to get in touch with Salient or with the VUWSA President, Peter Wilson.



Te Reo Maori Society presents a

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# Rent Appeals Board: Will it work?

by David Rutherford

Cats, dogs and children top the landlord's list of undesirables, according to a landlord testifying at the first hearing of the Rent Appeals Board last week. The board is the Labour Government's great white hope for sorting out the crisis in landlord/tenant relations, and hopes to check the inflation rampant in rental housing.

The first case was a tenant versus Kaymor Holdings whose principal, W.L. Cathie, and lawyer Grace were present. The tenant claimed that the \$36 rent was excessive because of the flat's condition. He alleged that before the hearing Cathie had tried to dissuade him from going ahead with the appeal. The tenant felt this was a breach of the Rent Appeal Act. Cathie also told him he might have to pay some of his costs, if the board ruled against his claim. Cathie threatened the tenant with eviction after the statutory six months. When questioned by Appeal Board Chairman Fox, Cathie said it was "a fact not a threat". Fox reprimanded him and said the board would take action if it happened again.

The second case to be heard was that of a landlord I. Clark versus two of his Kilbirnie tenants. Clark was represented by Mr McGechan and had two witnesses. The tenants were unrepresented.

The landlord had increased the rent of the first tenant by \$6. McGechan, the landlords lawyer, compared tenants to housewives who always complain that prices are too high. Tenants who have no real idea how rents are fixed, he said.

The house's rent had nearly doubled between 1971 and 1973. The landlord's theory was that "rent will seem high because previous rent was low". Clark also thought that his rent hike was justified because he had raised the rent of another tenant and there had been no complaint.

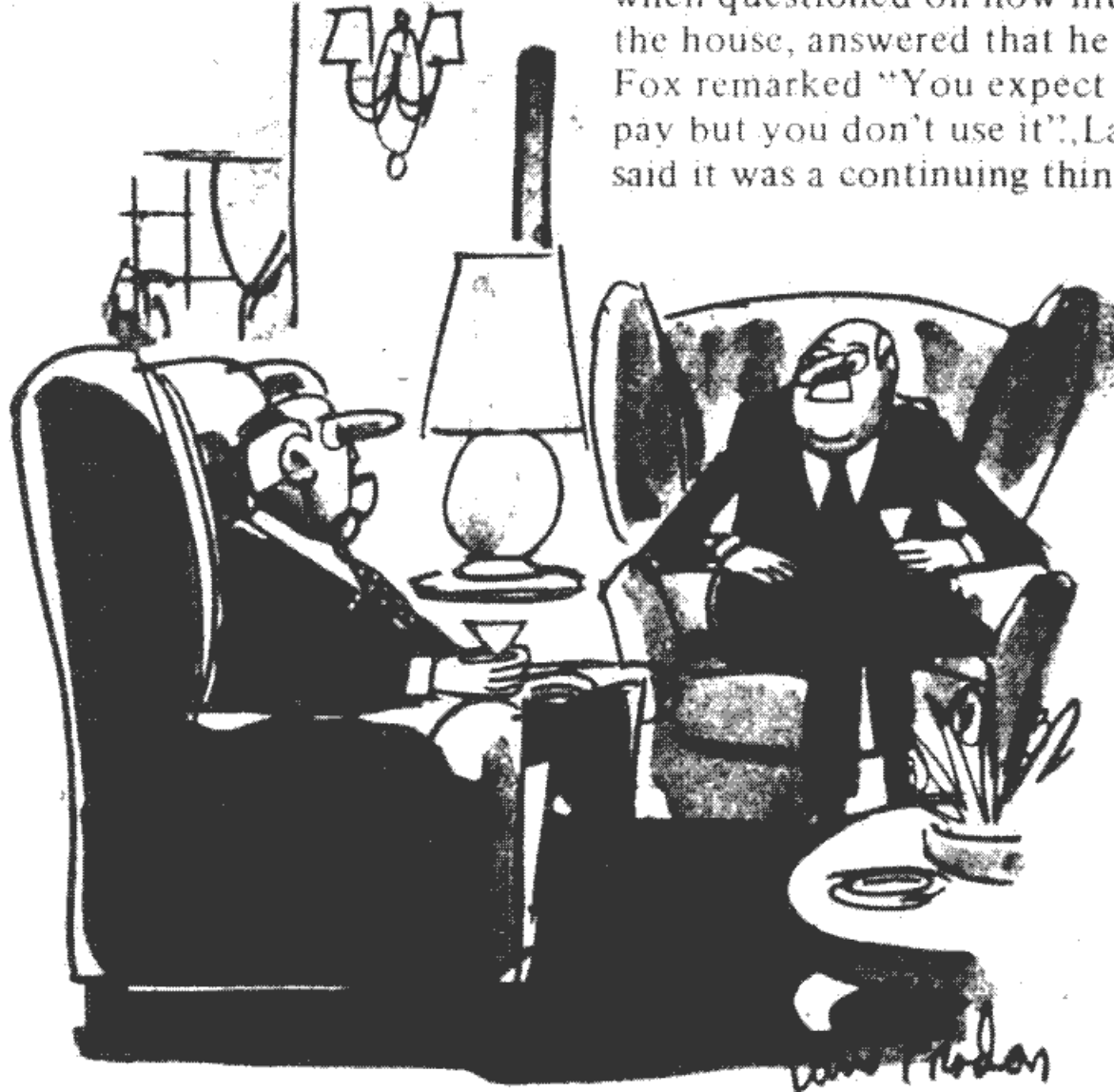
Mr Falloon, the landlord's valuer, said there were signs of water damage in a room in one of the houses despite the landlord's claim that he had fixed the leaks. He also stated that the houses were neglected and rundown and needed renovation. Renting the houses could be justified, said the valuer. "it depends on the person who wants to live there".

One tenant said that the landlord had done nothing to keep the house in reasonable condition. Her husband had done a lot of repair work on the house. The landlord admitted this.

The other tenant's windows were all nailed up. A visiting council inspector had said that it was illegal and he would return. He didn't.

Talking about rents they fixed and the reason for increases landlords used two terms extensively; "outgoings" and "depreciation". Mr Fox, the chairman, asked "How does a property depreciate when its value increases 100% in five years" to which nobody had an answer. The other term "outgoing" seemed to mean a method by which the landlords extract money from tenants to pay off their loans. Another part of the rent is to pay for collection, 5% was the figure quoted. One tenant said that the landlord never collected the rent, in fact she had often taken it to him. The landlord said he would do it in future.

3% of the rent a tenant pays is supposed to be used in the upkeep of the house. Clark, when questioned on how much he spent on the house, answered that he did not know. Fox remarked "You expect the tenant to pay but you don't use it". Landlord Clark said it was a continuing thing.



"If God hadn't wanted there to be poor people, He would have made us rich people more generous."

The tenant asked the landlord how he could spend so much time buying houses and no time on his tenants. He said he would try and see to the tenants in future. This will be unlikely as he cannot cope with the number of tenants he has now so he will not be able to cope with any extras.

Decisions in all cases were reserved for a few days, so it is difficult to say at this stage how the board will work. One sign, however, is its composition — all middle class. Chairman Fox is a former Cabinet Minister. The other two members of the board are a valuer and Mr Ralph Love.

Perhaps the surest summary of what the board will be like came from the mouth of a tenant who was making an appeal last week.

"We came here for justice," she said "but they shut us up. They were all lined up against us, landlords, land agents, valuers, lawyers.

"I lost a mornings wages, coming here instead of going to work. I just can't afford that, whereas my landlord can.

"The trouble is, I'm not educated, I'm working class, so I haven't a chance."

## Appeal Against Unfair Rents!

If you pay rent then you can apply to the Rent Appeals Board for a fair assessment of your rent. Your rent does not have to have been increased. The idea is that the board, not the landlord, sets rents.

To apply you go to the Post Office or the Labour Department and ask for a Rent Assessment form. Fill it out and post it to the Labour Department. You will then get a letter asking you to make your submissions. The Board will then contact you about when to appear.

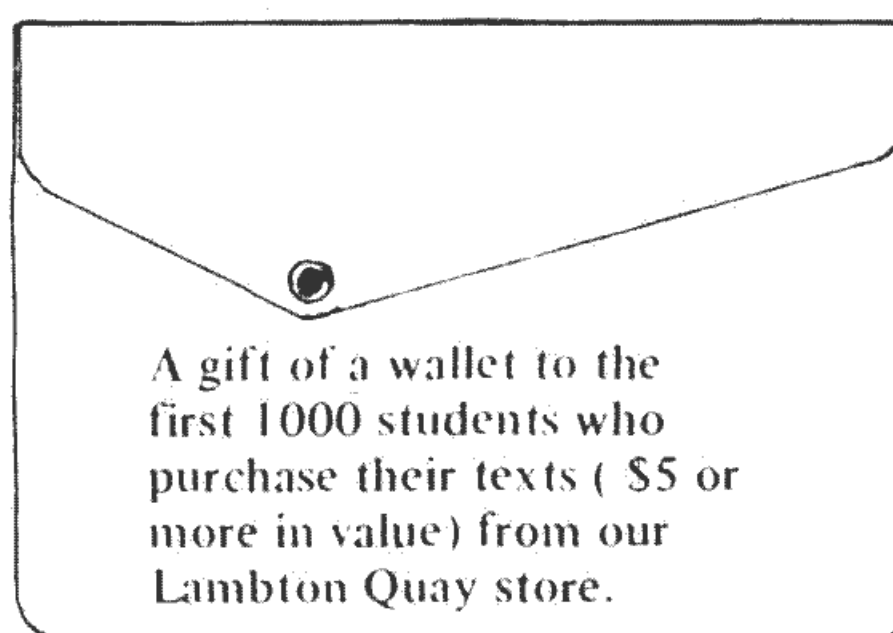
For any advice on tenancy, etc, phone Tenant's Protection, 44-814 or see Salient.

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# Beer power consumes all

Confrontation between Dominion Breweries and NZ Breweries ended on February 28. It was a sordid battle which did little for the image of the Breweries or the sharemarket. Market observers "heaved a sigh of relief" when the New Zealand Breweries signalled defeat in the bidding for the shares of Barraud and Abraham Ltd, one of the largest wholesale general merchants in New Zealand.

Barraud and Abraham, a Palmerston North company, had something of a monopoly in the wholesale grocery business in the Manawatu. But no doubt its main attraction to both breweries was its liquor connections.

Dominion Breweries announced a takeover scheme for the company on January 24. DB wanted to acquire B & A Ltd to provide outlets for its new brewery and for marketing the company's wines and spirits. DB would then have a firm hand on the supply of all liquor in the Manawatu.

New Zealand Breweries entered the fray on February 11 provoking a true but unpleasant comment on the values of shareholders. "It must be a happy thought for some," wrote the *Post's* commercial editor, "that no matter what the outcome of the brewery battle, the B & A shareholders must surely win."

The irresponsibility of those with holdings in the sharemarket is highlighted here.

Shareholders would not care if the liquor supply was monopolised by one or other of the breweries. All they are interested in is making a packet from the auction of shares. In the final outcome the Chairman of Barraud and Abraham advised acceptance of DB's offer which, he said, "should satisfy the various interests of the shareholders". What about the interests of the consumers?

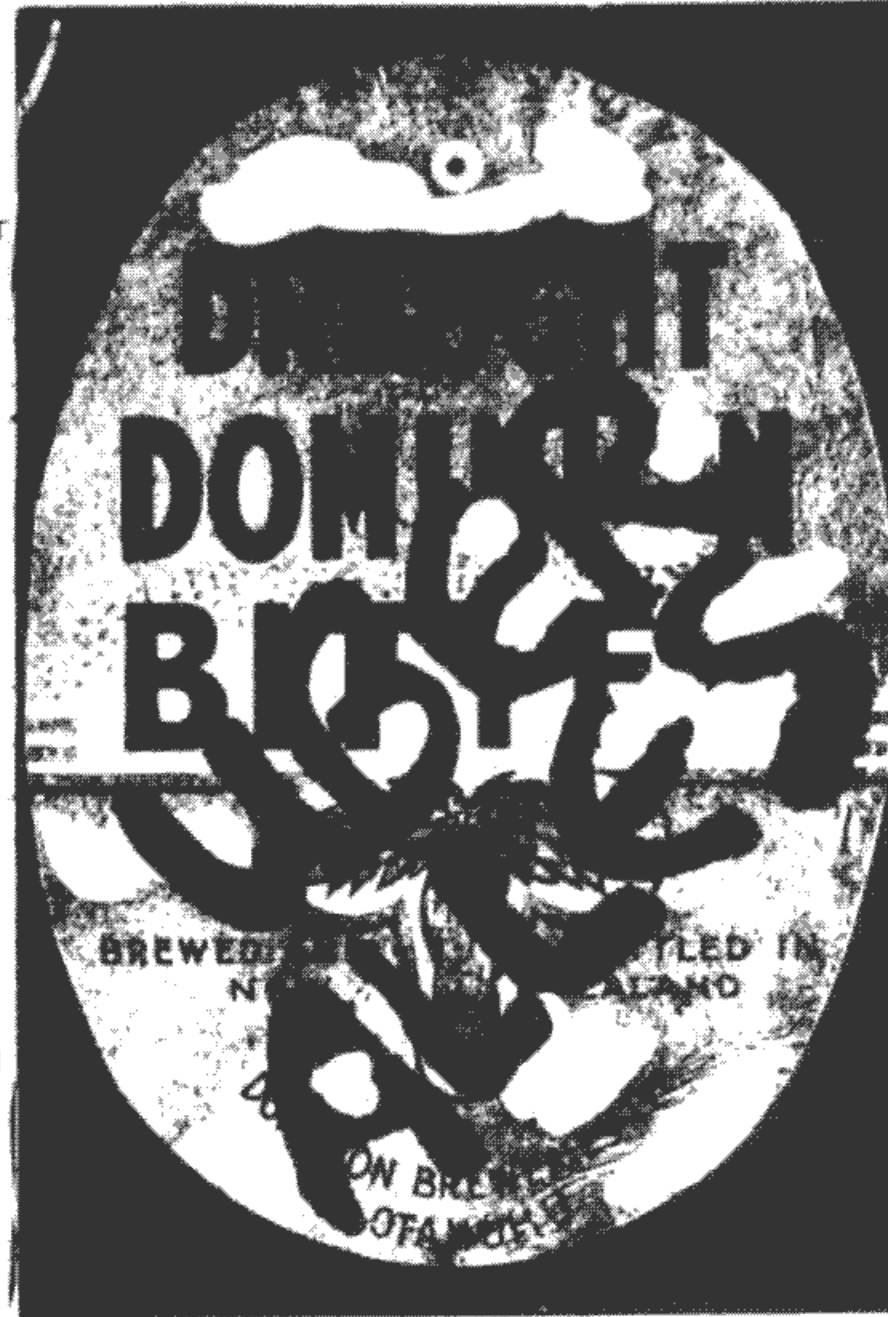
As well as getting a large slice of the liquor outlets in the Manawatu the successful bidder for B & A extends fingers into many other pies. The subsidiaries of B & A include Fridge-heat, refrigerator and central heating engineers; Hay and Watson, hardware merchants; Jan Romans Ltd., Levin wine and spirit merchants; and William Bacon Ltd, general importers with branches in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch.

The value of B & A shares rose from \$1.60 to \$3.50. A report in the *Evening Post* 23/2/74 stated: "A company's share, or a pound of saveloys, is "worth" what someone is willing to pay for it. This is the law of the market place."

What an insight into the price arranging of big business! It's the old idea being confirmed that producers will set prices at a level which only allows the consumers survival and the raising of a new generation of consumers.

The breweries' battle to gain a near monopoly hold of the liquor supply in the

Manawatu has provided ammunition for a vigorous attack on them. The breweries are often criticised for their lack of concern for the victims of the liquor industry. In this



case they warrant a great deal more criticism.

It is ironic that at a time when the breweries are looking for an increase in the price of their wares they have found funds to conduct an expensive auction for shares. We understand that B & A Ltd is only "small beer" to the breweries but demand to know why the funds used were not allocated to cut or stabilise prices. NZ Breweries challenge to DB cost the latter a further \$1 million in outlay of funds. That's money that could be put to better use.

New Zealand Breweries withdrew from the takeover battle on February 28. It was on March 4 that DB's offer was accepted.

But that's not all. Hard on the takeover of this Palmerston North company DB purchased the Central Otago Wine and Spirit Co Ltd of Alexandra, one of the few remaining liquor wholesalers to be independent of the brewery groups. Dominion Breweries already has one other substantial investment in Alexandra, the Golden Central Hotel and Motel Inn.

So in New Zealand the liquor industry is being increasingly concentrated into fewer and fewer hands. This progress of greed and power can only endanger further the New Zealand worker and consumer.

-Brendan Smith

## Text Book Prices

Some students have been overcharged for text-books at the University Book Centre. The 'Psychology Today' text, one German III text in particular and the Physics 101 text by Halliday and Resnick have all been marked at higher prices at UBC than at Whitcoulls.

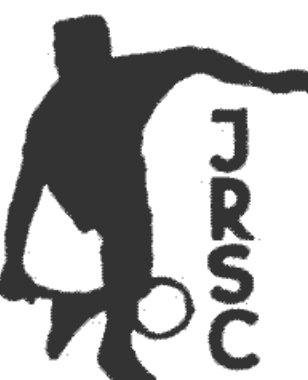
Salient approached John McKechnie, the manager of the University Book Centre for a statement on the over-charging. His explanation was that, as was the case each year, the publishers informed the Centre incorrectly about some prices. It was not until his attention was drawn to the difference in prices that he looked into the matter and as quickly as possible rectified the situation.

John McKechnie gave an assurance that the money students had paid in excess of the true prices would be refunded. The students who have paid too much should see him concerning refunds.

Such a mistake points to the need for students to have more information early on as to what books are required and how much they should cost. The book-lists produced by the UBC, while being a welcome service to students, should not be relied upon as much as they are.

further blunders and mistakes. Starting the year at University is a crazy enough affair already without having to haggle over the prices of books.





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Student Travel Bureau (STB) has developed over recent years an extensive network of charter and group flights to such destinations as Australia, New Caledonia, USA, Canada, Singapore etc. which enable students to travel cheaply throughout the world. This network, which operates primarily over the summer vacation, is now being extended by concession flights in Asia and to Europe outside this period.

STB has, however, been concerned that to date it has not been able to offer a network of concession group travel in New Zealand for the benefit of those students who just want to see this country. This year STB plans to do something to rectify this - commencing at Easter, and then operating in May, August and over the summer vacation, STB will be organising and promoting tours of the North and South Islands. These tours (the aim is groups of not more than thirty) will visit places STB believes students want to see at prices students can afford.

If you want more information on STB's New Zealand Tours, then see the STB Travel Advisor or Travel Officer on your campus, or write to:


New Zealand Student Tours  
Student Travel Bureau  
VUW Students Association  
Private Bag  
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# NEWTOWN COMMUNITY CENTRE NEEDS HELP!



Children outside the centre  
(Photo by Hilary Watson)

by Mark Derby

The results of several years work by the Newtown Community Centre is shown in the number of services it now offers. A free Legal Advice Bureau, a Food Co-op (related to the varsity scheme), a contraception and VD advice service, a vaccination clinic, a children's playground and a welfare advice service are all now operating successfully.

The Centre's work is not aimed at simply catering for the problems of the community. The intention is to give the people of Newtown the opportunity and knowledge to conduct their own affairs. For this reason most of the workers are local people, often housewives who appreciate a job where they can work with the community.

That many of these people have moved on to form and staff other community services in Newtown is a striking example of the success of the centre. The Newtown Progressive Association has been re-formed, a local branch of the Labour Party and a Tenant's Association have been started, and a new Schools Committee has been voted in to cater for the Maori and Polynesian majority in the primary schools.

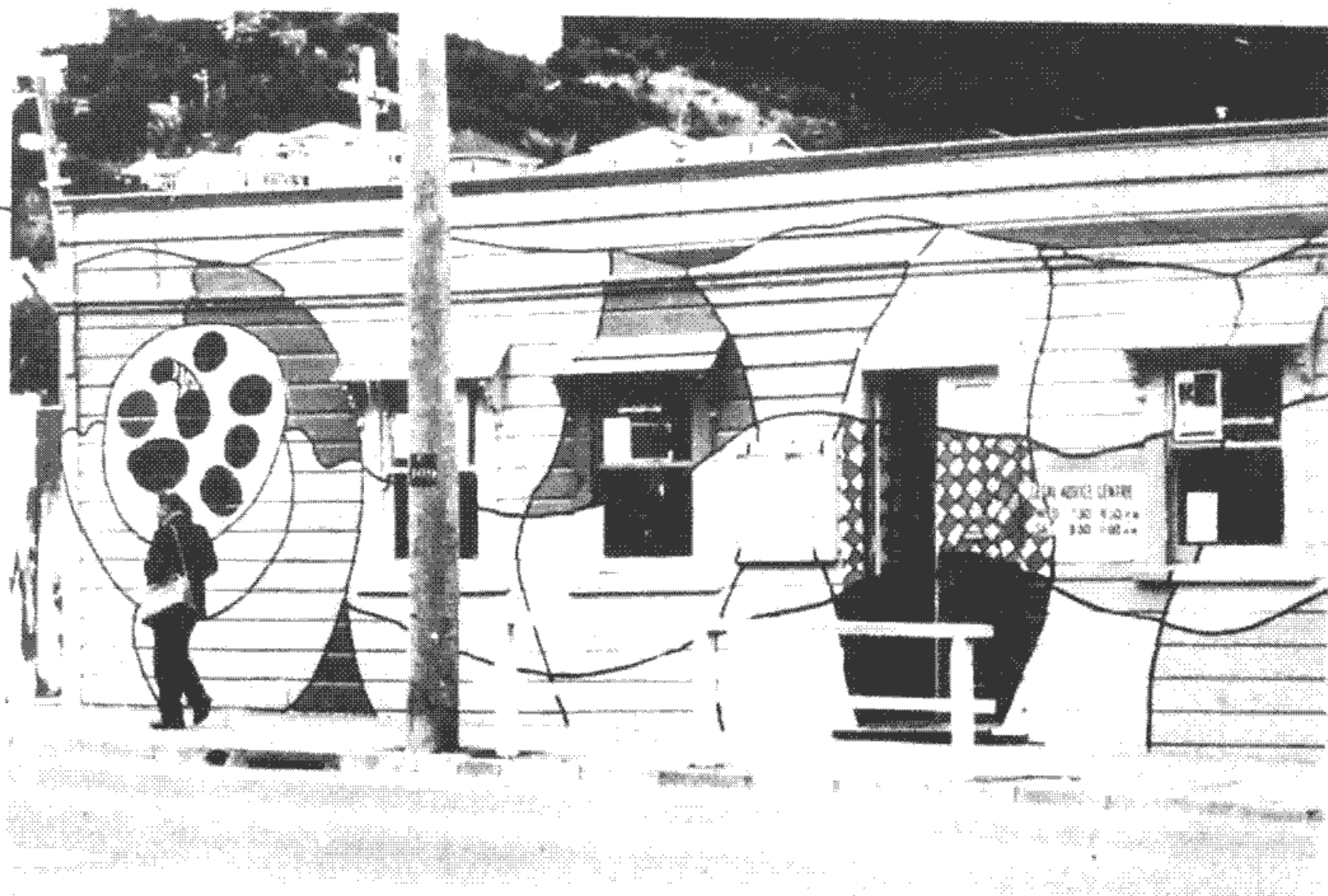
Further services are still needed, as Newtown has for 50 years been the dumping ground for Government and local body institutions used by all of Wellington. The hospital, Athletic Park, the Newtown Park Stadium, the zoo etc successfully cater for Greater Wellington, but leave a gap for purely local facilities. For instance, children's recreational facilities have been lacking as it was felt that young children could use the large sports stadium. The Adventure Playground is being built to help fill this need, and a local health centre is required.

The Community Centre will continue to be staffed mainly by local people, but as they move into these other projects, a continuous influx of outside workers is required. To get them, the centre is running a recruiting drive this week. Little training is normally needed for workers, as anyone can do the work. The most important requirement of staff is that they are able to relate to the people they work with.

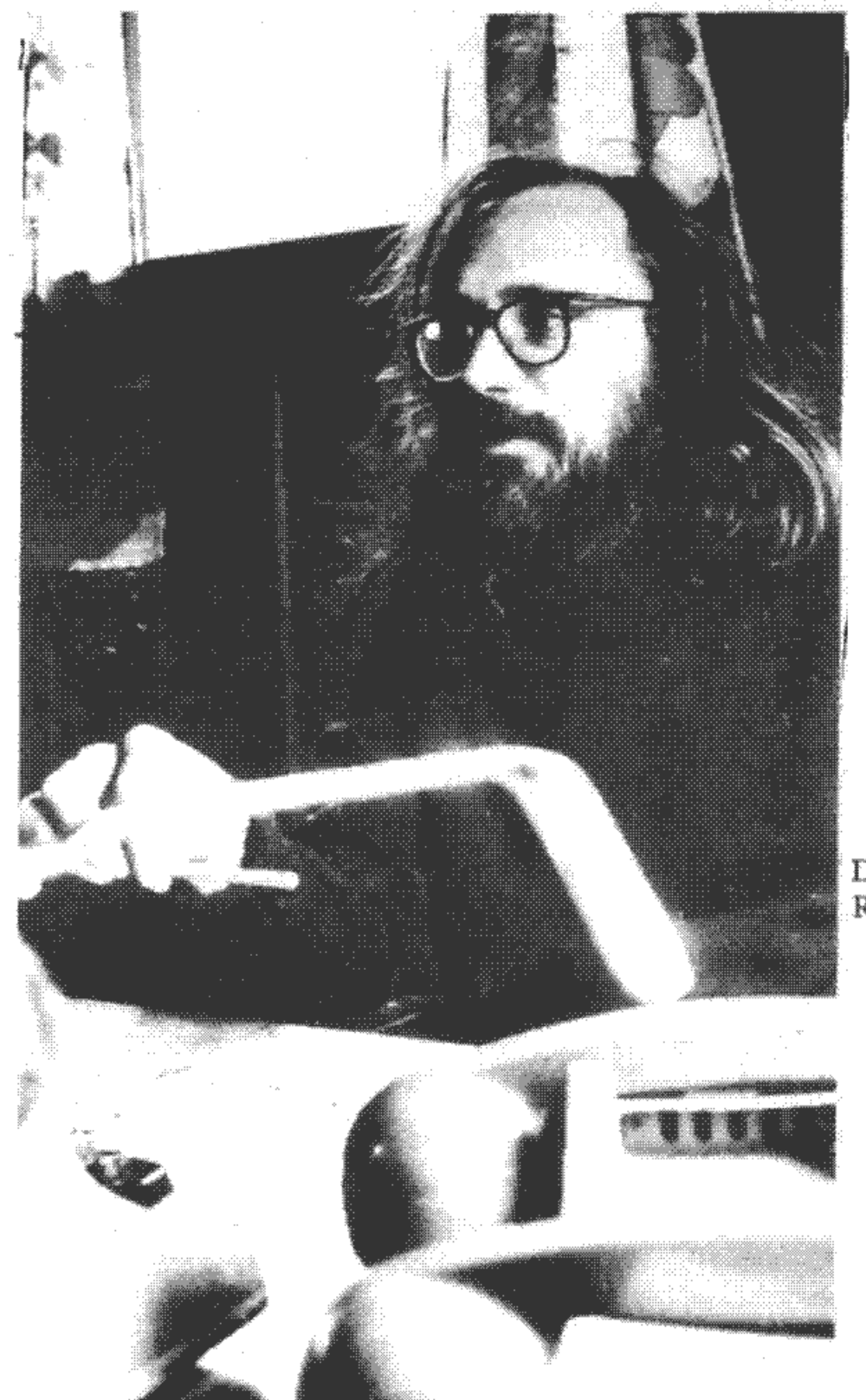
David Robinson, the Wellington Community Services Officer, says that Newtown, where he lives, has a very

different feeling from suburbs like Ponsonby. Newtown people don't aim to move out to a "better" area as soon as they can afford to. They are painting and renovating their houses, and they want to stay.

Some of the credit for building up a lasting sense of community in Newtown must go to the Community Centre. To enable it to carry on its work, more help is needed all the time. If you want to give them a hand, or find out more about it, ring 893-813 or call at 46 Constable Street.



Newtown headquarters



David Robinson

# UP FROM UNDER!

## Column from the University Feminists

The article entitled "Women's Day Forum Ends In Chaos", published in Salient, March 13, 1974, raises several disputable points.

A member of the audience, (David Tripe) is reported as criticising the women's movement for being middle-class and pakeha. For some reason this popular insult is supposed to invalidate groups such as University Feminists.

University Feminists is aimed at women at university, and since the majority of women at university are middle-class pakehas, University Feminists can only be a reflection of this. The fault lies, not in the group, but in our sexist, racist and middle-class-orientated education system.

David Tripe seems to think that any

liberation group which caters for middle-class pakehas is false. He does not consider that university women are as much in need of a feminist group as any other section of society. Is he suggesting that middle-class pakeha women are less entitled to liberation than their working-class Maori sisters?

When he accuses feminist groups of ignoring oppressed Maori women he shows clearly his lack of understanding of the women's liberation (or any other liberation) movement. University Feminists meets the needs of its members and would never presume to be able to meet the needs of any other oppressed group. The last thing Maori women need is a group of middle-class Pakeha women arrogantly

organising a liberation group for them. Maori women are the only women who can attempt to understand and solve the problems of Maori women.

The usefulness of any liberation movement is based on this principle of co-operation and support between groups as well as individuality.

In the conclusion of the article it is inferred that the forum closed down because of the inability of the women to reply to Dun Mihaka's "inexhaustible supply of arguments". One would doubt the sincerity of his questions in the light of the fact that no sooner did someone attempt to answer them than he shouted them down. The forum was forced to close down only because of Dun's obsession with racism and his own voice.

At the University Feminists meeting held on Monday, March 11, the role of the nuclear family was discussed.

It is the family which plays the central role in implanting such things as prejudices, hates, discriminations, patriotism and religion into children. The success of the nuclear family, and society in general rests on conditioning the children to accept the patterns of behaviour already set down. Men and women are chained to certain roles in order that the family may function. Every member of our society is taught to believe that the family unit is natural, when really it is purely culturally-created.

The nuclear family unit is the basic economic cell of society and is assigned the task of providing for the welfare of its members. Thus each family is thrown

into competition with all others to get an adequate share of the available jobs, goods and services. Needless to say not all families can cater adequately for their numbers and both parents and children suffer as a consequence.

Alienation as an acute social sickness is only aided by the nuclear family. The members of a family are out of touch with every other member of society, just as they are out of touch with each other.

As one of society's most sacred institutions the family will never magically disappear, it must be replaced by something better.

Discussion centred around whether the nuclear family unit would remain repressive if society itself was changed. Since the nuclear family is only a representative of society it was contended that in a different society it would represent different values.

Family life is not voluntary, however, there are plenty of laws and just as many social pressures which enforce the family unit. Not until people can choose willingly to live together will the units they live in cease to be oppressive.

-Fern Hickson

The views expressed in this column are not necessarily group views.

University Feminists meets every Monday night at 8pm in the Student Union Building. Watch noticeboards for details. All women welcome.



# THE NOT-SO-SUPER SCHEME

SALIENT MARCH 20, PAGE 9

by Jim Delahunty

In Doug Wilson's article on the new National Superannuation in Salient of March 13, the Labour Government's proposal is depicted as a far sighted social measure which is part of what he calls a 'logical and well developed economic plan'. His claim that it will provide improved and more widespread retirement benefits is true - but he has failed to appreciate some aspects of the scheme which make this an uncertain, delayed and inequitable form of superannuation with principles vastly inferior to those of the first Labour administration.

His thoughts about what will be done with the large fund of money collected by the Government are no more than guesses. Past experience shows there is no guarantee that the fund will end up by benefitting the New Zealand worker.

## Labour's Failed Principles

The first Labour Government aimed at a living rate of superannuation for all, irrespective of money earned during a worker's lifetime. The current Labour Government is proposing to set up an account in the name of each worker which will comprise the money that has been deducted from his wages and paid by his boss over his working life. Too bad if you have been sick all your life, or have been a housewife for much of it. The money won't be in your account, and your pension will be small. Only the money paid to your account will matter, plus interest earned over the years.

All the costs of running the scheme will be deducted from the accounts. The taxpayer will pay virtually nothing from general taxation. When you reach 65 your lot will be the amount in your name plus the present universal benefit which will be paid to all. The well paid, long working person will do best. The lesser paid, the sick person, the housewife will get the scrag end of the joint. This is Labour in the 1970s.

## The Worker Pays All

It is a fallacy to say that a worker will pay 4% and his boss 4%. The boss will pass on his 4% in prices, and the worker/consumer will meet the bulk of the 8%. This is not called taxation, since Labour has promised not to increase taxes, but it is taxes under another name. The workforce will pay the 8% as a 4% wage cut plus a price rise equivalent to 4% of the total wage bill. In this respect the scheme is as inequitable as our society is in general. Nothing of the bosses' profits will be touched.

## Fifty Years On

In the Government's White Paper on this scheme various examples were given of the pension which might be received after 40, 45 or 50 years of

working life. This indicates that for the next 40, or 50 years the scheme will be gradually getting into gear, and will reach full flower in the year 2015 or 2025.

As a scheme to provide most people working now with a decent income in retirement this is an insult. You can't join if you are over 55 and if you are between 30 and 55 you will only get a part of a pension. It's a long time to wait until the scheme comes into full effect, and the waiting is unnecessary. A full pension scheme is possible in a year or two, if Labour really wanted to bring it in.

## No Certainty In What You Get

The money that goes into the individual accounts year by year will lose value as inflation continues. No one knows whether the interest earned by the Fund will be big enough to combat the loss in money value. Nobody knows when large doses of inflation will occur, but if they arrive just before a person retires, then the value of his individual account will be much less than it might have been. His pension will depend on what has been put in over his whole working life, and not on the value of money when he retires.

Another important fact overlooked by Doug Wilson is that there will be a deduction when a person retires, to provide for inflation after retirement. This will be assessed according to

how much inflation is expected over the years a person can expect to live. The idea is that he should not draw out of the fund anything more than he has in his account. That is the fundamental principle of this scheme - the individual account. Take the following hypothetical case: - "A" has in his account an amount which is equivalent to \$10,000 when he retires at age 65. Suppose inflation is 5% a year, or is expected to be that. Suppose too he is expected to be alive for 10 years after he retires, on the average life expectancy. If you pay him \$1000 per year (which would use up his \$10,000) it would not account for inflation of 5%. If you give him an extra 5% per year on \$1000, he will draw \$12,556 - i.e. more than he has in his account.

To keep him within the money in his account the scheme proposes that he have a lower pension, so that he will get less to begin with. He would thus start off on about \$790 per year, in order to pay for the rises he will probably have to get to counter inflation.

This is a severe reduction, and one that can only underline the uncertain future for a contributor to the fund. If inflation is more than 5% (as in recent years) the deduction would have to be larger than in the example above.

## Labour and Foreign Control

Doug Wilson makes a strong point of the money in the Fund being used to fight foreign control of companies operating in New Zealand. He indicates how money collected from New Zealanders by foreign financial interests, like the insurance companies, has been used in the past to build up other assets for these foreign interests. As he states, the existence of a state run superannuation scheme should cut down the money that has been flowing to these companies. To that extent they may not expand at the same rate in this country, and will not be able to continue to buy up the country at the same merry pace.

But insurance companies and the like are not the main overseas penetration. This comes most nowadays from the intervention of multinationals like Kraft, who want raw materials, and threaten to tie up some overseas markets which they have in their pockets. Or from Shell BP Todd, who bring their expertise to the Maui Gas Field at the price of \$2,500 million profit for themselves in 20 years. Labour is not standing up against these two recent examples of foreign intervention in NZ industry.

How likely is the Labour Government to take a stronger stand to future foreign companies that use the blackmail of markets or knowhow to get a piece of the action in this country? Labour can do this now. Money is not the obstacle, but the will and ability to take on the multination-

als. How likely is Labour to use the money to buy out the insurance companies, or the freezing works or Comalco? Doug Wilson must have an optimistic view of Labour's courage to suggest without any hint from the Government, that this is in fact their intention. He has a more likely argument when he suggests that new enterprises in New Zealand could be set up with heavy Government financial interest or full state control.

## Will the Scheme buy Socialism?

If the \$250 million that will go into the scheme annually is used to develop New Zealand industry, then it will be simply a subsidy for local capitalists. This may have minor side benefits for New Zealand workers, but their money will be going to increase the power of the owning class, and this is not usually considered a socialist strategy. Some of the money could go to building adequate health services and more schools. If so it would be a diversion of expenditure away from what the insurance companies would do with the money and so might bring welcome social improvements. But these social services do not earn money to pay the interest on contributions in the fund, and there would thus be less in the individual accounts.

Even if the money were used to buy ships, or build state industry there is no guarantee that these assets would not be sold at bargain prices by some member of a future National Government. Only an essential change of control in society can guarantee that state enterprises of this kind will continue to benefit the people. Labour has no such policy for essential social change. Any attempts to use the money for socialist ends are thus unpredictable, to say the least.

## What is the Alternative?

Given the will, Labour could bring in a much better scheme. This would not rely on individual accounts, but would pay a decent retirement pension, derived from the money coming into the scheme from people now employed. That is, the 8% paid by the working population would meet the outgoings in the pensions. This has been just about what has happened for public servants in their scheme over recent years. This scheme could be brought into full effect in a year or two.

From the Labour Government's point of view such a scheme would not give \$250 million a year for them to use in whatever way they intend. But it would bring in a decent standard of living for pensioners quickly and would enable pensions to be based on real wages at the time people retire.

As proposed, the scheme is concealed taxation of the work force, for some immediate benefit of someone unspecified, but not for the pensioner of today or of 20 or 30 years hence. It is a sad distortion of Labour principles to deprive the old because you are afraid to come out in the open and tax those who have plenty now.



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# PUTTING A POSITIVE EVALUATION ON MAORI IDENTITY

The submissions of the Maori Organisation on Human Rights to the Education Development Conference Part 2

The first need is to recognise that although New Zealand governments have always discriminated between Maori and Pakeha, such "assistance" should not be made "permanent" under the Race Relations Act because:

\*The Maori has succeeded in NZ society in spite of such assistance and Pakeha laws, not because of them;

\*Maori success is evidenced by the fact that NZ is increasingly recognised as a multi-racial society in fact, whereas till the turn of the century many "made no secret of their desire for the extermination of the Maori" (Cowan, NZ Wars, Vol. 2, p. 476); and by the fact that although this desire is still expressed today (as in late 1972 when the Tauranga County Council Chairman publicly predicted that the Maori will cease to exist in little more than a generation and we will all be just "sunburnt Kiwis") government statistics show that the Maori sector of the population is increasing roughly twice as fast as the Pakehas.

The crucial question is: how is this increasing Maori population to identify in our time? In 1973 -

\*on the one hand, we are told that under Pakeha law "offending could become the norm for Maori children rather than the exception" (Report on Juvenile Crime, Social Welfare Department, p. 41). Since the Hunn Report 1960 (Department of Maori Affairs) and the Report on Violent Offending 1971 (Justice Department) government statistics apparently still record rising Maori crime rates.

\*on the other hand, for the first time since the 1920s we have two Maori Cabinet Ministers - who have achieved this status on their own merit at a time when it is still practically impossible for a Maori to win election from a Pakeha Parliamentary constituency.

Why do many - perhaps most - Pakehas hear so much about the Maori crime rate

(though the rate is higher, the number of Maori offences is far smaller than the number of Pakeha offences) and so little about the causes of disproportionate Maori poverty today?

When disproportionate poverty (lower socio-economic status) is cited as possibly the main cause for offending, particularly Maori offending (Report on Juvenile Crime, pp 39-40), why was there no public concern about an overall doubling of NZ poverty when the overall NZ offending rate more than doubled in ten years: from 38.4 to 78.9 per 1000, 1958-1968?

Instead the overall rise in the NZ crime rate was usually discussed in the context of the rising crime rates in modern cities all over the "western world"; and the Report on Juvenile Crime notes that "Crime seems to increase with an increase in affluence".

Why do part-Maori New Zealanders in positions of authority and power usually identify with Pakehas more easily than with their Maori people (and indeed have often broken their links with their Maori people) - whereas part-Maori "offenders" under Pakeha law identify easily with the Maori although their degree of "Maoriness" has been questioned in government documents since the Hunn Report 1960 and is arbitrarily assessed (often based on police or "social welfare workers evaluation of the degree" - Report on Juvenile Crime, p. 39.)

There have always been well-to-do Maoris and part-Maoris in positions of wealth and power in NZ - just as there has always been mixed blood since the early days of European settlement. The doubling of surnames (for example: Winiata, Wynyard; Tregurtha, Tirikatene; Paraone, Brown; Porter, Poata; and hundreds more) bear witness to mixed ancestry and to the historical fact that Pakeha law required the Maori to have an English name at school but a Maori name to retain his title to his land.

Why is it that government statistics today list most Maoris as poor? How did the Maori come to be stereotyped by the reasoning that "the needs of the Maori people were less because their living standards were lower" (p. 90, Administration in NZ's Multi-Racial Society, Brookes & Kawharu, 1967) explaining why Maori unemployment benefits were lower than Pakeha rates in the early 1930's and why there were differences in Social Security benefits paid to Maoris until the early 1960s?

Most Pakehas could ignore Maori poverty so long as it was relegated to rural communities where the Maori was expected to die out and neglected by government accordingly.

But by the 1960s Crown policy on Maori land (See Hunn Report recommendations on increased Crown developments of Maori acreages, pp. 47-50) together with the increased labour requirements of urban-based industries since World War II had taken just over 50% of Maoris (over 60% of Maori youth) into the cities. In Pakeha cities the Pakeha could no longer ignore Maori disproportionate poverty.

Today it must be recognised that most improvements in Maori living conditions and status have been achieved at the insistence of Maoris - for example:

\*Reversal of Pakeha policies and legislation on Maori land, preventing Maoris from access to capital for the development of their land in a capitalist society. There is much still to be done (and much that cannot be undone) but improvements have been due to Maori leaders and Maori Cabinet Ministers from Sir James Carroll who in 1891, pressing for a more enlightened government policy, urged Maoris Kia mau ki to koutou Maoritanga, through the Young Maori Party with Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Maui Pomare, on to Sir Fruera Tirikatene and Matiu Rata today.

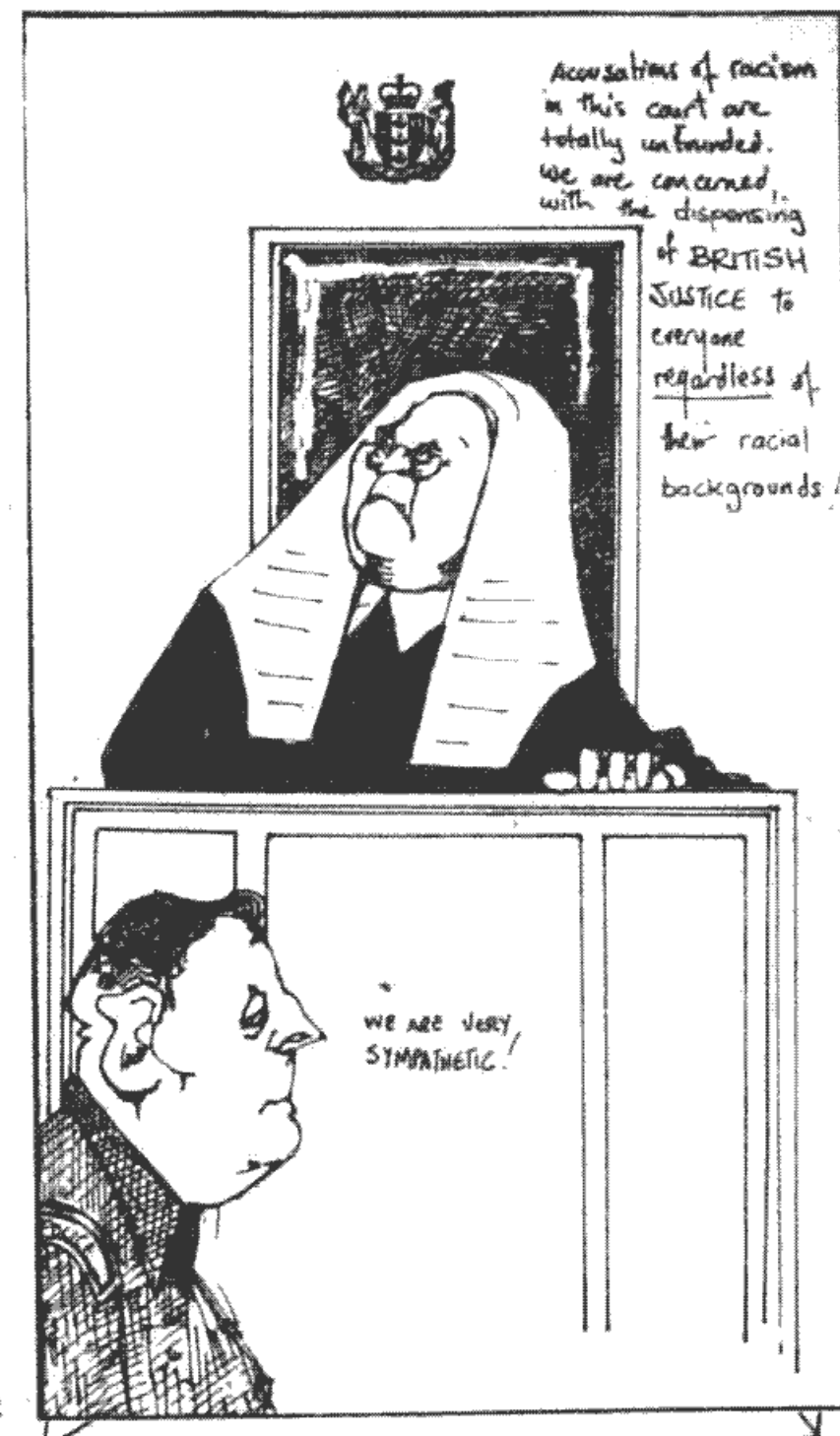
\*Reversal of the unsuccessful government policies (since the Native Schools Act of 1867 - see Sutch, Poverty and Progress in NZ, pp.68 &c) to Europeanise the Maori people through an education system which today has produced Te Huinga Rangatahi o Aotearoa (formerly NZ Federation of Maori Students) and Te Ra Nui o Te Reo Maori (National Maori Language Day - September 14), with Maori organisations (District Councils, Committees, Women's Welfare League, etc up to Nga Tamatoa) doing more than government to take action on government reports and provide Maori "offenders" with the representation they need in Pakeha courts.

When in 1972/73 the report Justice and Race (Nelson Race Relations Action Group) roused public discussion and an eminent lawyer (Jeremy Pope), an eminent economist (W. Rosenberg), even a Minister of the Crown (Dr Finlay) could argue that the "Maori crime rate" was due to "poverty rather than race" it became only too apparent that ignorance of our common history could lead to further gross mistakes.

Such ignorance can prevent cooperation between the races in the positive tide of improvement that is surging forward today. Many pakehas (often through inter-marriage) are becoming aware that the Maori, neglected by government in his rural poverty, had advantages he cannot find in Pakeha cities - better ways of handling personal relationships affecting the community's children, its old people, its "offenders", indeed ways which are much closer to the solutions Pakeha society is proposing for its problems in these areas today.

It is not a question of blame. And it is high time to stop blaming the Maori for his "disproportionate poverty", hightime that the Maori had equal opportunity with the Pakeha to control his own affairs and his own monies for the benefit of under-privileged Maoris. It is not a question of replacing Pakeha paternal assistance with Maori paternal assistance.

It is a question of mutual respect and co-operation on an equal basis with mutual understanding based on fuller knowledge of the lessons of our country's history.



The racism of the 19th century has earned world condemnation in the 20th century as genocide, cultural or otherwise, as institutional racism and as the cause of one of the great international issues of our time.

The Race Relations Conciliator is correct in asserting that New Zealanders generally are not equipped or educated to "give objective consideration to what is meant or conveyed by the word 'racism'".

But the term racism (especially since the emergence of Nazi Master Race theories erupting in World War II and still threatening the peace of Africa) is in common use in the world today. Lack of education or ignorance is no excuse for failure to consider it objectively. For example -

\*Why do some New Zealanders call a Maori Rugby team "racist" - but not a Welsh team, Scottish team, an English team, etc? Why not the Maori Battalion?

\*Why call Maori parliamentary seats 'racist' - but not Pakeha seats? (although the latter are increased by law on a population basis when Maori seats are still held at four)

\*Why fear a Polynesian radio station will be 'racist' or 'promote apartheid'? Why not the same fear for Pakeha/European radio or TV?

\*Why does the press still publish references to 'Maori wars' and 'Maori troubles' (for example with reference to large-scale street fighting among youth in Invercargill this year, or in write-ups of places of historical interest) when -

a) the nations or tribes of Europe have warred for 2000 years, dividing and re-dividing themselves into separate states generating in this century two world wars, Nazi master race theories, and human slaughter on a scale no Maori could dream of before contact with Europeans.

b) in New Zealand "the government was wrong in declaring war against the Natives for the purpose of establishing a supposed rights of the Crown under the [Waitara] purchase. It was, as Dr Featherston called it, an unjust and unholy war, and the second war was only the resumption of the original conflict...." Sim Royal Commission into Land Claims, 1926/27.

\*Why are some people 'surprised' - and this surprise is publicly recorded in the press - when Maori students do well and government trade trainees achieve excellent results and pass rates?

\*Why does government congratulate itself on training 400 in one year, when a Maori MP says the need is to train 4000?

Can people who so one-sidedly apply the term 'racist' and associate 'trouble' so



Matiu Rata M.P. in earlier days



one-sidedly with ethnic minorities understand how to replace the negative evaluation of Maori identity with a positive evaluation? Some may plead they already put a positive evaluation on Maori identity — for example:

\*The Maori is New Zealand's most valuable tourist asset — NZ Herald 23.1.71. (In 1971 the NZ tourist industry earned New Zealand \$36,000,000 in foreign exchange rising in 1972 to \$57,000,000. How far has New Zealand's most valuable asset shared in the benefit?)

\*"It should be appreciated that the availability of Maoris to do unskilled, semi-skilled, manual and labouring work has made an important contribution to the economy for many years, especially in such industries as meat freezing, fruit and vegetable processing, building, hydro-electric construction, roadworks, transport, bush operations and sawmilling.

"Had it not been for the Maori labour force, it is probably that we would have had to import large numbers of suitable workers as assisted immigrants." NZ Labour & Employment Gazette, Feb—Nov 1969, which also documents statistically the poverty gap between Maori and Pakeha workers.

To educate New Zealanders on the meaning of 'racism' and 'positive evaluation' the NZ education system could achieve much in a limited period by compensatory emphasis on two areas of history:

- 1) The comparative condition of British and Maori workers around 1840 onwards;
- 2) The origins of Maori poverty under British rule from the late 1850s.
- 3) Compensatory emphasis on this comparison is necessary because at Pakeha celebrations of the Treaty of Waitangi and in the tourist industry generally, the Maori is still emphasised mainly in the garb of the 1840's — which to some Europeans, still suggests 'savagery', lack of 'civilisation' etc.



Representatives of constituent organisations of Te Huinga Rangatahi O Aotearoa at the August conference: Nga Kuri A Whare, Te Huinga Rangatahi, Nga Tamatoa and Polynesian Panthers (Auckland).

We suggest therefore that the education system should remind New Zealanders that terms like 'savagery', 'uncivilised' were equally applied to workers in Britain by writers such as Macauley and Thomas Carlyle.

We should be reminded that New Zealanders who in 1840 wore "a suit of tatters" as described by Carlyle today appear in very different garb for tourists and at Waitangi. We should consider: if the Army wishes to take a place beside the Navy in 'New Zealand Day' celebrations at Waitangi, should it not appear in the garb of the 10,000 Imperialist British troops imported to fight the NZ wars or if not; should not Maoris appear in their modern garb of freezing workers, businessmen, truckdrivers, councillors, bank clerks, government public servants, etc.

We respect and treasure traditional Maori dress as part of our heritage, we respect its extraordinary fine workmanship from ancient times. We welcome the increased use of Maori design in Maori design in modern clothing.

We urge the education system to place compensatory stress also on fact by Eldson Best, such as: "The derelict

neolith before you was lifting a well defined trail when we were blazing our first rude path; he was ranging vast oceans spaces when we, with anxious hearts poled a rude dug-out across the raging Thames. When we bowed before blood-stained beer-swilling gods, he had evolved the concept of a Supreme Being of beneficent aspect, and that of the awe of the wairua, the refined wraith of the human soul...."

Best wrote this in his monograph The Maori School of Learning where he also wrote that the whare wananga, "that revered House of Learning has gone for ever" and the Maori "like the mea of his own land...is passing away".

But new forms of the whare wananga have been emerging in recent years. Like the Maori himself, such conceptions have not passed away.

2) Compensatory emphasis on the origins of Maori poverty under British rule is required to clear up confusion on the meaning of the term 'racism' and prevent the continuance of double standards in NZ law.

Within a limited period the NZ education system should ensure that all its pupils are in possession of facts such as the following:

\*Second-class status for Maori citizens of New Zealand despite Article 3 of the Treaty of Waitangi, was defined from 1845 in the instruction of Governor (Captain, later Sir George) Grey from Lord Stanley, British Secretary for War and the Colonies, ruling that "the degree of consideration to be given to these Maori subjects was to be modified whenever it came into conflict with the peace and welfare of colonists of European descent" (See Wards, pp. 382, 171-173 &c)

\*This attitude condoned European double standards towards the Maori system of land tenure which had been recognised under Article 2 of the Treaty so that Maori common ownership of land a) was used as the excuse to exclude Maoris from Parliament and the vote, and to drop legislation excluding chiefs which was

defeated in the NZ Upper House (See Miller, Maori and Pakeha 1814—1865, ed I.G. Sutherland, 1940)

b) was used to prevent Maoris from access to capital like Pakehas for the development of their lands, until the mid-1930s (see W.L. Rees, preface to From Poverty to Plenty, 1888; also The Maori Today, third edition, Maori Affairs Department, with reference to the representations of Sir James Carroll and The Young Maori Party)

c) but was ignored by Crown and settlers purchasing land from individual Maoris (see Rusden, Aureretanga, 1888, Miller Wards, Sutch, etc) even when such double standards led to the NZ wars.

\*Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi gave the Crown sole right of purchase of Maori land as a "safeguard intended to be for the benefit of the Maori" (Bruce H. Paton, solicitor of the Supreme Court quoted in Te Maori Vol. III No. 1, 1972). But in 1848 (See Wards, p. 388) Sir George Grey assured the British Colonial Office (Earl Grey) that the Maori —

a) "Would cheerfully recognise the Crown's right of pre-emption, and would in nearly all circumstances dispose of

Yes, well what I mean to say is that we shouldn't impose our standards on these people — I mean — they might be perfectly happy living in those old houses — ten to a room...

Yes — like back in the islands...



their surplus for a nominal consideration, even perhaps without payment, 'if the Compliment were only paid them of requesting their acquiescence in the occupation of these land by European settlers'. Excepted from this were those Maoris upon whose land settlement had been made before valid purchase, demonstrating the real value of the land which the Maoris then refused to sell for a nominal consideration. Grey's solution was for the Government to keep its purchases well in advance of settlement." (See Wards, p. 388).

b) In the 1850s "the Government was giving (the Maori) an average of 6d an acre for their land and was re-selling it from 5s to 10s an acre. The profit on these land transactions provided more than half the government's income" (See Miller, ed Sutherland, 1940)

c) "In the year 1859 we are told that there were in the whole of New Zealand 56,000 Maoris and 71,000 Europeans and a total revenue of 459,000 pound sterling.

"Of this sum only 15,000 sterling was allocated to native purposes and all the rest spent on Europeans.

"In the following year according to Sir George Grey, the amount spent by the government on the salaries of Europeans was 199,000 sterling, while the amount spent on the salaries of Maoris was 777 sterling..." (See Miller, 1966, pp. 132-133)

d) "When (Sir George Grey) arrived in New Zealand in 1861, he immediately began to prepare for peace and war at the same time...Even before he arrived in New Zealand, he interpreted Newcastle's instruction to introduce civil government among the Maoris by paying salaries to chiefly officials as an injunction to buy native allies..." (See Sinclair, Origins of the Maori Wars, pp. 240-241 - pub 1957, 1961)

e) After 1856 "for reasons of economy", the Land Purchase Department was amalgamated with the Native Affairs Department. And the "man who helped the Maoris would earn little public esteem, and would probably be abused as 'pro-Maori' but he who bought their land cheaply and in large quantities held a key to prestige and power. What the colonists at large valued, they would reward." (See Sinclair, p. 108)

f) On "the legal (but more lethal) warfare of land purchase" see Henderson, p. 8 and Sorrenson, Rusden, Cowan, Sinclair, Sutch etc.

The modern impact of double standards in prices for Maori and European land is still evident today and we will not attempt to do more than recall it by a couple of examples:

\*In 1973 the protest of Maori owners, near Waitahanui, Taupo, at the lower price for their lakeside land than for a Pakeha (relatively small) motel site, in a deal by their Trustee, the NZ Insurance Co, with the Crown.

\*In 1972 the protest of the Kereopa family at exorbitant rating of their land compared to nearby European land (See Te Maori 1972 for documentation on this and the Koroneff case).

\*In late 1972 the MP for Southern Maori (and present Minister of Tourism) drew

attention to the failure of the government's "Maori Trustee" to keep valuation and interests on Maori land under his control in line with rising values and interest rates for European land, etc.

\*The payment to Maori owners of compensation for unjustly confiscated land at rates much lower than the previous valuation of such land — for example:

The 1926/27 Sim Royal Commission awarded compensation at less than one seventh of the land value recognised by the 1880 Royal Commission (Sir William Fox and Sir Francis Dillon Bell).

The Sim Commission found that "although the Natives who took part in the second Taranaki War were engaged in rebellion in terms of the NZ Settlement Act, 1863, we think that in the circumstances they ought not to have been punished by the confiscation of any of their land..."

But in 1878 the NZ Government was anxious to market this Taranaki land in Australia in the belief that "it will place in the Treasury half a million sterling". (Hon Mr Macandrew, see Cowan vol 2, p. 477) — hence the government haste to survey it without regard for Maori rights or reserves, leading to the destruction of Parihaka in 1881 after two years of Maori passive resistance during which hundreds of Maori ploughmen and fencers were imprisoned without trial — and this injustice was also legalised by special Parliamentary legislation. (Refer 1966 Petition to Parliament for the honouring of the Treaty of Waitangi prepared by Rangi Makawe Rangitaura of Big Jim's Hill, Waitara, also a child at Parihaka).

It is clear from the publication dates of works we have quoted that the education system has an increasing wealth of documentation by historians to help in the task of breaking through the vicious circle of racial prejudice.

It is also clear from the current cases quoted in the daily press (and briefly referred to above) that New Zealanders urgently need to understand the lessons of their history in order to put a stop to the effects of continuing discrimination between Pakeha and Maori in land prices, rating, and the many other fields affecting socio-economic status.

The latest proposals of the Maori Minister of Maori Affairs, Matiu Rata, should help New Zealanders to see legislation such as the 1967 Maori Affairs Amendment Act and documents such as the 1960 Hunn Report in a clearer light. But they will only do so if the education system gives timely aid by compensatory emphasis on relevant facts.

Next week: The importance of understanding institutional racism and The confused values and double standards of institutional racism.



Late last year Victoria and other campuses erupted with a controversy about the rights of Malaysian Students in N.Z. The article below is a summary of the affair which was printed in *New Malayan Youth*; the London journal of the Malayan and Singaporean student movement. We reprint it mainly to acquaint those students who did not follow the controversy with details of what happened. Also, it shows the international nature of both the support of the students received and the condemnation of Jack de Silva.

## Jack De Silva Disgraced for Attacking Patriotic Malaysians in New Zealand

London, Oct. 31, 1973, NMY Reporter - The "Malaysian" High Commissioner in New Zealand recently raised a fantastic hue and cry about the activities of patriotic Malayan students in that country. The particular event which enraged Mr. Jack de Silva, the reactionary High Commissioner, was the staging of the 'Eastern Cultural Concert' in August this year by the Otago University Chinese Language Club. The concert which depicted the lives and struggle of the ordinary people in Malaya and North Kalimantan was well-received both by Malayan and other students in New Zealand, and was favourably complimented by several university newspapers. This praise-worthy endeavour by the students who sacrificed their time, energy and money to show their deep feelings for the Malayan people of all nationalities received the vilest attacks from the High Commissioner. Speaking separately to the T.V. and Press in New Zealand, he raised the obsolete bogey that Malayan students "are being exposed to subversive communist propaganda"; attacking specifically the cultural concert, he said that the various sketches of fishermen, hawkers, rubber tappers and padi planters of all nationalities were, incredibly, "playing on Chinese chauvinism". (!) Indirectly slandering China, he made the usual unsubstantiated allegation of "manipulation by a foreign power" on our students, and deliberately refused to specify further. Lastly, he announced his intention to "combat subversion of Malaysian students by armchair revolutionaries in New Zealand".

The issue in question is the democratic rights of the Malayan students in New Zealand, in particular, their right to organize and politically support the people. It is a characteristic today that our youth and students everywhere are experiencing a rise in their political consciousness, and this is an inevitable product of national and international developments. In New Zealand, the progressive sentiments among the Malayan students is particularly strong, and this is bound to crystallize into organized activity. About one year ago, the students got together to produce a progressive journal called "NEW

THOUGHT" to publicize the struggle of the oppressed people of all nationalities in Malaya. This year they have advanced further to organize an even more difficult undertaking, the cultural concert, involving much labour and sacrifices. It is, nevertheless, an exercise of their inalienable democratic right.

However, any organized activity by progressive youth never failed to alarm the reactionaries. For some time already, the reactionary Razak clique, through its High Commission, had promoted pro-government "Malaysian" student societies in New Zealand universities to divert Malayan students from politics generally, and progressive politics in particular. Just as in Britain, these puppet societies neither win students over to a pro-government position nor made them apolitical, leaving the High Commissioner himself to come out and openly attack the progressive students. By threatening to "combat subversion", he is denying the democratic right of the students to be political, and has arrogantly brought into a foreign country the fascist laws of the reactionary ruling clique of Malaya. This has aroused various sections of the democratic-minded people in New Zealand to support and defend the students' right to organize the concert unhampered by any foreign government. The President of the New Zealand University Students Association as well as the President of the Victoria University of Wellington Students Association both issued statements giving full support to the activities of the Malayan students as validly exercising their just political rights, and criticised the High Commissioner's anti-communist witch-hunt as "paranoid" and "acting beyond his normal diplomatic functions". The President of VUWSA wrote: "We have no hesitation in condemning Mr. De Silva's comments as unwarranted and unjustifiable interference in the affairs of VUWSA and its constituents, especially the affairs of Malaysian students in Victoria." The acting Vice-Chancellor of Victoria University whom the High Commissioner tried to woo over sharply rebuked him, saying that his hysterical outbursts "smacked strongly of the sort of intimidations to which New Zealand Universities

would not bow." This reputedly 'veteran' diplomat has made a complete fool of himself in the country.

The High Commissioner is flogging an issue which his masters in Kuala Lumpur have been doing for some time. Earlier on in February this year, fascist Harun attacked university students and lecturers as "subversives and anti-national elements", and he was followed on July 20 by fascist Razak again on the same theme. These scare-campaigns are directed at conscious student youth and intellectuals who are at the forefront of the present student upsurges; yet progressive student movements both at home and abroad continue to develop. The repressive measures of the reactionary Alliance government has brought to the fore the struggle for democratic rights and has raised the political consciousness of students so as to advance their struggles further. There are many examples to show this e.g. when the 8 progressive students were politically victimized by the reactionary High Commission in London, 2126 students signed a petition in support of their demand for democratic rights. Up to this day the issue is still alive among our enraged students who refuse to forget this injustice. These are the same London students whom Jack de Silva tried to suppress 3 years ago and miserably failed!

Jack de Silva has served as a counter-revolutionary diplomat in Saigon and London before going to New Zealand. Wherever he has gone, he has attacked the right of students to organize themselves politically but has failed miserably in his dishonourable task because he is resolutely opposed by young Malaysians who are determined to bring down the corrupt society that he and his ilk represent. The history of youth and student movement of various countries shows that they dare to defy even bullets and tanks in their fight for the democratic rights of their people. Noting this, a militant woman student quipped: "How can a jack-in-office\* cripple any conscious and determined student movement?"

\* A pompous or bullying petty official. - Ed. NMY.

## Ex-prisoner to speak at Vic.

"Andre, you must leave! You must leave in order to bear witness. You must leave in order to tell what you have seen in this prison, in order to tell of the tortures, the mis-treatment, the murders. You must leave in order to tell about the policy that aims at killing patriots little by little. All these things have been going on for decades and not a word gets into the newspapers. You must leave in order to tell your testimony. You will be the spokesman of the Vietnamese political prisoners locked up in Thieu's prisons."

This is what Andre Menras was told by his fellow prisoners in Chi Hoa jail in Saigon shortly before he was released after having served two-and-a-half years as a political prisoner in South Vietnam. Ever since that time he has been travelling the world, trying to raise the question of the large number of political prisoners still held in jail in Thieu's jails, over one year after the Paris Peace agreement.

Victoria students who may still doubt that the stories that have been coming out of South Vietnam, about the repressive nature of the Thieu regime, and about the situation of the political prisoners are true will have a chance to learn first hand about the situation when Andre Menras speaks in the Union Hall this Monday, March 25 at 12 o'clock, and again at a public meeting in the same place at 8pm.



The Thieu regime's ambassador in New Zealand has been forced very much on the defensive in recent weeks. It is not surprising, for he has the impossible task of trying to justify or explain away the numerous stories of the repression of his government. Andre Menras' visit will make many New Zealanders aware of the repressive nature of Thieu's regime. No wonder his man here is worried. Already he has tried to dismiss the things Andre has been saying as not worthy of listening to; simply because, in his opinion, Andre is "a well known communist sympathiser."

Students who are in doubt of the position must judge for themselves. But RAVPOC is quite sure that those who come to hear Andre will be convinced that despite the withdrawal of most of the American troops, the situation in South Vietnam is as bad as ever. Any peace that has been achieved so far is a peace built on the backs of thousands of Vietnamese still in prison, and a peace that those in this country who have long protested of this country's involvement in Vietnam can never accept with a clear conscience.

As a poem circulated among the political prisoners in Chi Hoa put it, expressing the hope of all patriotic Vietnamese, there is still a long way to go until:

*The day of our country's unity  
when north and south are joined in an  
ardent embrace  
that day our mountains and rivers will  
shine  
There will be no more children's tear,  
at night, in prison.*

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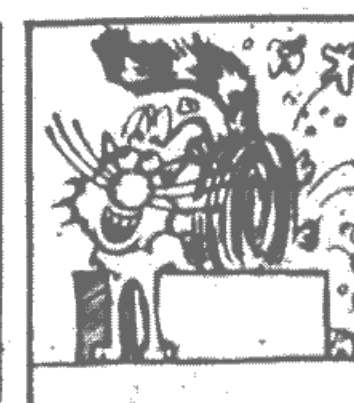
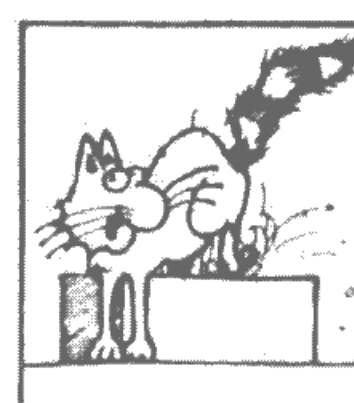
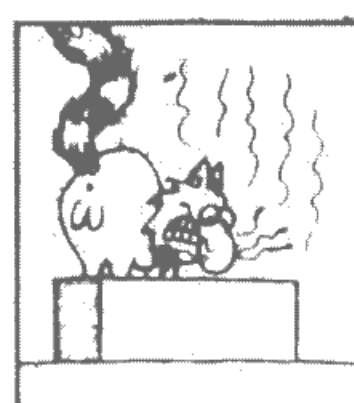
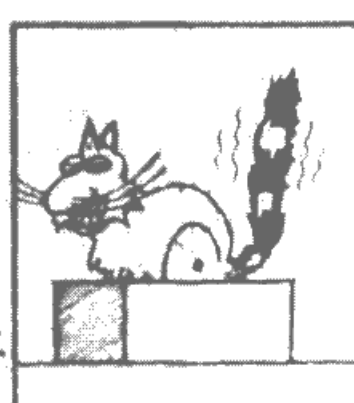
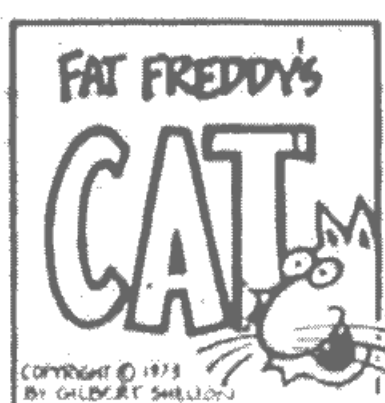
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# BANK OF NEW ZEALAND





# RIP-OFF NEWS SERVICE

## African students agitate

The All African Student Union (AASU, secretariat in Dar es Salaam) has set up a volunteer corps to work toward the liberation and reconstruction of those parts of the continent still under colonial or white minority rule. To further the aims of the new corps, AASU has developed close ties with various African freedom movements and the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

The continent-wide student body has also drawn up a number of projects in different regions of Africa which are designed to help students who want to contribute their share to social and economic development at the community level. But the community efforts are not to be divorced from the long-range goal of freeing the continent as a whole.

The new volunteer corps would assist the freedom movements, especially in the newly liberated areas, in the tasks of social reconstruction and rehabilitation. "We feel that this will give us ample opportunity to acquaint ourselves with the actual conditions in the zones where freedom fighters are in control," AASU spokesman Mxolisi Mxashe explained.

The new emphasis on "practical experience rather than rhetorical slogans" within the AASU is a result of the growing awareness on the part of many African students that certain complex problems of development and democracy still confront African societies after more than a decade of independence.

The majority of the African peoples have yet to taste the fruits of independence, the AASU frankly recognises, and the "root cause" in a distressing number of cases has been the series of military coups that have overthrown elected civilian governments. "The future of Africa can only be assured", the AASU spokesman stated, "through the dynamic involvement of the young in the common search for solutions to the continent's problems."

## Nazi death gas used in Vietnam

WASHINGTON (LNS) — Hydrogen cyanide, one of the world's deadliest gases, was used by the US Air Force in Vietnam according to recently released information. The same gas was used in the Nazi ovens and in gas chamber executions in California.

This previously concealed fact was revealed by former Air Force Sergeant Steve Hawkins who was in Vietnam during 1971 and 1972. Since his discharge, Hawkins has testified before Congressional Committees about the use of poisonous gas and various other tactics that he witnessed in Vietnam.

Hydrogen cyanide (HCN) is considered fifty times more dangerous than carbon monoxide and its use is prohibited by the Geneva Convention. The Air Force tries to avoid this ban by dropping bombs of two different chemicals that combine when they hit and cause a chemical reaction creating the HCN.

Hawkins' testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee was corroborated by Bill Amos, another veteran who had been a weapons specialist in Vietnam.

## Don't say I'm smart, say I'm beautiful

The Air Force now uses the term "precision-guided munitions" in place of "smart bombs" for fear the public will infer that other Air Force weapons are stupid.



## Fore! And watch out for land mines

Increased guerrilla activity in North-east Rhodesia has inspired a Salisbury golf club to add two new rules.

The first rule "allows a stroke to be played again if interrupted by gunfire or a sudden explosion". The second requires all golfers to carefully examine each green for land mines before putting.

## Poverty becomes tourist attraction

RIO DE JANEIRO (LNS) — A Brazilian tourist agency is making an effort to market misery as a consumer item.

The tourist agency, AGAXTUR, recently published a brochure for international tourists and rich Brazilians promising its clients "something different: the poor of the Amazon".

The ad went on to proclaim: "During this trip we will be able to witness something different, scenes that are a mixture of courage, drama and necessity." The agency makes it easy for tourists to enjoy the Amazon region, providing them with boat passage and even with plastic bags to protect "presents" they might want to throw to the people in the small villages along the shore.

"Such is the anxiety of the population of the riverbanks when the ship passes by. It is when they can get things like dresses, shoes, candles, matches, buttons, medicines, food, etc. In the fight for grabbing the objects thrown from the ship, generally in plastic bags, they risk their lives by confronting with their fragile boats the current and the waves produced by the ship.

"These people belong to a community very attached to their native place," the ad asserts, "without knowing anything, under the circumstances, about the luxury, the comfort and the facilities of the big metropolitan centres. For this reason, AGAXTUR counts on people like you."



## And they love watermelon too.....

SOUTH AFRICA (IT) — African workers at Bloemfontein will be identified by colour-coded hard plastic rings around their wrists. The rings are fitted by a special machine and are impossible to remove without a hacksaw.

The Bloemfontein town clerk denied that the system was inhuman since Africans "enjoy wearing brightly coloured armbands, ankle rings and neckbands."

## Bugs in the shit

PITTSBURG (APS) — A bizarre story has been emerging over the past few weeks from the Blue Mountains of Northeastern Pennsylvania where the ultra-right wing Minutemen maintain a "secret" training camp to prepare themselves for armed confrontation with communists and left wingers in general.

It seems that their camp has been bugged, and in retaliation, the Minutemen claim to have bugged the FBI.

The first listening device to be discovered at the Minutemen camp showed up two weeks ago when a member of the group ran a power lawnmower over what appeared to be a dog turd. It almost broke the blade of the mower.

The pile of dog shit turned out to be a tiny transmitter, capable of picking up conversations from 20 feet away and transmitting them some six miles. Upon close examination two other piles of dog shit with similar capabilities were discovered.

The Minutemen say the devices were planted by either FBI or Treasury Department agents (disguised as dogs?). Both these agencies deny that the devices were theirs, though they admit they've had the Minutemen under surveillance.

Despite orders not to talk about the incident from Minutemen chief Roy Frankhouser, one Minuteman told a reporter about tapes the Minutemen have made of FBI contacts with the Mafia and the Black Panthers. He claimed the FBI has been after the tapes, but is afraid to press the matter for fear that "we can blow their whole illegal operation."



## We couldn't have that, now could we?

WASHINGTON (ANS) — The General Services Administration recently explained how it justified expenditure of \$621 for an automatic ice-making machine for President Nixon's San Clemente estate.

A GSA official stated that the installation was necessary in order to prevent the President from being exposed to polluted ice.

## Guayakies exterminated in Paraguay

The Guayakie Tribe, now numbering 411, have found their land suddenly required for one of the world's largest hydro-electric power plants jointly under construction by Brazil and Paraguay.

These people have been dying out rapidly from disease and despair in conditions of semi-slavery because the tribe is actually scattered over thousands of square miles where they have practised an independent self-sufficient life — but have been subject to murderous attacks in retaliation for stealing occasional cattle or food crops — furthermore army officials have been buying them as slaves (houseboys) at a few pounds apiece up to only a year ago.

Paraguay is the only country in America where a pre-columbian language, Guarani, has survived the arrival of Europeans — and the country prides itself as having achieved the most harmonious relationship between Europeans and indigenous peoples of any country in the Western hemisphere.

## New apartheid ruling hits cats

SOUTH AFRICA (ZNS) — The latest racist ruling to be handed down in South Africa affects only cats and dogs.

The South African government has announced that the nation's SPCA will not be permitted to board animals belonging to non-whites in their kennels. People who are classified by the government as either "coloured" or "black" are now being informed by the Cape Town SPCA that their pets are not welcome.

The SPCA added that while mongrels owned by whites were still welcome, even pedigree dogs and cats owned by non-whites have been judged "unfit".

## Stiff Competition

MILAN ITALY (IT) — Milan's 80 funeral companies are engaged in a cutthroat battle for body rights. Doctors and hospital porters are being swamped with bribes from morticians who want to win customers.

In one case, a porter led a woman whose husband had just died to the car of one undertaker when she had already contacted another. The result was a high speed car chase through the streets of the city.

## The rich get richer

New York (LNS) — While the economic squeeze is on against most wage earners and small business people, the giant corporations enjoyed fantastic business profits during 1973.

Despite the dollar's sagging value, the falling stock market, and rampant inflation, Standard and Poor's Corporation Report for the first three months of 1973 discloses these sample figures:

- The Chrysler Corporation is not being slowed down by gas shortages: profits are up over last year by 150.8%;
- Honeywell, the company that makes many of the anti-personnel bombs for the Indo-China war has increased profits by 43.6%;
- Profits at EXXON, despite (or perhaps because of) the fuel shortage are up 43.1%;
- Crown Zellerbach's profits are up 197%;
- Weyerhaeuser's profits jumped 168.1%;
- Georgia-Pacific enjoyed a 89.7% profit increase.

## Napalm burns

There used to be just first, second, and third-degree burns. But now, thanks to "napalm", both fourth and fifth-degree burns have been added to the list.

The United Nations has just completed a 52-page report on the uses and dangers of napalm, and has concluded that two more-severe categories of burns should be added to the medical vocabulary.

First, second and third-degree burns involve heat damage to the skin only. But now, napalm causes burns even more severe than that: a fourth-degree burn entails damage to the skin and muscle, and fifth-degree burns is a napalm wound penetrating both skin and muscle and affecting the bone.

The United States is one of the few nations in the world opposing a UN resolution which would outlaw the use of napalm in war.

## Vonnegut burned in Dakota

MINNEAPOLIS (SWS) — About three dozen copies of Kurt Vonnegut's Slaughterhouse Five were burned in Drake, North Dakota recently on orders of the local school board.

The board, claiming to be "investigating a complaint by a student", decided at a special meeting that the book was profane and should be destroyed. School superintendent Dale Fuhrman reported that he then "gave the books to the janitor and he threw them in the furnace".

The board also scheduled destruction for James Dickey's Deliverance, and an anthology of short stories by Hemingway, Faulkner and Steinbeck after deciding that they too contained "profane language".

The books had been assigned to high school students by Bruce Severy, an English teacher hired this year because of his "cosmopolitan outlook".

Not only were the members of the board unanimous in their decision to burn the books and not to re-hire Severy, they were also together in their refusal to read any of the books in question.

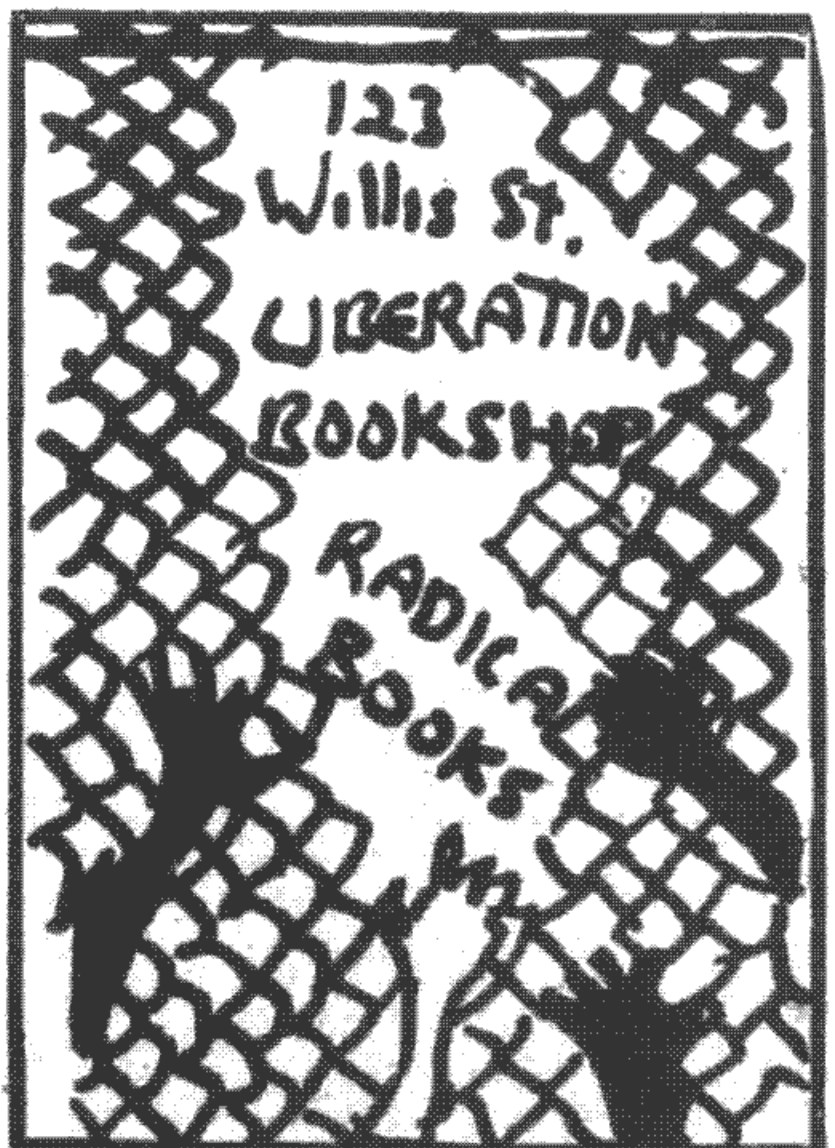


## And no masturbating either

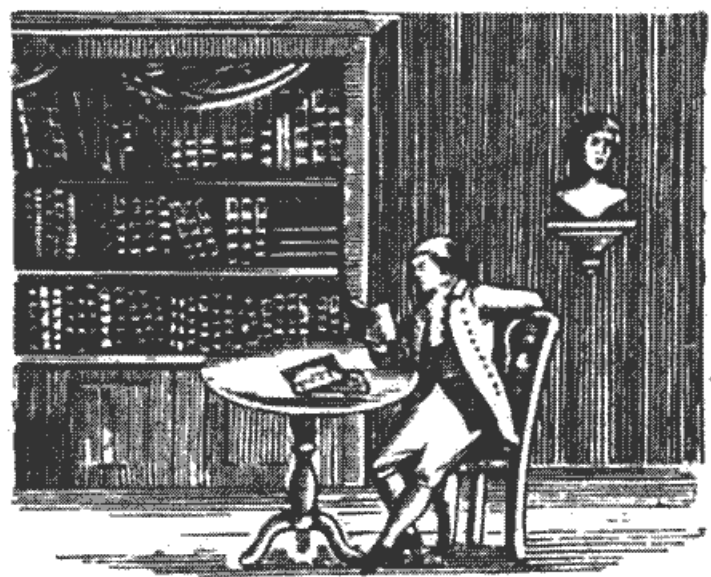
JAKARTA (Earth News) — The Indonesian Government has ordered all its government information officers to join the Boy Scouts.

By joining the Scouts, the Indonesian Minister for Information said, the information officers will be able to do their jobs better — presumably by making them more thrifty, brave, clean, loyal and reverent.

The Minister added that he has signed an agreement with the Scouting Movement guaranteeing the membership of his staff.







# BOOKS

## I.T.T.: Stronger than any state

*The Sovereign State. The Secret History of I.T.T.* Anthony Sampson  
Hodder & Stroughton, 1973. 275pp.  
\$6.80. Reviewed by Don Carson.

ITT is the stuff from which a drama could be written. All the elements are there; untold wealth and power to be pedalled and the fate of nations hanging in the balance. Anthony Sampson, the author of the excellent 'Anatomies' of Britain has now turned his attention to the people, the workings and history of ITT.

International Telephone and Telegraph ranks eleventh by sales in the multinational corporations that have developed in the western world this century. Most of them have concentrated on the United States but ITT is different. It began in Puerto Rico and never really found a home base, gaining its first major contract in Spain, spreading through Europe and only more recently concentrating in the United States. ITT is also a conglomerate which means that it deals in items as diverse as communications, hotels, insurance, housing, education, food, printing and car hire.



CHAIRMAN & PRESIDENT GENEEN  
Growth, growth, growth.

Sampson traces the development of ITT from its origins at the hands of the buccaneer entrepreneur Sosthenes Behn. Born in the Virgin Islands when it was a Dutch colony, Behn had a Danish father and French mother: suitably multinational. He utilised his communications systems not only to make profit but as an intelligence gathering network. Information gained from eavesdropping was used to anticipate and pressure governments from Spain to the Argentine. In Germany ITT collaborated with the Nazi leaders. Behn frequently met with Goering and Hitler even during the war years. Focke-Wulf,

the aircraft manufacturers were 28% owned by ITT through a subsidiary. In 1967 ITT received \$27 million in compensation from the US Government for damage to Focke-Wulf plants by Allied bombing.

Of course there were many who were suspicious of ITT, even in those early days. Antitrust legislation was passed in the United States in 1934 specifically directed against the expansionist, monopolist tendencies shown by ITT. The FBI also kept tabs on ITT and US government data on the company is incredibly extensive, gleaned from surveillance and Senate and Judicial hearings. It is this unique knowledge which has been extensively used by Sampson in his book.

After the war was over for Hitler, Behn rapidly rebuilt his shattered ITT empire in Germany, even as the fighting continued. He was awarded the medal of merit by the US for his technical contributions to the allies war effort. In the social and political upheaval that followed the war ITT played a manipulatory role. In Hungary some of its agents were caught and were executed by the government. Meanwhile ITT employed a combination of fraud and its old boy network to attempt to pressure the Canadian, British and US governments into an Atlantic cable scheme. Sampson comments on these adventures, "the operations in Budapest and London were of course of quite different kinds; but both suggest that the companies own diplomatic and intelligence services were more effective, and more ruthless, than those of the Western nations it dealt with."

Sosthenes Behn retired at a ripe old age and the hierarchy of ITT needed a replacement for this remarkable individual.

From Raytheon came Harold Sidney Geneen. Sampson is infatuated with the character of this man and thinks of him as some combination of Captain Ahab, a spider and a master accountant, often making Geneen indistinguishable from his company which apparently is in turn a combination of white whale and elephant. Behn was the creator of ITT; Geneen the builder who reads accounts as a hobby. He is the only man aware of how the vast organisation fits together and is maintained and he constantly manipulates both businessmen and politicians for ITT. Nader described him as being more interested in power than profit.

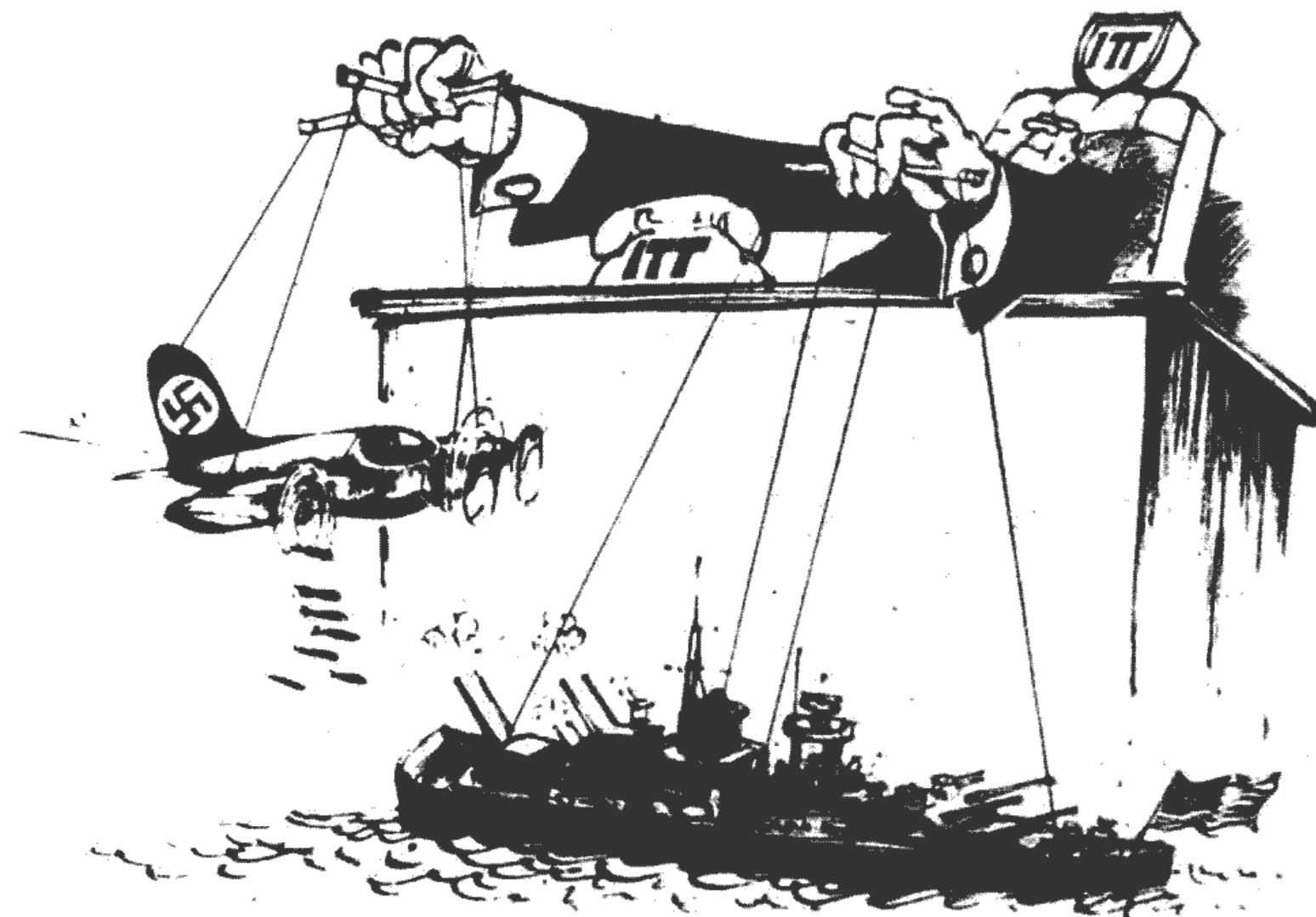
Profit however is the means of his power. At this level of activity profit becomes more of an abstract identity, takeovers are achieved by offers of ITT stock, termed "Chinese money" and the profit announcements to shareholders show a remarkably steady increase by turning assets into profit as needed. This process is called "Hot pants accounting". Accounting has become for ITT a branch of creative writing.

ITT is thus a secret outfit that reveals only what it wants to reveal. A vast army of public relations men lobby throughout

the world to present ITT and ITT's interests in the best possible light. This means of course, one thing in one place and quite another somewhere else. In an anti-trust case ITT was a provider of capital to a company in local investigations but incredibly at the same time ITT personnel were saying in Washington that ITT needed the capital from this company to compete overseas.

Such duplicity does not survive within ITT. When Geneen took over he was horrified at the lack of reports or checking. Geneen's paramount demand is that he wants "no surprises", every economic trend in the world must be anticipated for ITT's super planning ethos. Planning, reports and Big Brother Geneen create amazing tensions. Sampson describes the look of ITT executives as "shellshocked", but because of the huge salaries few want out. Geneen, who is the highest paid executive in the US himself, has "got them by their limousines".

Only recently have much of the workings of ITT become public beginning with the Republican party convention scandal in 1972. Geneen promised underwriting



money to the GOP for their San Diego-convention, ostensibly to help promote an ITT subsidiary hotel there. The convention fell through but ITT had an anti-trust suit against it dropped by the Justice Department a matter of days afterwards.

The scandal burst. Top Nixon underlings were implicated in the deal worked out between ITT and the Justice Department. H.R. Haldeman, Erlichmen, Dean, Stans, Mitchel, Agnew, Colson and Kliedenst all had some role to play.

The characters that Sampson prefers to bring out are not Nixon's functionaries though but Geneen's. Felix Rohatyn and Andre Meyer of Lazard's bank, Ned Gerrity the PR man, Bergerac of ITT in Europe, the Washington chief Merriam and the lobbyist Dita Beard. Mrs Beard was at the centre of the Republican Party scandal,

one of only three female executives of the three thousand that ITT employs. It is these people that Sampson dwells upon as he uncovers ITT inextensive detail. It is the personal emphasis that makes the book highly readable, that makes it indeed drama.

One rather recent act in the ITT play concerned the election of the late Salvador Allende to the presidency of Chile. ITT had extensive interests in Chile and feared losing them so first of all a rival candidate was backed and then when Allende was elected by popular vote ITT plotted to have him overthrown before the congressional elections. John McCone, a former head of the CIA and now an ITT executive, met with Nixon men such as Haig and worked out elaborate plans to have the Chilean economy thrown into chaos and the Allende Government discredited. Geneen talked about "freedom dying everywhere" in reference to Chile under Allende: he is no doubt pleased with the junta.

ITT is quite prepared to deal in the Soviet Union though which says a great deal for both ITT and the USSR. When the full extent of ITT's dealings in Chile became public Allende nationalised ITT's enterprises in Chile without compensation and ITT's insurance claim in the US failed to get redress there either.

It is the personal emphasis that makes Sampson's book highly readable. ITT is a state itself, peopled by ITT nationals who live a sort of ITT land, they live in Sheraton Hotels and Levitt homes, eat Wonder bread, insure with Hartford Insurance and drive Avis cars, they rarely need to leave the ITT or ITT subsidiary life. In Sampson's eyes this makes ITT an archetype or at least some sort of new breed. The old financial empires like JP Morgan's or Rockefellers were relatively 'good'. Corrupt perhaps on occasions but certainly responsible and usually accountable. ITT is one of a select group along with such con-

glomerates as Gulf and Western and Ling-Temco-Vought, they are accountant's creations, based on mergers and takeovers not development.

Sampson thinks that only national governments can stop such monsters as ITT. He thus draws back from the conclusions that his data would strongly indicate. That is, the multinational corporations are too big even for the strongest government. Incredible pressures are brought to bear on personnel in government no matter how well intentioned they are; many finish up working for ITT. Revelations subsequent to Sampson's book show that the pressures on the Justice Department to drop the anti-trust case included Nixon himself. Arhcbald Cox said after his dismissal as the special Watergate Prosecutor that the most important secrets at the top of US government were related to ITT.

ITT, like Nixon, is embroiled in scandal. Both could find themselves sacrificial lambs to the ethic of capitalism. Being found out was their wrongdoing, for there are many other equally infamous imperialists who are still getting away with their crimes. Sampson does not see that only the people affected by the activities of companies like ITT can stop them, be they Chilean peasants, workers in South Africa where ITT is rapidly expanding, or ITT employed journalists forced into prostitution. *Sovereign State* is thus a narrative, a drama of power and manipulation in one organisation. It is an incisive and very readable study but its lessons must be drawn in a wider context.



MONTHLY MEETING OF INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH EXECUTIVES IN BRUSSELS



**Whose Heaven, Whose Earth?: Thomas and Marjorie Melville. Pocket Books. 274p. 1973. Reviewed by Colin Feslier.**

*If you do away with the yoke,  
the clenched fist, the wicked word,  
if you give your bread to the hungry  
and relief to the persecuted  
your light will shine in the darkness  
and your shadows will become like noon.*  
—Isaiah 58: 9–10.

800 years after that was written, Jesus Christ preached his message of love. The poor were still bound to the yoke of slavery, oppressed, maligned and starved. 2000 years later, Christians who bother to look will see much the same situation in Africa, Asia, South America, and, yes even here in New Zealand.

For the first time in our 2000 year history however, we Christians are faced with an alternate philosophy which has proved extremely effective in freeing the oppressed — not only does it “proclaim liberty to captives” but it creates the situation and the awareness in which the oppressed can free themselves. This is what Pope John XXIII spoke of when he said “who can deny that these movements, insofar as they conform to the dictates of right reason and are interpreters of the lawful aspirations of the human person, contain elements that are positive and deserving of approval?”

These people are Marxists, and it would seem that thoughtful co-operation with them is well in keeping with Church teaching.

*Whose Heaven, Whose Earth?* is the story of two people, a nun and a priest who attempted to put the teaching of Isaiah, Jesus and the Pope into practice and found themselves thwarted by the Church authorities in Guatemala.

It tells of their gradual alienation from the mainstream Church and of their transformation from Father Thomas Melville and Sister Marian Peter, priest and religious, conservative, rabidly anti-communist Catholics into Marjorie and Tom Melville, married, excommunicated and revolutionary Catholics, imprisoned for burning draft files in Cantonville, USA.

Father Melville began his religious life as a seminarian in the Maryknoll seminary. He recalls that they had television installed so that they could watch Bishop Fulton J. Sheen and Senator Joseph McCarthy's Senate Subcommittee. McCarthy, he recalls “became a big hero to most of us”. Sent to Guatemala, he became the instigator of a “land reform” programme which involved the transportation of peasants to more fertile areas where the land would be farmed co-operatively. Finally he realised that his programme would basically change nothing — only a few peasants would be allowed to move and the rest would remain as before — enslaved on the big plantations. Worse still the project was being used by the government to convince the liberal factions of the

US government that they were doing something to ‘destroy poverty’.

Sister Marian was a teacher in a school for the daughters of the Guatemalan upper class. Gradually she became aware of the hypocrisy and self-deception this involved. Outside people were starving. Inside she taught the daughters of those who starved them to become the wives of those who would starve their children.

She too, tried reforms, she set up a free school for the children of the poor. Like Father Melville she realised that this was doing nothing more than treat the symptoms of this oppressive society and that some sort of assault on the system itself was needed. This point was made especially clear when the school authorities built a fence around the free school to prevent the “contamination” of the wealthy girls.

Eventually Tom and Marian met and dedicated themselves to building awareness of this need among their fellow clergy and religious. They also worked among Catholic university students, and it was through them that they came in contact with the Guatemalan Liberation Front, a guerrilla movement operating in the urban areas of Guatemala.

Sister Marion was the first of the pair to join the guerrillas, and she convinced Father Melville of its value. Their involvement was discovered at an early stage and they escaped through Mexico to the USA where they were imprisoned in 1968 for burning draft files.

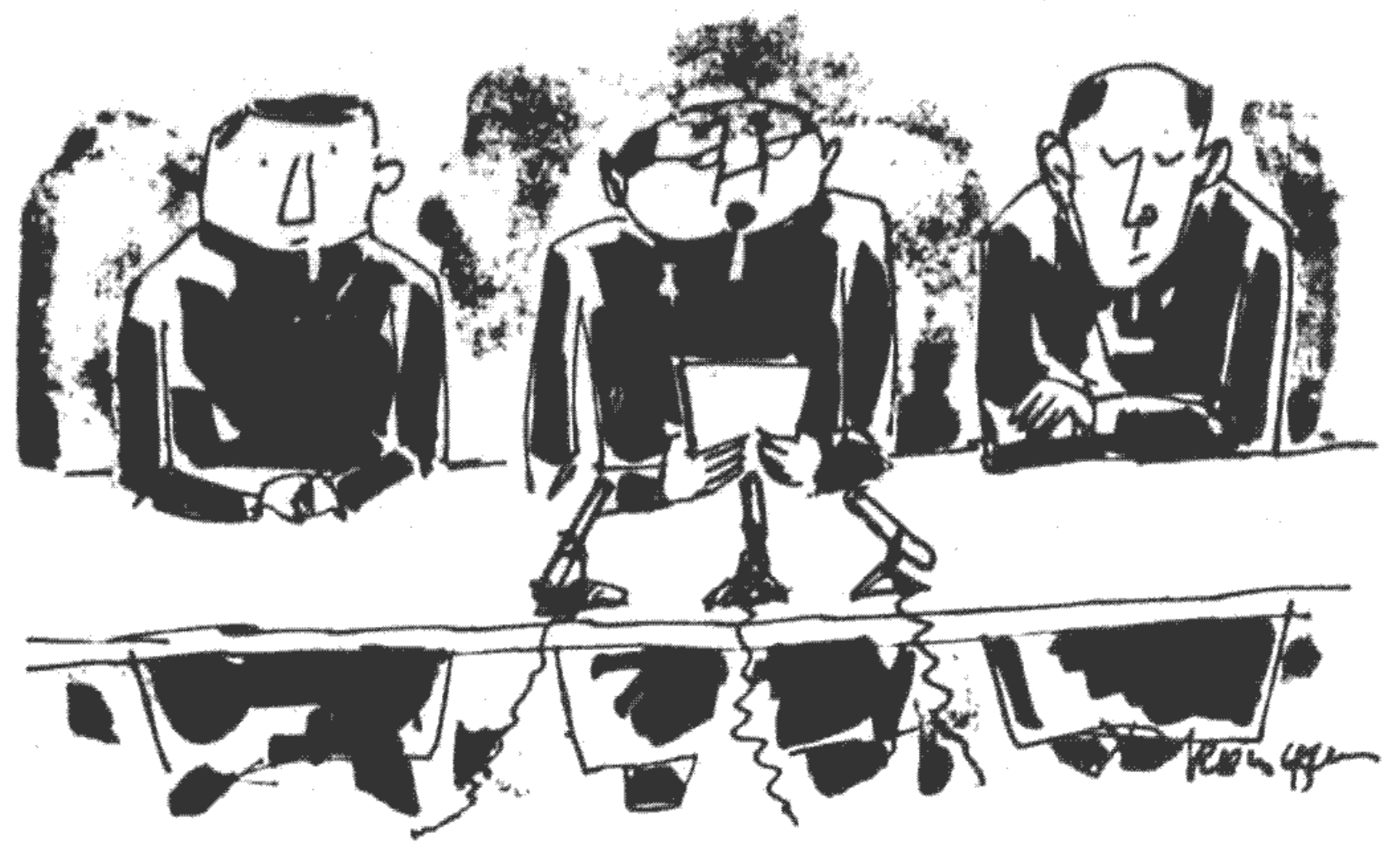
They planned (indeed they may have done so) to return to Guatemala to continue their fight for a people's right to be human.

I have my doubts, however about the advisability of violent revolutionary activity at the time they employed these tactics. The peasants and workers' understanding of their situation was, and is now, at a low level. Any movement such as theirs, based around intellectuals, is doomed. Without the support of the masses, no one can wage revolution and any attempt to do so leads to an intensifying of oppression so that any educational work accompanying the revolution becomes impossible. Hence, in the long run, it must be seen that their actions favoured the status quo.

Nonetheless, this book stands as a powerful indictment of those Catholics who ignore the message of Christ and the Church in calling on people everywhere to fight for an end to injustice and exploitation in all its forms. It was the failure of these people to do this that drove Tom and Marjorie to the extreme actions they involved themselves in and it is these people, ‘Christians’ who support the status quo who ensure the persecution of Christianity in any country where our Marxists brothers and sisters lead the people to revolution.

*“A Catholic who is not a revolutionary is living in a state of mortal sin....”*

Father Camilo Torres



*“Since we are looked up to as moral leaders, and since it is our responsibility to guide the faithful, some of us have decided, after six years of deliberation, that the war may be immoral.”*

**Fretful Sleepers and Other Essays: Bill Pearson. Heinemann Educational Books. Reviewed by Noel Gledhill.**

There are two types of critics of NZ literature: the creative and the analytic. The creative critic faced with a work, void of quality, wit, ideas, originality, in short anything but words, tends to read and write things into the work, that the original author was unaware of, and praise or damn it in terms of strengths and weaknesses that it doesn't possess. A refinement of this method is to head up an essay on a particular author or work and then subtly ignore the official subject and discuss instead the critic's favourite hobby-horse. This method is legitimate, except that competent creative critics would tend also to be competent creative writers and as the number of living genuine creative writers in NZ can be counted on the thumb of one hand, most creative critics end up sounding pretentious or ridiculous.

The analytic critic however does something quite different. He approaches his subject honestly, and attempts to analyse the work and highlight its qualities and weaknesses. This sounds commendable in theory, but in practice it rarely succeeds; the poverty of NZ literature means that the analytic critic rarely rises from being dull.

Mr Pearson is of the analytic type and strangely enough manages to avoid dullness. His book is a collection of his reviews of NZ books, essays on aspects of NZ life and tributes to Winston Rhodes and James Baxter. The pieces have been written at various times between 1952 and 1973. The point of placing book reviews between hard covers is dubious. Reviews are ephemeral things and should not be placed like dried pressed flowers between a books pages. Some of the reviews cover works equally ephemeral, though there is some sensible reviewing of works by Shadbolt, Duggan and Hilliard. The tone of these reviews however are dictated by conditions that are no longer relevant. The reviews are included presumably to enable the three or four essays that provide the worth of the book to be published in book form.

The most important of the essays is the title one, “Fretful Sleepers”, which as its subtitle indicates is “A Sketch of NZ Behaviour and its Implications for the Artist”. That it was written in 1952 make one wary of it; that its comments and conclusions on the NZ way of life are chillingly relevant is an indictment that NZ's essential character has changed, developed or grown little in that time.

Mr Pearson condemns the average NZ adult life for its conformity, its narrowness and lack of rich emotional experience. The New Zealander is one who “has made the grade by doing violence to himself, by sneering at his impulses and illusions” and for whom “the evil is to disagree or be different”.

It is the New Zealander whose life

revolves around his mates and the pub, who fears intimacy as an act of disloyalty to the mates, who distrusts and represses his private feelings and sensitivity, thereby destroying his capacity for spontaneity, imagination or joy, leaving himself only the security of other cultures and an arrogant ethnocentrism. This essay is an important one and is obviously far more extensive than this brief summary permits. It is also written in a coherent, direct style that passes occasionally into the sublime: “Any platform statement in NZ is suspect: the orator is only emptying his lungs to fill an occasion.”

There is another extremely important essay, “Under Pressure to Integrate”, discussing the situation of Maoris in 1962. This again is relevant to the present in its essence, but its arguments are backed up by many facts and figures and it is more than a little annoying to find the author continually justifying himself in terms of figures from 1960 or even 1957. One wishes that he had spent a little time revising this essay for the purposes of a 1974 publication, rather than leave it as it is, 40% outdated statistical fact and 60% truth. I can't summarise the essay any better than Mr Pearson does in its final chapter which is quoted here almost in its entirety.

“The way of life we have been trying to “integrate” on to the Maoris is a spiritually impoverished version of a deeply anxious, individualistic, and often sadistic (and dirty-minded) Euro-American culture. If instead of forcing them into our uniform, we would allow Maoris to be themselves, we could at once rid ourselves of our intermittent worry about what we are “doing for the Maoris” and at the same time, they could enter more confidently into bi-racial New Zealand activities to our enrichment.”

The other writings in this book revolve also around these three themes, NZ life, NZ literature and the racial question, or takes them on two or three at a time. Mr Pearson does in a minor way for NZ what George Orwell did for England, looks at us without affection, but clearly and without sentiment, illusion or doctrinal blinders.

As Associate Professor of English for Auckland University he also provides a superb though unintentional piece of irony, which we shall in our resentment aim at the clowns responsible for Victoria's English Syllabus:

“In a time when this years novel is on next year's course, it is perhaps not easy to imagine a time when (since the English course stopped at 1910) students were grateful to a lecturer who put on voluntary courses on ‘modern’ literature”

The book on the whole is well worth reading, especially the two essays mentioned above, but since much of it would only be of value or interest to a student of NZ literature, whether it is worth paying \$6 for a copy is not something I intend to pass judgement on.



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# DRAMA

*Wait And See The End (W.A.S.T.E.):*  
Downstage Theatre from March 8.  
Written and directed by John Banas  
(with Nonnita Rees). Reviewed by  
Martin Edmond.

This is committed theatre. If, as one of the characters says, "Integrity is no longer to the point, not since politics became an art-form", the theatre might as well take a political question as its subject matter and treat the theme politically. Which is what happens in W.A.S.T.E., if you accept that pollution is finally a political question. And in treating the theme in this way, the theatre may even salvage a little integrity for itself — the integrity that comes from a coherent, if generalised statement of the problem. It is a production terribly aware of the dangers of an explicit political theme and position — that our present social and economic system cannot help but pollute and finally destroy the environment that should sustain us. By dangers I mean what happens to 'art', what happens to entertainment, most important, what happens with an audience expecting one or the other or both? Edmund, a professional campaigner against environmental abuses, knows that when he lectures, the only people who stay to listen are those who left their banners in the foyer; they already have their badges on. Well, no one left, and I saw no banners or badges. The dead silence which greeted the finale was, I suppose, another kind of tribute.

The play is contained in the framework of a small fable or allegory. It is told by the narrator in his opening routine — "What would you, the audience, think, if you came to the theatre and saw this...?" And it is exactly what we did see, enacted, at the close.

The praise goes up, the money comes down, while Hitler orates and a grotesquely fat, masked figure grins and sways above his minions. What is contained within this framework is the invocation of a corrupt and poisoned society, and the end of that society. It scarcely needs to be said that this society is ours. We are those people. Even if you miss it, the displays of quantified rubbish, the charts of waste and poverty and death in the foyer make it obvious. It is impressive how complete the invocation is. This is partly due to the sophisticated use of television. That medium is so good at building an image of a world beyond, or behind, to which the TV screen itself is the only access. It is a world of news broadcasts, political speeches, advertising, secret police and secret warnings. And, as if that were not enough, two excellent film sequences, by John Reid, extend the theatre still further. The first piece, reminiscent at times of Godard's "Week End", shows a journey through a nightmare city. It took me a while to realise

that I was seeing shots of our own Wellington: it takes even longer to recover the safe 'normal' view of the place.

The second film sequence left me with the most memorable image of the evening. A woman deliberately, slowly rubbing herself with her dead husbands plague-infested rags. She is killing herself, while behind, in full gloss colour, runs film of herself, her husband and child, in their garden, laughing. If you are going to have 'ordinary people' in a scheme like this, it is necessary, at some stage, for the audience to identify with them. Which was probably the most difficult task of all, and was handled least successfully. The narrator figure is continually playing with the audience, neutralising their responses, turning them back on themselves. I think the simple humanity of the two couples is meant to come through all this. It doesn't always, but it does this one time, very powerfully.

Of course, the four people are themselves implicated in the processes that lead to chaos, to death — Edmund, played by Craig Ashley, as the anti-pollution campaigner; Jacob (Peter Hayden) as a high-up PR and advertising executive; and their wives. Nevertheless, as much as they are responsible for the crash, they are victims of it; the same is true of us all. The one figure who does seem to escape the consequences is the narrator, the news broadcaster, the trickster figure. He entertains, but harangues the audience for their need for entertainment; his game-playing is itself a game. The gadgetry is his, the play, and the theatre. Not surprisingly, he is played by John Banas. But as Mr Moneybags he is finally in the pay of Bolus, the dictator. I was disposed to find him a metaphor for a personification of, the theatre itself; I'll resist the temptation.

There is also, focused on him a kind of desperate inability to halt the whole horrible process; a quality the play radiates. As when you tell someone with all the intensity you can muster something you feel is dreadfully important. And they say yes, and smile. You try and neutralise that response, get them to see what you're really on about. All the gadgetry, all the game playing, is aimed precisely at this — to strip away the false and easy responses, to communicate directly the urgency, the absolute necessity of crying halt to the poisoning.

So where does it leave you? First of all, with an excellent piece of theatre, tight, controlled, economical and very powerful. Technically, it is superb — there is throughout the play subtle byplay between screens and characters, actors and characters, people and voices: and some obvious parallels with guerrilla theatre. But did it strike home? Somewhere near the end what Wilfred Owen said came into my mind:

"All a poet can do today is warn". I made a point of examining the faces around me, as soon as the lights came on. Despite the silence, the absence of applause, I think the food, the wine, the coffee, was still sitting comfortably. I think, and this is not necessarily a criticism of the play, that many people accepted the concern, told

themselves and each other that they shared it; and rejected the implied solution — that the economic and political basis of this society must be changed. But I suppose it is possibly some more badges will be bought, and some more banners painted. Everyone already believes in some form of conservation anyway. If you want to be jolted out of the complacency of that belief, if you are prepared to imagine, fully, what the crisis will be like when it comes, go and see W.A.S.T.E.

# POEMS

## a religious experience

where we once saw a man vanish  
and the cars stand on weekends  
backed-up over the hill  
a red bus failed to brake  
at the turn coming up from the beach  
and Mrs Rokosi finally met  
the God she used to call on  
for authentication  
in front of nine primers  
from the School for the Blind  
generally considered  
a great mercy  
and a sure sign

D.S. Long Christchurch

## To Rest in Peace

Leave me alone  
I have come much too far  
My bones were not so hard  
That I could dare this road  
Leave me alone.  
You thought I knew, that  
I understood your pain  
That I'd someday come again  
Well I've failed and that's a shame  
But you've not right to drag me on  
Leave me alone.  
I am a symbol nothing more;  
Remember what I came here for  
I thought that God would help me out  
Well I was wrong.  
You put my words into a book  
You praised the torture that I took  
But then you all began to doubt  
When it took so long.  
I was a mortal, merely man  
I was not there when time began  
My power came from you alone  
When you had faith.  
Leave me alone!

—Marty

## Two Years Inside is what They Need

At age of fifty-four, he found  
His life not what it once had been;  
The time had passed, he saw at last  
Ambitions were an idle dream; as if  
(To answer for himself) the opportunities  
Were too unfair for such as him  
And gentle anonymity  
Left mind unused and spirits dim.  
Not that his time remained ill-spent;  
He taught, he fought with miscreant lads  
To bend their brains or make a dent  
In stubborn indifference to English and French  
To justify, each year, to them  
And once more to himself again  
That what they learnt was vital lore  
to turn them into upright men.  
And in this way, from day to day,  
The years had plodded on bereft  
Of hope, indeed enlightenment;  
Unmarried, unloved, nothing left.  
He'd heard the jokes on dirty men  
Of lewd scoutmasters' roving eyes  
But as the bells went, now and then  
The notion in his mind would rise —  
He'd squash it straight away  
A Protestant, right-thinking man  
Who'd trained himself to close his mind  
When evil thoughts, like snakes, began  
To eat away his soul. Yet in the end  
Dave found he was not quite as strong  
As many years before; a boys' school education  
Far too long  
Had fed his isolation all the more.  
So one day he was pensioned off  
And rumours flew around the school  
How Smiley Andrews had been caught  
For actions at the swimming pool  
Which members of 3B had thought  
In retrospect, they should report.  
Old Andrews, fifty-four, was charged  
And brought before the bar confused  
His shame a punishment beyond  
The mercy that he'd been refused.  
"This Court would fail" the Judge intoned  
"Protection of our youth.  
Men like you should be iniquitate sic  
Law 'n order, shame forsooth  
Disgusting, man in your position  
Only one thing we can do  
Report at once to your physician  
We're going to put you in our zoo  
There's hundreds of others just like you  
Homos perverts poofs and queers  
Best thing we can do for you  
Homos perverts poofs and queers  
Is lock you together  
Two years locked together  
All have fun together  
And then you'll be right again."

If you have any poems, short stories  
etc, Salient will be glad to consider them  
for publication.

## Next Week from the Children of God?

SUGGESTED DONATION 15c — PLEASE PAY UP  
"JESUS SAVES!" — BO January 21, 1974  
No. 6001 — GP.

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Crud, Box 31 W.C.D.O. London WC1A 1oe, England  
or Box 119, Dallas Tx. 75221

1. WHILE I WAS MAKING LOVE THIS MORN-  
ING A STRANGE THOUGHT CAME TO ME! (It  
is funny that these thoughts often come to me  
when I make love! — It is almost as though God  
makes it happen then, at that time — you know —  
that he sort of knows it was a Good Thing to be  
doing — See! — He approves of it!)

2. THIS WAS A VISION THAT COMES TO ME  
WHILE I WAS MAKING LOVE! It is a good  
vision from God — Because I am making love! —  
Dig! Marie gets her pencil quickly before it go  
away! — She write it all down! — This is what she  
writes!

3. IN MY VISION THERE WAS THIS BIG DOG  
AND IT WAS HAVING A BATH! — Okay? — You  
think that's rather funny! Well, it was funny!  
It was a big dog, too! — not just a boxer or a  
spaniel, but a GREAT BIG GERMAN SHEPHERD!  
You know, like one of those great big dogs that  
rescues people from mountains! It was as big as  
that!

4. IT WAS ABOUT FOUR FOOT SIX INCHES  
LONG — OKAY — AND IT WAS SITTING IN THE  
BATH! — It was huge! — Our bath tub is pretty  
big, but I tell you that this dog was so big that he  
filled it to overflowing! — The water was flowing  
all over the floor! — What a mess! — As if the Red  
Sea was rolling back! (See Exod 14.28)

5. "MAZING, ISN'T IT! — YEAH! ALMOST LIKE  
A MIRACLE! — INDEED IT WAS A MIRACLE!  
— To think of a great big dog, lying on his back in  
the bath! It was a miracle! Dog's don't usually  
lie on their backs in the bath, with water in it! —  
It was unusual!

6. BUT THAT'S NOT ALL HE WAS DOING! —  
Wait for it! — He was actually pulling himself off!  
A great big dog, lying in the bath, masturbating  
himself! That is what I saw! With water sloshing  
around all over the bathroom! The big dog was  
masturbating himself and a little green frog was  
hopping around on the floor under the bath!

7. WHILE THIS WAS HAPPENING! — YES! —  
AT THE VERY MOMENT THAT THE DOG WAS  
REACHING HIS EMISSION! — At that very  
moment, the door opened! You think that is  
strange? I tell you — my brother it was a power-  
ful vision!

8. THIS WAS A MOST IMPORTANT VISION I

WAS HAVING! — I knew it! — I could sense it —  
you know — down in my bones — somewhere —  
down in my heart!

9. THE DOOR TO THE BATHROOM OPENED —  
AND I WALKED NAPOLEON! — Yeah! Nap-  
oleon! I knew it was Napoleon because he was  
short and had only eye and one hand — you know!  
like Napoleon had, and he looked like — well —  
that he had been in a good few scraps in his time!  
10. HE LOOKED — YEAH! — LIKE GOD HAD  
BEEN HELPING HIM FOR A LONG TIME! —  
Just like that! A sort of big gleam in his eye! Well —  
he looked sorta groovy just standing there in the  
doorway! Inside the dog was reaching his emission!  
And here was Napoleon standing in the doorway!  
— Savvy? — Like he had come to save that dog from  
something! Something that dog did not know  
about! Because he had not taken Jesus Christ into  
his heart! The little green frog just kept on hopping  
around in there!

11. THEN SUDDENLY DOG SEE NAPOLEON!  
And he go mad! Like he got rabies! He go mad,  
see! He jump on up out of that bath just like he  
got rabies! See! — he has not got Jesus Christ! —  
He got the rabies! He get up out of that bath and  
growl and roar like he is mad and then he rush at  
Napoleon! The little green frog goes hopping  
around like mad! (See BO Book "The Frog" —  
suggested donation 25c — PLEASE PAY UPI) And  
the great big dog acts like he got rabies! 'Cause he  
no friend of Jesus! That's how God works his  
wonders!

12. NAPOLEON FIGHTS WITH GREAT BIG  
GERMAN SHEPHERD! But he can't do anything!  
How are the mighty fallen! He can't do anything!  
You try to do something when a great big German  
Shepherd bites you in the neck! You can't do  
anything — Right!

13. WELL — NAPOLEON TRIED! — HE  
FOUGHT! — BUT HE COULD NOT DO ANY-  
THING! He was helpless as a little lamb! The great  
big dog was too much for him! He chewed his  
head off! The dog had rabies, not Jesus Christ! If  
he had Jesus Christ he would not fight!

14. JESUS CHRIST TEACHES US — "WE MUST  
NOT FIGHT"! So — the dog would not fight if  
he was friends with Jesus Christ!

15. NAPOLEON FOUGHT TOO! But that was  
all right! You see — he had to defend himself! It  
is all right to defend yourself! The dog was not  
defending himself! He was attacking! He has  
rabies!

16. NAPOLEON FOUGHT LIKE A DOG! The  
dog fight like a madman! Napoleon falls down  
dead on the floor! — Thump! — The little green  
frog hops around!

17. THAT WAS MY VISION! — I saw it while I  
was making love! — Yeah! There was this big  
German Shepherd Dog! He was masturbating  
himself down there in the bath! — Remember! —  
And the door opened and Napoleon was there (I  
don't know if Napoleon opened the door! — He  
might have done!) The dog leapt at Napoleon like  
he had rabies! — the dog, I mean! — not Napoleon!  
And the dog chewed off Napoleon's head! So now  
Napoleon lies down dead!

18. NAPOLEON SEEMED TO BE THE GOODY! —  
You know! — Like in pictures the cowboys are  
the goodies and the indians are the baddies! (Though  
this was not right — see "WHO ARE THE  
RACISTS?" — by BO — suggested donation 5c —  
PLEASE PAY UPI) Not that this was cowboys and  
indians! This was something different! This was a  
vision that I had!

19. BUT IF NAPOLEON WAS THE GOODY AND  
THE GREAT BIG GERMAN SHEPHERD WAS  
THE BADDY, WHY IS THE GOODY KILLED  
AND THE BADDY STILL WENT ON LIVING?  
Napoleon died! — Remember! — and the dog  
went right on living! This is unfair! God is just!  
God is fair! — Why is this unfair! Get it?

20. I THOUGHT FOR A WHILE — REMEMBER!  
MARIE AND I WERE JUST MAKING LOVE  
WHEN THIS HAPPENED! — This vision! — Jesus  
Christ gives me those visions! Hallelujah! Praise  
the Lord!

21. YOU MAY OR MAY NOT BELIEVE THIS  
BUT IT TOOK ME A LONG WHILE TO FIGGER  
OUT WHAT THIS VISION WAS ABOUT! My  
mind was swirling with thoughts about 40 days  
and 40 days makes 80 days — 'Around the World  
in Eighty Days' — And how much money these  
servants of Mammon in the world were making! —  
And whether I should raise the price of my  
suggested donations! — PLEASE PAY UPI Marie  
says I should take a long holiday but I cannot do  
that though I work so hard. The world Needs me  
and my message! — I will not desert you! —  
Brothers!

22. THEN SEVERAL SOLUTIONS CAME TO ME  
ALL AT ONCE! That's right! — They came  
hopping out at me just like that little green frog!  
Most Britishers are Jews, including many of the  
leaders of England, particularly those who operate  
BBC, and the Irish with their typical Jewish  
humour and music and temperament, and the  
Welsh even in their language!

23. THAT DOG — IT COULD BE EGYPT! — See? —  
The waters of the Red Sea flowing over the bath  
gave me that idea! Napoleon, then, — he is

probably Big Daddy Amerika! — That's it! —  
Amerika threatens Egypt and Egypt eats Amerika's  
head off! — Get it? — Yeah, baby! — That what  
God means!

24. BUT WHY IS THE BIG GERMAN SHPHERD  
MASTURBATING HIMSELF IN HIS BATH?  
must look for some other answer! — God some-  
times sets some hard problems! — Like math! —  
Never was much good at math!

25. PERHAPS NAPOLEON IS GERMANY!  
(Like German Hitler — dig? — Hitler was evil!)  
What could the dog be? Russia perhaps! Perhaps  
he is a Russian Dog! See! — DOG spells GOD  
backwards! — And the Russians are Atheists!  
They are the Dog because they don't believe in  
God! — Get it! — God is Dog backwards!

26. BUT GERMANY AND RUSSIA AREN'T  
FIGHTING ANY MORE! — Are they? — They  
seem to be friendly right now! — Perhaps too  
friendly!

27. IT THEN APPROACHES ITS DEEPEST PENE-  
TRATION AND VERY CLOSEST PROXIMITY  
TO THE EARTH in the middle of the month,  
climaxing in its most brilliant emission of  
pyrotechnical fireworks in its orgasm of inter-  
course between itself and the Earth!

28. PERHAPS THE DOG IS CHINA AND  
NAPOLEON IS FRANCE! — Two nuclear powers!  
Yippee! — Then we'll all be dead! — Hallelujah!

29. OR PERHAPS THE DOG IS CHILE AND  
NAPOLEON IS ITT! Or perhaps the little green  
frog is ITT and the Dog is Kahoutek, and Napo-  
leon is Iceland, and the bathtub is the Jews, and  
the dog is Antarctica, and Napoleon is me!

30. OR PERHAPS I AM THE LITTLE GREEN  
FROG? AND NAPOLEON IS WATERGATE, AND  
THE DOG IS GADAFFI, AND NIXON IS A JEW,  
AND I AM GOD, AND NAPOLEON IS THE DOG,  
AND THE LITTLE GREEN FROG IS KISSINGER,  
AND I AM THE LITTLE GREEN FROG,  
AND GOD IS NAPOLEON, AND NAPOLEON IS  
ME, AND THE DOG IS ME, AND I AM GOD,  
AND I AM NAPOLEON, AND I AM THE BATH-  
TUB, AND I AM THE DOG, AND I AM THE  
LITTLE GREEN FROG! (Oink, Oink!)

31. AND MARIE! MARIE! WHAT ARE THESE  
MEN IN WHITE COATS GRABBING ME AND  
TYING THIS BIG JACKET TO ME SO THAT I  
CAN'T MOVE WHILE WE ARE MAKING LOVE  
ONLY 40 DAYS AND MARIE WHY ARE THE  
WALLS ALL LOOKING LIKE THE BACK OF  
A LEATHER ARMCHAIR AND MARIE IT IS THE  
END! THE END! Be a little green frog for Jesus!  
Hallelujah! Help!



# CONCERT

'A Young Man Who Is Making Quite A Name For Himself' - B.B. King: by Stephen Prendergast.

With this understatement Louis Hubert, baritone sax player with Sonny Freeman and the Unusuals, introduced B.B. King, the 'King of the Blues', 'the greatest blues guitarist alive', who in his late forties continues to inspire praise for his dedication and talent as a composer and performer of the Blues, as well as for his influence on the superstars of Rock: Clapton, Beck and Hendrix for example. In fact B.B. King has never been 'a young man making a name for himself', for it has taken 37 years of hard work to reach the position which he now occupies in the musical world.

"I didn't play rock and roll, I was just sticking with the blues and people were wondering why I wasn't accepted in the eyes of the public as well as Bobby Bland, Sam Cooke and Otis Redding.

"Maybe I am at the top of my career, but I don't think I am as far as my music is concerned, because for many years no-one seemed to know anything about it anyway.

"In '56 I did 342 one-nighters. I would take all the work I could do."

With success has come the opportunity to adopt a more flexible work schedule. In future B.B.'s college and concert appearances will be limited to three specific working periods of 30-45 days each. This will allow him to devote time to recording, writing his autobiography, editing his motion picture, and appearing at major hotels, theatres on foreign tours and in the long-term engagements he has established at the Las Vegas Hilton. His manager has pointed out

that the new booking policy will not impinge on B.B.'s philanthropic activities.

B.B. King's Wellington concert was opened by the Wellington group 'Section', to whom he later paid tribute for the youth and ability of its members. Appearing with B.B. was his band, known as Sonny Freeman and the Unusuals, with Sonny Freeman on drums, Rony Levy on piano, Wilbert Freeman playing bass, Milton Hopkins guitar, Louis Hubert saxophone, and Eddy Rowe trumpet. Their opening fulfilled all expectations of a band which plays alongside 'The King'. A short break and then B.B. walked on stage, picked up Lucille (his guitar), made a few adjustments and launched into a performance which lasted two hours. With the first note he was at once familiar to his audience.

My love is music  
When I sing I have sung of the love for you and me.

BB is a bulky figure who moves with reserve around the stage. His hands, in contrast, are never still - he hits or strokes notes out of Lucille, plays trills with incredible speed, stops playing, pounds his fists, offers prayer-like gestures, places a hand on his hip in a hussy-like posture, grips Lucille and moves in see-saw fashion. His facial expressions are as varied as his music - crying, clowning, anger, frustration and female fickleness are all represented.

I gave you a brand new Ford -  
But you said 'I want a Cadillac  
I brought you a ten-dollar dinner  
And you said 'Thanks for the snack'  
The audience clapped and sang in response to his implicit invitations and open coaxing, joining him in singing 'I'd love to live the love I sing about' and "When the saints....". "Hummingbird", "How Blue Can You Get", "The Thrill is Gone" are some of the standards featured during the performance, with the epic "Why I Sing the Blues" taking the final place in the encore and proving beyond doubt the falsity of B.B.'s earlier remark that 'My vocab is not well-equipped

enough'.

Everybody want to know  
Why I sing the blues,  
Yes I say everybody want to know  
Why I sing the blues,  
Well I've been around a long time,  
I've really paid my dues.

When I first got the blues  
They brought me over on a ship  
Men were standing over me  
And a lot more with a whip,  
Now everybody wanna know  
Why I sing the blues,  
Well I've been around a long time,  
I've really paid my dues.

I've laid in' the ghetto flats cold and numb,  
I've heard the rats telling bed-bugs  
to give them Roger's thumb,  
And everybody want to know  
Why I sing the blues,  
Well I've been around a long time  
People I've paid my dues.

I stood in line  
Down at the County Hall,  
I heard a man say  
'We're gonna build some new apartment for Y'all,  
And everybody want to know  
Yes they want to know why I'm singing  
the blues,  
Yes I've been around a long time,  
Yes I've really paid my dues.

My kid's gonna grow up,  
Gonna grow up to be a fool  
'Cause they aint got no more room,  
No more room for him in school,  
And everybody want to know  
Everybody want to know why I'm singing  
the blues,  
I say I've been around a long time  
Yes I've really paid some dues.



# RECORDS

**Ferqulesie Park: Stealers Wheel.**  
Reviewed by Brian King.

Last year Stealers Wheel had a hit with "Stuck in the Middle of You", a song from their first album. The album itself was a real treat, a cleverly produced electric rock throwback to the mid-sixties. Sounded like the Beatles doing Fairport Convention and the mixture of styles worked surprisingly well.

After that album three members left; not the important members though, the Rafferty/Egan team that formed the nucleus of the original Stealers Wheel remains, but its not the same. There's a fatal lack of energy pervading the whole record; its so bland. Just a well produced duo running through some very average material. Still, they've got a hit in America off the track called "Star" and maybe this whole LP was put out just to fill the gap between the breakup of the old group and the formation of a new band. Treat with caution, listen closely before buying but don't give them up on the basis of this one.

**Overnite Sensation: Frank Zappa. RS 2149.** Reviewed by Graeme Simpson.

I hope Frank makes it to New Zealand sometime. Hell, imagine a 20 minute stage jam around "Fifty-Fifty" and it's not even the best track on the album. But it does feature some scorching lead riffs by the man himself. And the shrieking demented electric violin of Jean-Luc Ponty.

And always Zappa's absurd lyrics: sleazy as grease-back hair. As ever. "Kiss my aura, Dora... MMM...its real angora".

Around the solid wall of sound laid down by Tom Fowler, bass, and Ralph Humphrey, drums, Zappa's most beautiful Mothers place a variety of musical interjection and embellishment. George Duke, apart from expressive piano and organ, uses his synthesizer to its full extent, the moog being pushed to the front, particularly on "Fifty-Fifty" and "Montana". The latter track is brilliant: truly the highlight, truly insane. Raise a crop of dental floss? Zircon encrusted tweezers? Christ!

The other members of the band: Ruth Underwood, Ian Underwood, Bruce Fowler, and Sal Marquez, and vocal assistants Ricky Lancelotti and Kin Vassy (Yippy-Ty-O) all contribute to the most listenable of Zappa's recent albums.

Perhaps die hard Zappaphiles will feel Frank's selling them out: "Overnite Sensation" is more commercial and avoids the weirdness of previous Zappa albums. But the humour, the musical and lyrical satire, the sexuality and sheer enjoyment of the music is all there. It's a neat album, which deserves an attentive listen. Will it sell?

I figure the odds be fifty-fifty.



**Band on the Run: Paul McCartney and Wings.** Reviewed by Mitzi Tonque

McCartney's fifth solo album. I've always said this boy had talent and now he's finally come up trumps. Even Rolling Stone, which sneered and snarled its way through the other four voted this one of the top albums of 1973. John Mendelson of that publication has some theories about why Paul has made-so many shitty records in the past.

- a) He dislikes making money for the other gentlemen in The Apple board of directors;
- b) He knows the buying public likes hummable crap, and nothing would irritate Lenon more than to see Paul's hummable crap in particular zooming up the charts past John's more ambitious stuff.

Also, by keeping a lower profile Paul could leave the rarified Beatle atmosphere without getting the artistic bends. By raising fewer expectations he could live a more real life than John - for example, Paul has always given his wife full composing and producing credits, while John Lennons sings "Nigger of the World" yet never lets Yoko finish even one sentence on national TV.

So maybe all along Paul was setting us up for this fine LP. Or maybe Wings have got a new lead singer and bass player. Of course! After "Red Rose Speedways" Wings rubbed out the poor stiff (justifiable homicide) and that's why "Paul's" face on the cover is so white! That's why they're the band on the run! That's why James Coburn is on the cover - didn't he kill his best friend in his latest movie?

My picks are the title cut, 'Jet' and 'Let me Roll it', which should have been the single release from the record. So give your prejudices a bad time. Listen to this album.

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**Plimmer's Emporium**



### Looking After the Band

Ali Babas will be open on Sunday March 24 for a special charity concert-dance featuring the cream of Wellington rock musicians. So far Quincy Conserve, Sekan, Tarkus, Tapestry and Section (ex Arkastra) have volunteered to play to raise money for a friend, Kemp Turirangi, and other groups are expected to appear on the night. Kemp, a well known and respected musician was badly injured recently in a car crash and has since been confined to hospital.

Owner Peter Argais: "We take a personal interest; Kemp works for us and we are raising money to help him." Peter plans to have Kemp brought in as soon as he is able to leave hospital so that he can get back to playing.

Ali's at 171 Cuba Street, and the music is planned to start at 7.30pm. Students are invited although, at \$2 over ticket, they are not expected in large numbers. Peter: "We do not want it to be too crowded so that people do not enjoy themselves." Anyway the cause is a worthwhile one even if the ticket-price isn't. And if nothing else this gesture shows that working-class solidarity does exist among the music community in Wellington, and says something for the integrity of the people at Ali Babas. Right on.



# Letters

## Line missed out

Dear Sir,

Thank you for getting my letter on Maori and pidginisation out so quickly. Unfortunately however you omitted one line in the middle of it, interfering rather seriously with the coherence of the writing at this point. The passage in question should read: One of the many difficulties in labelling like this is often that of locating cut-off points on a continuum, indeed in realising in the first place that there may well be a continuum of ways of speaking. For example, there is indeed a kind of "basic English....", etc.

J.B. Pride.

## SCM Conference

Dear Salient,

I feel some comment is needed from someone within Victoria SCM in response to Peter Cullen's article about our Summer Conference, in the first issue of Salient this year. Having been approached by many people, asking about Peter's comments I must reply that basically I agree with him; Summer Conference tried to do the impossible and hence failed to achieve its aim. It tried to resolve, through group processes, differences within the movement which are really basic to its existence.

SCM encompasses a diversity of people seeking to understand the meaning of liberation within their own lives and that of the world at large. For some, often those who have been involved in the movement longer, this leads to an involvement in social and political activities. For others, it is the interpersonal element of this liberation process that they wish to emphasise more. Summer Conference was an expression of this diversity within SCM and of the tension that arises when branches or individuals tend to emphasise different aspects within this total field of liberation, at the expense of others.

What I would like to think is that this tension can be a creative one. Since Summer Conference, there has been critical discussion of the nature and role of the movement which is destined to involve us in future structural change in order to more effectively serve the people. People must be prepared to learn from conference that tensions within SCM are not going to be resolved. Rather, we can learn from such differences while still progressing towards a common goal of a more just society. A movement which contains differences is alive and to resolve these differences could mean the death of the movement.

Margie-Jean Malcolm  
President, VUWSCM

## Solzhenitsyn's Truth

Dear Sir,

To the author of the article on Solzhenitsyn in last week's Salient and other similar minded members of the student establishment these few words from Solzhenitsyn himself:

"The superficiality, the failure to understand the timeless essence of human nature! The naive confidence of these young people who don't know life! 'We'll chuck out "this" crop of cruel venal, oppressive rulers and we, their successors, will be just and understanding, once we've laid aside our bombs and guns'. But of course they won't....."

"One word of truth....", the Nobel Speech, p 19.

Yours,  
The Ever Dogmatic Anti-Dogmatist

## Rats!

Dear Sir,

I wish to express strong objection to the inclusion in last week's edition of Salient of the article entitled 'Rat Recipes'. It is a disgraceful yet inescapable fact, that in a society based on selfish and oppressive capitalism, people are compelled, through immediate physical need, to eat rat. An attempt to gain cheap, callous and bourgeois humour from such a situation reveals both a basic lack of sympathy and understanding with those who are oppressed and encourages a degree of scepticism in the expressed aims of the paper (i.e. to identify, and attempt to eradicate all forms of oppression). The faults of the article and consequently those of Salient in publishing it, are indeed exaggerated by the fact that on the front page of the same issue an article rightly condemns a society that forces people to live in vermin infested flats. 'Rat Recipes' was a disgraceful attempt to laugh, without hint of irony, at the squalor created by the ruling classes, and the publishing of such an article reveals an inconsistency in the ideological basis of Salient.

Duncan Campbell

## 'Super' Scheme

Dear Sir,

After reading the article written by Doug Wilson ['Super' Scheme Fighting Foreign Control? - Salient Vol. 37, No 2, March 13] the first impression is, it sounds fair. Fair or not, why should people be forced by any bully, or Government to save? Surely the time honoured method of inducing one to save allows one to exercise free will. If the scheme was made voluntary its appeal would obviously induce people to join.

It appears the Government is hitting hard at foreign control with one hand, and simultaneously dropping their guard to inflation with the other. For if the wage earner has 4% of his wages taken away he will have less to spend. The employer will build the 4% he has to pay into his cost structure i.e inflation or industrial strife.

Should we allow bureaucratic efficiency to invest "vast capital reserves"? I suggest the bulk of the "selective....maximum development" will be in the development of Government holdings in NZ companies.

As an "inheritor of earlier Labour belief", the Labour Government does have a "logically cohesive economic objective". The socialisation of NZ resources and the allocation of these resources; stated principle of the Labour (Movement) Party in 1935; the principle is still with the Labour Party today.

In reference to the words "political skill", that is an opinion. I suggest if you take a clear study of the Labour Government's origins you will find the "real and final objective" is a socialist New Zealand.

John McDonald

## Pigs at the trough

Dear Sir,

Why are people, especially the New Zealand male, his counter-part is fast catching up, such pigs when it comes to alcohol? If you are drunk only then can you enjoy yourself. If you haven't chundered, you haven't lived. And if you can't down a 6 or 8 oz glassfull in five minutes, you are not a man. Pig I would rather call it.

Why don't New Zealanders, especially boozing university students, grow up.

A Sickened New Zealander

## Have you seen the God-Deceivers or Who Killed Sister George

(Hardly Cock Robin, Girl)  
The Evil Queen looked down from her throne and sent her up gutless.  
She swings from a tree, empty, head,  
with once jutting black beard, lolling,  
sagging on sunken breast.

And here such a peaceful camp scene is disturbed by the mole springing herself upon the unsuspecting. She should crawl into her hole and close her ring forever.  
(And you know what happened to the little boy who put his finger up a dyke, don't you?)

Straighten up there lads and lasses.

There's a fox in my box  
half way up the staircase  
and men's eyes are worth a fortune  
to the band boys, you know.

CHORUS

There is a Tavern in the Town  
Boys and boys come out to play,  
We're all having a Gay-time,  
Donald where's your troosers.

For all further inqueries meet me outside the library.

L.G. Nemrac

## Honkies Hangi

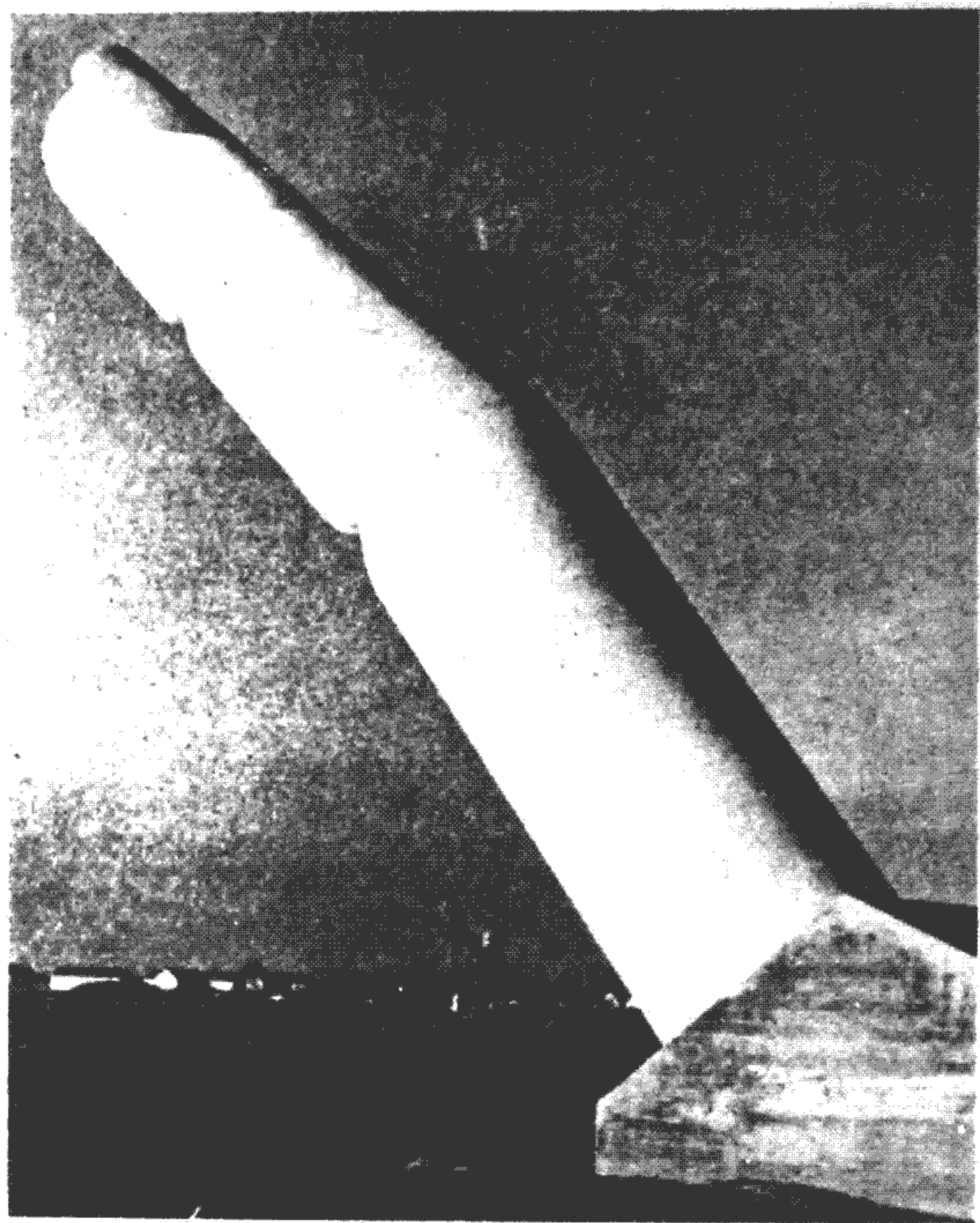
Dear Sir,

In regards to Don Carson's masturbatory letter (Salient March 13) - perhaps Carson thinks that the Maoris should be "guzzling" lemon and Paeroa while the white honkies should be preparing the hangi.

As everyone knows Pakehas make shitty hangi (a recognition of the Maoris culinary talent surely) and besides nobody drinks Lemon and Paeroa at hangi anyway.

Does Carson prefer such ads as Griffins 'Gingernuts' or 'Lime Fresh'? I think not.

Noel Cooney



## A Reflection of Witi's Life

Dear Roger,

Delighted to see you and the Salient crew back again. We were also pleased to see that the world is still providing grist for your political mill.

The mill sure ground under Witi Ihimaera didn't it? We were relieved to hear that a book can actually be evaluated in terms of its literary standard alone but wonder, in light of your admission of dim literary sensibility, how you got the assignment. We were interested to note that you, Roger, a Pakeha, can not only condemn his reflections as being incomplete and inaccurate, but suggest too that his works lack Maori insight. What you mean, Roger, is that Ihimaera's work lacks your particular orientation politically. Might we suggest that literature and other art forms can have value beyond their political potency and that Ihimaera's work is intended only to be a reflection of his own life.

We are reminded of an old Chinese folks saying mentioned by Mao Tsetung describing the behaviour of certain fools - "Man who have rocks in head should keep mouth shut or rocks fall on foot."

Reginald & Tobias Willoughby-Smythe

## Would the reviewer like writers to subordinate literary considerations to political and propagandising ones?

Dear Sir,

Roger Steele's assessment of Tangi (Salient March 6) says more about the reviewer than the book. It is one of the most arrogant and presumptuous pieces I have read.

So, a Pakeha journalist can say that a Maori author "lacks Maori insight" and knows little "about Maoritanga and the real solution of the Maori people today". (What is this "real solution"? I hope Mr Steele will share it with the rest of the world, particularly his apparently less enlightened Maori countrymen).

What unmitigated rubbish. One of the strengths of Ihimaera's work is that he writes about things he knows. This is what gives it authority. He doesn't pretend a knowledge of generalities like "Maoritanga" (a Pakeha-invented concept aimed at homogenising Maori things). He writes about Rongowhakaatanga, his own area of experience and competence.

Steele's complaints that the author invites people to "forget politics", and that the work "suits the interests of a small section of society, the middle and upper classes", are equally revealing. Would the reviewer like writers to subordinate literary considerations to political and propagandising ones?

Well, the persecutors of Alexander Solzhenitsyn make the same demands that authors bend reality as they know it to suit the objectives of ideology.

Roger Steele's patronising manner ("I respect and cherish the Tangihanga as an institution") and his unfamiliarity and rejection of Maori idiom ("obsidian splinters at my heart" and so on) are also distasteful. He judges the work not only from a political point of view but also from one of assumed cultural and linguistic superiority.

I had hoped the days of such lofty condescension were over. I am dismayed that they are not.

Michael King,  
Wellington Polytechnic.

[*"Real solution" was actually a typist's error where I had written "real situation" - Ed.*]

## Time Stands Still in the Tower

Dear Sir,

Why hasn't anything been done about all the stopped clocks about the place. Time can pass so easily that we miss even more easily the lectures or tutorials that we are requested to attend. There are stopped time-pieces through the Library, lecture theatres and Hunter Building.

Tiddles again

## The Family

Dear Sir,

The submissions put forward on "Women's Day" made some quite valid points. One in particular though that went astray in its implied solution, was the attack on family life as we have it now.

It is true that women, are often used rather than loved in marriage, as in other sectors of our society. Many men seem to think of their wives as servants who sew, cook, clean and wash.

Perhaps though, what prevents out modern housewife from being able to hold a paid job or take a fuller part in community affairs is the fact that our society is too institutionalised. We have "homes" for the aged, the orphan, and now we want child-care centres. Past societies have managed quite well without these amenities, why is it that we need them so badly?

They had a bit more respect for their elders and gave them a real place in society. They usually had them live in their homes, caring for them, and frequently allowing their own children to be minded by them.

Perhaps then, if we weren't so keen on establishing our so-called independence and pushing our parents and grand-parents into lonely existence in pensioner housing or institutions, we could provide a purposeful loving retirement for them. They need not live a fate almost worse than death and neither need our young housewives be stuck at home minding children all day.

Our children too would benefit from having relatives, who love them, look after them, rather than mercenary staff, no matter how well "trained" they are. A loved child will never go wrong.

T.J. Moffat

## Donner und Blitzen!

Dear Sir,

In a letter published in your issue of 13 March, R. Wilkes complains about the pricing of German text-books at the University Book Centre, and remarks: "The German lecturers say "tut-tut, what a scandal" but nothing is done."

May I point out that neither myself nor any of my colleagues ever said anything of the sort to anyone. On learning of the gross discrepancies in pricing between Whitcoulls and the University Book Centre (on March 5 at the first meeting with the first years), I immediately made enquiries of Whitcoulls, who by researching into their files ascertained what a justly calculated price should be for the texts concerned. I then confronted the Book Centre with this information. The manager confessed to over-pricing through a mistake, and had in fact already reduced excessive prices: one text was reduced from \$5.15 to \$2.70.

A notice informing students of this, inviting them to apply for a refund, and giving informa-



tion about other German texts, was posted by me on the German Department notice-board on March 8. It is still there. At the earliest opportunity (March 12) I also made an announcement to this effect in class.

All this would seem to me to amount to more than saying, "Tut-tut, what a scandal!"

Peter Russell  
Lecturer in German.

## Facts on the Union

Dear Sir,

In reply to R. Wilkes.  
Why did you write to "Salient" without first discovering a few facts? You may or may not have noticed it yet, but there are a few things really wrong with this University. You could complain about these rather than resorting to "non-factual statements" and personal attacks on the wrong people.

You imply that you are not a kiwi student and that you are a poor student. You certainly are a poor student - even mediocre students do some research before rushing into print.

Your inaccuracies?

1) Student Union fees are not \$25.50. There is no Student Union. The Students Association and the University Union are different organisations.

2) "Poor student" needs some defining but the great majority of NZ students are the sons and daughters of the well-to-do. During their vacation they earn at rates safeguarded by the NZ Trade Union Movement. A few students may be poor.

3) Fresh fruit is on sale at cost price in the downstairs cafe whenever the capitalist mode of

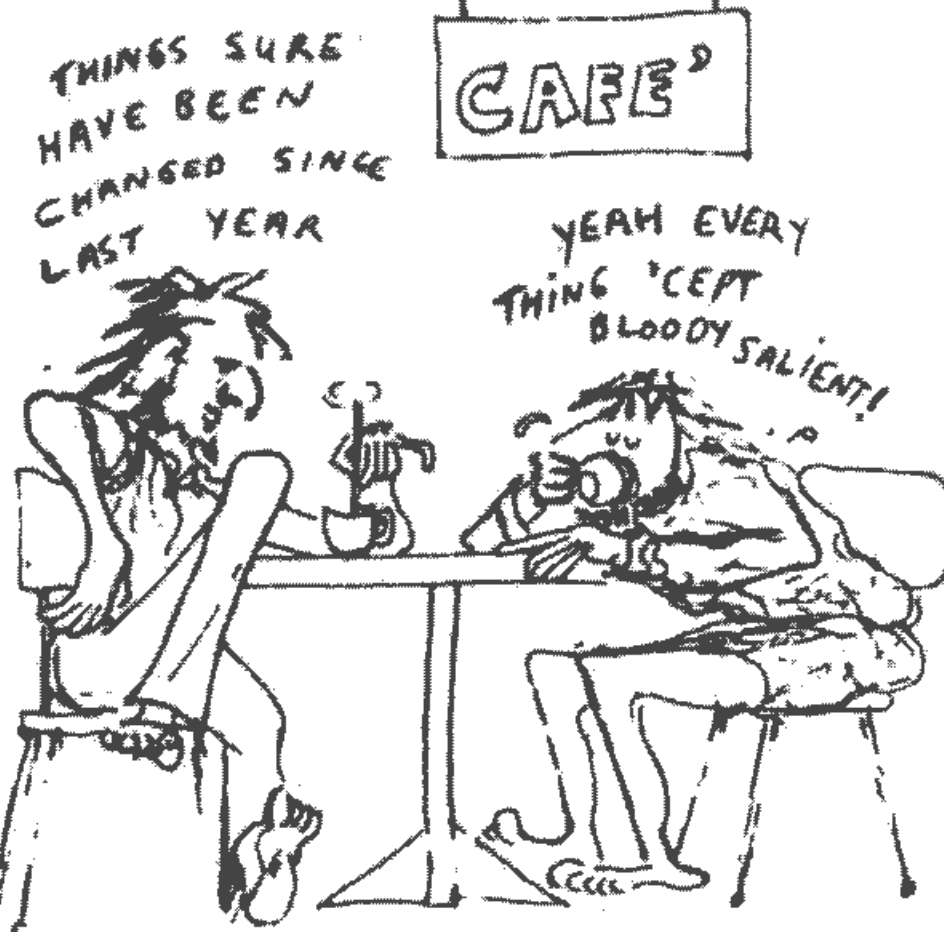
production and distribution allows. Fruit drink is also on sale. Both are believed to contain Vitamin C.

4) The House Manager as a member of the University staff is entitled to the use of Union facilities. He is paid at rates comparable to other New Zealanders and enjoys the company of other friends. Why use the emotive word "cronies"?

5) You are a member of NZUSA at a cost of \$1. Is that "terrific cost"?

6) NZUSA does not have a tramping club. NZUSA has no clubs. Who did you give 50 cents to? There are a number of student clubs on this campus which do not require members to pay a subscription. In all cases the cost of membership is decided by club members at their AGM.

7) Discounts are available on forms of trans-



port other than NAC. See your STB office for details.

8) NAC does not fly to Mount Cook.

9) The University Council does not administer New Zealand Railways (see Victoria University of Wellington Act and New Zealand Government Railways Act.)

10) The University bookshop is owned by Sweet and Maxwell. Why complain to your German lecturer. Is he a shareholder in the firm?

11) Your German lecturer did not say "tut, tut" and do nothing. Please check your departmental noticeboard.

12) Your letter did get published.

Why do you not address yourself to analysing and correcting real problems.

David L. Cunningham

P.S. Do you want to pay for a locker, or do you want the New Zealand worker to pay for it?

Dear Sir,

The inaccuracies, distortions, and confusion of R. Wilkes' letter in your last issue show that he has failed to do even the most elementary research before setting pen to paper. Firstly, he has this ridiculous notion that there is a class of poor students, a majority as he puts it, that is forced to patronise the lower floor cafeteria because they cannot afford to pay over a dollar for a balanced meal in the restaurant. Yet a 'balanced meal' can be had in the restaurant without having to go to the expense of ordering the most expensive courses. Omelets are available for as little as 65 cents with rolls and coffee included. A full list of prices for the catering operations was printed in Handbook but perhaps Mr Wilkes only looked at the pictures. Naturally there are many facets of the catering setup that

need to be improved such as the long queues, the lack of seating and the lack of food late in the afternoon. I would question Mr Wilkes' assertion that the Railways provide a better service for their passengers; history and personal experience have proved otherwise.

R. Wilkes also seems to be confused between NZUSA, VUWSA and the University Union. One dollar entitles Mr Wilkes to obtain an International Student Identity Card which allows him to fly on NAC Standby scheme, managed by NZUSA at half price. If this cheap flying is merely for rich students then there are thousands of rich students (so much for the poor majority).

The Students Association fee of \$25.50 is paid to the University administration out of which \$8.25 comes directly to the Students Association for student activities, few students clubs charge membership fee, and if they do a club AGM is a good time to complain. The rest is put into Union maintenance and building funds for the upkeep of the Union building. The House Manager and his ancillary staff (they are anything but cronies) are hard working and are paid award wages which hardly enter into the class of "well paid". His comments should have been directed towards the bureaucracy which is imposed upon us by the university administration.

The final fear that his letter would not be published for fear of offending the new catering manager is pure fantasy. Although Salient may not be to everyone's taste it has never been a paper that has refused to print anything for fear of offending someone. It might have been better if R. Wilkes' letter had not been published for then he would have been spared the embarrassment of having his ignorance displayed in public.

Gyles Beckford

## In Defence of Solzhenitsyn and the Soviet Dissident Movement

Dear Sir,

Hopefully, Terry Auld's recent article on the exile of Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union will provoke some discussion and debate in the pages of Salient. Given Auld's erroneous ideas, which he attempts to bolster with factual inaccuracies, I should certainly hope that a number of people take the trouble to reply. This is one attempt at doing just that, while aiming to provide added information on the Soviet dissident movement, and elaborating on some of the areas which Auld passes over with too much haste.

The emergence of a number of outspoken dissidents in the Soviet Union is a relatively recent phenomenon, dating back to about the mid-1950s. Prior to that, the system of terror instituted by Stalin and the bureaucracy which he led had effectively frozen Soviet political life. Auld briefly refers to this as "alleged 'Stalinist terror'", and in effect denies its very existence. The facts, of course, totally refute his view, and it is these same facts which are indispensable if we are to understand anything about the dissident movement today.

Stalinism maintains itself by instituting a system of monolithism. There is one line, that of the leaders, and all who deviate from it automatically become "capitalist agents" and are purged. Hence, the slaughter and imprisonment of millions during the 1930s, the construction and maintenance of an elaborate secret police apparatus, and the rigid control of the supply of information to the Soviet people.

When faced with critics, the Stalinist system does not debate with those critics' ideas, and engaged in open discussion; it launches a campaign of vilification and slander, usually based around the most preposterous assertions. Trotsky, when exiled from the Soviet Union in 1929, became an "agent of the Gestapo". In China - to cite a more recent example - Lin Biao fell from being Mao's "heir and successor" to a "counter-revolutionary conspirator" who sought to turn the Chinese Communist Party into a "Fascist Party".

This same strategy is being employed today by the Soviet bureaucrats against the dissident movement. Those who disagree with their line must be either "mentally ill" (an excuse for imprisoning them in mental asylums), or "in league with the imperialists".

Terry Auld exhibits a similar sort of sick thinking in his article. To him, Solzhenitsyn is a "fascist", the other dissidents are at best "bourgeois democrats", and Socialist Action (the socialist newspaper which defends Solzhenitsyn's right to speak his mind without persecution) becomes a "bourgeois" newspaper.

To understand the Soviet dissident movement, we must bear in mind that the individuals concerned are themselves products of this system of monolithism. As the first small group of Soviet citizens to begin re-acquiring the habits of critical thought, they are to a large extent isolated from the still docile masses. They have difficulty discussing and debating ideas among themselves - a fact which obviously compounds their isolation. The Soviet regime monopolises the flow of information on such delicate subjects as international events, the revolutionary heritage of Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolsheviks, and the ideals of the Russian Revolution.

The only Marxism to which these people can gain easy access is in the perverted forms dished up by the bureaucrats - a "Marxism" reduced to never-to-be-questioned "articles of faith",

rather than a living science which can give a critical appraisal of societies (Soviet society included) and strives above all for objectivity.

The only "socialism" which these dissidents know is that which they experience in their own daily existence - a noteworthy fact being that many of them have experienced the labour camps at some point in their lives.

If, in this terrible context, some of these people end up rejecting Marxism and socialism, that can hardly be blamed on the individual dissident. Solzhenitsyn, who rejected socialism after his long imprisonment in labour camps, clearly falls within this category. The blame for this rejection falls squarely on the methods of the regime itself.

Terry Auld claims that Trotskyists (meaning the Socialist Action League and the Young Socialists), in defending Solzhenitsyn, have "hailed" his "firm commitment to socialism". That is a lie. For someone who quotes so liberally from Socialist Action, and has therefore presumably read it, Auld somehow missed the fact that two of the last three issues have carried articles on Solzhenitsyn, and each of these specifically refers to his rejection of socialism.

What Auld fails to comprehend is that Socialist Action defends Solzhenitsyn against the repression of the Stalinist system despite this rejection.

Some well-known Soviet citizens who have issued statements protesting the persecution or exile of Solzhenitsyn have themselves expressed this extremely well.

Roy A. Medvedev, an historian and dissident who still adheres to Marxism:

"Before the arrest, Solzhenitsyn considered himself a Marxist. After he went through the cruel tests described with such merciless truthfulness in the 'Gulag Archipelago', Solzhenitsyn lost his belief in Marxism...."

"Marxism will certainly not perish for loss of one of its former adherents. We even think Marxism will only benefit from debate with such an opponent...."

And Yevgeny Yevtushenko, a leading Soviet poet, wrote:

"No, I do not agree with many of Solzhenitsyn's views in 'Gulag Archipelago', which I have read...."

"But in this book there are terrible documented pages about the bloody crimes of the Stalinist past. However great the mistakes of Solzhenitsyn, the bloody blunders of the Stalinist past are beyond comparison with him."

Indeed, when we look back at the horrifying legacy of Stalinism, it is in many ways amazing that any of the Soviet dissidents continue to maintain their belief in socialism. Yet despite the pressures exerted on them, many courageously continue to declare their allegiance to Marxism and to the socialist movement generally.

Medvedev: "Stalinism in many respects negates - and is a bloody annihilation of - Bolshevism and all revolutionary forces...the development of Marxism and scientific Communism will allow the creation of the most just human society."

Yevtushenko: "I have proven my adherence to the ideas of socialism not only by my verse but also in public appearances abroad, when young fascist thugs attacked me...."

Grigorenko and Kosterin, two men who have probably gone further than any of the dissidents in criticising the bureaucracy from classic Leninist positions, have claimed that the Soviet leadership is following policies that are "anti-socialist and contradictory to the fundamental ideas of Marxism and Leninism". They have openly characterised the Soviet leadership as a highly privileged bureaucracy.

Needless to say, the dissidents' theoretical

analysis of Soviet society, and their elaboration to a programme of action to combat the repression which they face, is generally at a very rudimentary and confused level. This is hardly surprising. As sort of "pioneers" of critical thought in contemporary Soviet society, they face immense obstacles. They encompass not only the Stalinists legacy and all its ramifications, but also the "usual" day-to-day difficulties of living under constant persecution.

Terry Auld uses the fact that most of these dissidents have concentrated their struggle on the question of democratic rights in the Soviet Union as a sign that they are a "sorry lot" who can be mainly classified as "bourgeois democrats". But democratic rights have tended to become the centre of their activity simply because it is the first obstacle which confronts them whichever way they turn, it is the total lack of these rights which inhibits their communication with wider sections of Soviet society, and severely limits the amount of reliable information which is available to them.

In discussing the Soviet dissident movement, there is one key question that must be answered: Who will gain, and likewise who will lose, from the struggle for real democracy in the Soviet Union and the other workers states?

Only the socialist cause can gain from a free discussion of the past (of the crimes of Stalinism and why they occurred), of the nature of the workers states today, and of the way forward in the future. Only the bureaucratic leaders of the workers states have a vested interest in stifling and repressing such a free flow of ideas. We only have to recall the events in Czechoslovakia during 1968, where one of the central demands to emerge was for "socialism with a human face", to see who gains and who loses from such discussion and debate, especially once the working masses begin to participate in it.

Certainly, the capitalists do not gain from this movement, as Auld implies throughout his article. The capitalists gain, and indeed have already gained, from the repression of democratic rights in the workers states. Gleeefully pointing at the crushing of the Hungarian uprising in 1956, as the bloody purges of the 1930s, at the exile of Solzhenitsyn, they are able to hypocritically moralise about "freedom" and "democratic liberties". You have only to talk to a few ordinary people in this society to understand just how well the capitalists have used such outrages in an attempt at inoculating people against the "evil" of socialism.

Auld's article has an interesting twist to it which warrants further investigation. While he attacks these first manifestations of a dissident movement in the Soviet Union, and offers no opposition to the exile of Solzhenitsyn, he nevertheless criticises some aspects of Soviet society. He points out for example, that a "privileged stratum" dominates this society, and that a process of "degeneration" has taken place. Typically, he cites the situation in China as a far more healthy alternative.

Why is this? For an answer to this we have only to look at the Moscow-Peking split.

For several decades Stalinism was a monolithic system not only within the Soviet Union, but it also totally dominated the international communist movement. Once again, there was one line: Moscow's. The communist parties of the world became more than apologists for every policy and action of the Soviet leadership, from "justifying" Stalin's pact with Hitler in 1939, to "explaining" the Hungarian invasion of 1956. Those who disagreed or wavered along the way were expelled and had the usual venom

heaped on them.

Therefore when differences developed in the world Stalinist movement - between Moscow and Peking - a split became inevitable. But with this split we see no fundamental transformations in this movement. It is now simply divided in two, with one side slavishly apologising for Moscow, the other for Peking. Instead of one Pope (Stalin), there are now two (Mao and Brezhnev).

By understanding this context, we can now see why Auld can criticise certain aspects of Soviet society. Just a few years ago he would have been accused of being a "capitalist agent" - or perhaps even a Trotskyist! - for casting the vaguest hints of criticism in that direction; today, the struggle between Moscow and Peking makes such attacks allowable.

But notice how Auld imposes certain limits on his criticism:

1) He refers to the "privileged stratum" in the Soviet Union, but does not care to cast his critical eye on a similar bureaucracy which exists in China.

2) He criticises certain aspects of the repression in the Soviet Union but refers to the crimes of Stalin (who obviously instituted some of the bloodiest repression of all time) as "alleged". The reason for this is that the Chinese leaders still uphold Stalin as a great revolutionary leader. Their criticisms of Moscow date back a very short time, to around the Khrushchev period; before that, they knelt before the dictates of the Kremlin like all other Stalinists.

3) Auld attacks the current dissident movement in the Soviet Union in terms that are not dissimilar to those of the Soviet leaders. Why is this? You do not have to be very farsighted to see that the future growth of such a movement could very well precipitate some "unhealthy" developments within China itself. Such movements have a habit of flowing over national boundaries. And where will Auld stand when a similar movement begins to emerge in China? We can be confident the persons involved will have the usual epithets hurled at them - "capitalist agents", "fascists", etc.

It is safe to predict that this article will cause a howl to go up in some quarters about "lining up with the capitalists". Auld has already set the pace in this regard through the manner in which he attacks Socialist Action's defence of Solzhenitsyn. This is simply a reflection of the Stalinist method of thinking which I described earlier: if you don't subscribe to the official line, then you can't be anything else but "pro-imperialist" and certainly not a socialist.

This method represents an implicit rejection of critical thought. We see here people who attempt to make merciless criticisms of capitalist society, but then put blinkers on when it comes to the Soviet Union and China. Like a scientist who is also a devout Christian, these people seek a scientific analysis of capitalism, and then fall on their knees, like the faithful before the Vatican, whenever China or the Soviet Union comes up.

Revolutionaries have nothing to gain by adopting this semi-religious attitude. Marxism is based first and foremost on a thorough going objectivity, and a critical appraisal of all societies and regimes in the world. As soon as some people grasp this elementary fact, certain aspects of the socialist movement will be in a far more healthy state.

Peter Rotherham



Witi is sorry for me

Tena koe,  
I have been kicked around all my life by people like Roger Steele on one hand and Sir James Wattie on the other, people who want me to do what they want rather than what my heart tells me what I should do. But unlike Roger Steele (in his review of my book *Tangi*, *Salient*, March 6), at least the aim has been at my balls. I have never been kicked in the heart before.

It is not so much his criticism of my work that bothers me for at least he has the honesty to say his literary sensibility is dim. I quite agree.

What appalls me, however, is his Pakeha cynicism which leads him to suspect my motives (opportunism, cashing in on a few memories, stealing the thunder of other Maori writers etc), and the Pakeha arrogance to say that one is "invited" (his word not mine) to forget reality and politics when reading my work and that the class interests I serve are the middle and upper classes of society rather than the oppressed sections of the Maori people. Roger Steele should keep his White liberalism, attitudes and generalisations within his

own European framework for man, he's way out.

His Pakeha attitude is also exposed in his putting down of my experience. Would you believe it, a Pakeha telling me that my experiences are "spurious"! His experiences may be different, so what! I am writing about my own and some of them are not as "quaint" as Roger Steele thinks them to be. I trust my own experience, I follow the dictates of my heart. No Pakeha or Maori, no Government, so-called "class interest", pressure group or individual will tell me what to write about my own people. If others want to tell it the way they see it, fair enough. But like Sir James, I'm sure not going to let Roger Steele patronise me (and why didn't he reprint my answer to Sir James at the "Book of the Year" ceremony?)

I just wonder what Roger Steele is trying to prove. Is he implying I am a "little brown boy"? (Man, I can shoot that implication down in flames! Is he saying I am not for the Maori people? He certainly seems to be saying my experiences are wrong and his are right. And to give credence to his view, he has done a patch-up job to suggest

I ignore racial contention (have I got news for him!), a lack of sincerity and have suspect motives. His method is a tissue of insinuations which I find ominously hilarious.

I am committed to the Maori people and Maoritanga in a way Roger Steele could never understand. I have maintained this commitment despite all the kicks I've had going through the system (and acts of Pakeha ignorance as in *Salient's* misspelling of my name as Itimaera - Sir James couldn't pronounce it properly, *Salient* can't even spell it correctly which is "hard to ignore, eh"?). Roger Steele's kick to my heart and lack of understanding about the literary genre I wrote *Tangi* in (Maori traditional poetry) shows his comprehension of Maoritanga as being less than he makes it out to be, and more than anything else I am sorry for him.

Witi Ihimaera

[We spelt your name right fifteen times. Our proofreaders missed the sixteenth. I apologise for that. - Ed.]

Hoist with our own petard

Dear Sir,

Anyone reading *Salient* can see quite clearly that you are left in your views, political, social and otherwise. But as workers in so many parts of the world have found to their sorrow, having leftists in places of influence or in charge of operations does not necessarily mean a better deal for the workers. Obviously the editor and the photographer of *Salient* consider themselves a cut above the "workers" (perhaps the two (gentle)men (?) in question don't work?) Under the heading of staff they list themselves on top of the list under their titles followed by a list of "Among the workers were..." etc not even considering it worthwhile to mention the obvious others engaged in *Salient's* production. [Who? - Ed.]

Then you finish the whole sordid business by grizzling, and making public a nasty little dig at Patsy's non-cleaning of the office. Sad isn't it? However, I send you my

Kind regards  
Ray Grosswain

