

## Gays: Up against the repressive society

A well attended public forum brought the four day Gay Liberation Conference in the Union Building to a close. A panel including a gay male, a gay female, a transvestite and a member of the society for homosexual law reform gave their views and answered questions. This forum was a vital part of the conference as ignorance is the main enemy of Gay Liberation.

### Reform or.....

Jack Goodwin from the NZ Homosexual Law Reform Society was first to speak. He said that his society had the image of being a bunch of oldies but in fact they and Gay Liberation had a lot in common.

Goodwin spoke of the difficulties in getting reform through Parliament. He praised the organisation of the National Party Conference which had passed a remit favouring law reform with a considerably larger majority than a similar Labour Party Conference remit. A number of Cabinet members and Parliamentarians are supporters of the NZHLRS. The parliamentary process is inhibiting their wish to introduce a law reform bill. Cabinet members cannot bring private members' bills into the House, and MP's in marginal seats have been discouraged from introducing such a controversial bill for fear of jeopardising their seats and the Labour Party's majority.

The Society had been concerned with the very narrow area of discrimination in law against gays, whereas Gay Liberation took on the fight against much wider areas of discrimination, said Mr Goodwin.

The Society does recognise that a new law alone is not enough, but until glaring legal discrimination is removed there isn't much chance of further progress.

New Zealanders are a timid people, with particularly timid members of Parliament, he said. You have got to say the same thing over and over until what you're saying is no longer strange and people can accept it.

### .....Revolution

"I'm as fed up as you are with society," Jack Goodwin told the conference, "but short of revolution we're doing all we can to change it."

"Let's have a revolution, then," murmured some of the audience in reply.

"Well if you want a revolution there may not be much hope for gays," replied Goodwin. "Look at Cuba."

Jack Goodwin's final remarks were on the need for unity between his society and the more radical members of the Gay Liberation.

### Blackmail and beatings

The second speaker Dick Morrison said that sodomy laws were directed against gay men, and that this repression was driving many neurotic. "The cops have broken in on gay couples at two in the morning - they have to if an anti-gay neighbour complains. And then, if they won't admit to the 'crime' of being homosexual, they must submit to a degrading physical examination. Cops also threaten gays with arrest under indecency laws."

He said there was no acceptable place for gays to meet, which left them in the degrading position of having to frequent public toilets to meet their own kind. Gays are continually harassed by police; there are cases of blackmail and beatings, and some have tried - even succeeded - to kill themselves after being arrested. Gays must live in continual fear of the police.

All of these laws have been set up for a definite purpose: to maintain the heterosexual nuclear family unit which present society depends on. People must be forced into definite sex roles to maintain it. "The law is oppression codified and enshrined"; and of course it reinforces peoples' prejudices - "Well, if it's against the law, it must be wrong."

### Crumbs from the table

These laws affect the quality of life of every gay. They must be scrapped. He said that gays demand full equality; the law repeal will be a major reform, but it must include the same age consent as for heterosexuals - not at 18-20, which he called "crumbs from the table of the rich white straight male-dominated society."

Sharon Alston then spoke for the gay women. She expressed her agreement and solidarity with Dick, saying that the audience might wonder why it was that gay women should be involved. The law did affect gay women. She said that the laws on sodomy were ridiculously vague: they refer to penetration, but don't say of what and with what. She said that gays did not want concessions - they want a total ban on all discrimination.

### The third sex

A representative then spoke for the third sex, the transvestites. She acknowledged the work of the NZHLRS but wanted far more than they were offering. She knew of people who had been kicked out of their jobs for no other reason than their gayness. One such woman was a lesbian who told the managers of a team of marching girls she led that she intended appearing on television to express her views, and would they mind? They said no, they wouldn't mind, because she didn't have a job with them any longer.

Draggs have another problem with toilets. They can't legally enter a woman's toilet, but don't like using the men's. Even transsexuals who have had surgery can't get a sex change on their birth certificates or passports. She finished by insisting that people stop waiting around and start taking action against discriminatory laws.

People were then invited to ask questions,

Many came from the gays themselves, especially asking the NZHLRS to justify its meagre demands. Mr Goodwin was asked what it was going to do once these immediate objectives were achieved: he envisaged proceeding to further reforms.

### Repression

Some of the other laws which discriminate against gays were discussed: these included the prohibition of adoption; total lack of taxation relief for dependents in gay marriages; lack of other privileges for the married such as purchasing rights, State Advances loans. Gays mentioned discrimination in employment and discrimination against children of gay parents.

Another form of discrimination was mentioned - female prostitutes are fined \$40-\$75 whereas males can get twelve months imprisonment.

A gay who had been through Teachers' College described his own harassment. It was impossible, he said, to be able to act straight all the time, and when the pupils found out they continually ridiculed him.

Another case was brought up by a lecturer who knew of a student who had been failed terms because the tutor knew the student was gay.

It was pointed out that there were even more hassles for school pupils, some of whom fail because of hangups about their sexuality. People get the impression that the best cure is to get out, screw some woman and settle down in suburbia; but the problem came back later even worse. One said that he had ended up in mental institutions. The psychiatrists themselves could not agree: Porirua had given him shock treatment to cure his homosexuality, which left him only worse; he overdosed and ended up in Sunnyside, where he was told there was nothing wrong with him and he needed rest.







# PEOPLE OR PAWNS ?

Drivers pulling up at the Brandon and Featherston Street lights last Thursday stared in wonder at a group of about 30 picketers outside Rod Weir and Co's auction rooms. Their curiosity was satisfied when picketers handed them leaflets explaining what was happening.

Students and Tenants' Protection Association members were picketing the auction of three flat properties in Kelburn. TPA opposes the present system in which tenants can be bought and sold with a house. They can be evicted on the new landlord's whim. A house advertised as 'a desirable property with substantial rents possible after up-grading' which translated means 'boot the tenants out and make a fat profit'.

Minister of Housing Fraser said the government could not intervene to protect the Kelburn tenants, or any other tenants. TPA wants the public to be aware of the plight of tenants who are used as pawns in the property speculator's game.

During the picket some landlord's running dogs on the third floor of the building poured hot liquid onto the demonstrators below.

## abortion ACTION

### Submission to Parliament

The Women's National Abortion Action Campaign (WONAAC) presented its submission to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Woman's Rights on April 9. Organisers had previously been given the impression that the Select Committee would be unwilling to dwell on this controversial issue (the hearing in fact took no more than 25 minutes), so a picket was organised to draw attention to it. The picket was also to point out that a Committee of Inquiry into Abortion set up in 1936 had sold women out by recommending no change in the laws, and the present Committee was urged to rectify this by recognising women's right to choose abortion. Police claimed it was illegal to picket inside parliament grounds (since when?), but because of pouring rain it was called off anyway.

As had been predicted, the views of those presenting the submission were not eagerly sought by the politicians, with the exception of Mary Bacheolor and Dorothy Jelichich, who were more sympathetic than the others on the Committee.

### Abortion Action Day

Wednesday, April 24, has been designated Abortion Action Day, when Woman's Abortion Action Committees in the main centres will be making a concentrated effort to bring the abortion rights campaign into the public eye and involve as many supporters as possible.

In Wellington, plans are underway for a variety of activities, in which supports of the campaign will be encouraged to participate:

### Radio Windy Talk-Back Programme

This show runs from 9am to 12 noon, hosted by Brian Edwards, Diane Cleary (WONAAC) and Jacqueline McCluggage, Secretary of the

local Women's Abortion Action Committee, will be discussing the aims of the campaign, so if you are near a radio and a telephone on April 24, they would welcome some supportive comments.

### Information Booth

The booth will be in Cuba Mall from at least 10.30am to 2pm to provide information to interested shoppers, to sell pamphlets and posters and to talk to a wide range of people.

### Speak-Out

The City Council has agreed to allow us the use of the Cuba Mall stage for an informal forum or "speak-out". The object is to provide for as many people as possible to contribute their views, to merely comment or to relate their experiences concerning abortion, contraceptive advice, efforts to get sterilised, and so on. A microphone will be available for those who need one and, to ensure a lively discussion, please be prepared to participate!

Dr Erich Geiringer, Shirley Smith (Wellington lawyer), Phil Bunkle (Vic history lecturer), Helen Smith (Porirua City Councillor) have been invited to contribute their views, together with Dr Gerald Wall MP and Dr Diana Mason (President of the Wellington Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child) who are opposed to abortion.

### Organising Meeting

After the day's activities, all woman interested in helping to organise the next WONAAC activity are invited to come along to an evening meeting. This will be in the Tennis Pavilion on Salamanca Road, next to the John Reid Squash Courts. At present, an abortion tribunal and conference is being discussed, along with the possibility of a tour by a spokeswoman from WONAAC in the United States.

If you can help with the booth, contribute at the speak-out or in preparations for Abortion Action Day, phone Jacqueline McCluggage (552-821) or come along to the Listening Room, SUB, at 2pm on Sunday, April 21 where banners, etc will be finished. Otherwise, come along on the day, and lend us a supporting voice on the talk-back programme.

—Gillian Goodger

## FROM THE COURTS

Press charge sheets are given by the Police to members of the Press before the Court begins, to enable the correct charge and name of the defendant to be recorded. If the accused is a European New Zealander no mention of his race appears on the sheet. If the accused is a Maori this appears on the sheet. Another subtle form of segregation?

In the Lower Hutt Court a young man was fined \$100 and placed on probation for one year on a charge of theft from his employer. Mr Patterson SM stated that this type of offence where an employee steals from an employer is causing a great deal of concern and is an embarrassment far beyond the \$6.50 value of the goods. No mention was made about what employers steal from employees, of course.

A young man pleaded guilty to a charge of breaking and entering. His lawyer in mitigation referred to a recent TV programme on a Detention Centre and suggested that the Court might impose such a sentence on his client together with a fine and restitution. The lawyer further stated that on his advice his client had been helpful to the police. Mr Patterson SM sentenced the defendant to an adult work centre and probation. Whose interest was the Lawyer acting for, his client's or the Courts?

A middle-aged man appeared on being found unlawfully on premises. It was obvious that he was undergoing medical treatment and the question of intent could have been raised. However the defendant pleaded guilty. Mr Patterson SM stated that the defendant had the sympathy and understanding of the Court. This was very short lived as the Magistrate imposed a fine of \$50.

A young man appeared for sentence on a charge of assaulting his wife. Police alleged that the defendant punched his wife in the face several



times. This resulted in a number of loose teeth, swollen eyes and a possible broken nose. There was also blood on the face. Counsel for the defendant stated this his client was on anti-depressant drugs and was concerned about his wife not arriving home at nights. Mr Patterson SM stated this his offence was not accepted in a civilised community but may be accepted in some other communities. Did he mean this Polynesian came from an uncivilised community?

A young Maori man appeared on a charge of getting into a Holden, the property of Murrell Motors. When asked whether he wished to be dealt with by this Court or the Supreme Court the defendant pleaded guilty, showing he did not understand what was going on. Mr Patterson SM asked if there was a Maori Welfare Officer in Court. There wasn't. The case was stood down for a short while. Later with a lawyer acting for him the accused pleaded guilty. The lawyer made an attempt to speak in mitigation for his client — but how can a lawyer successfully mitigate for a client with only 10 minutes briefing?

A young man pleaded guilty to a charge of using obscene language. Mr Patterson SM asked the defendant why he did not live at home. "Because I don't agree with my father," came the reply. "Well I don't agree with you either," replied Mr Patterson. Like a rehearsed event a snigger rippled through the court. Defendant was fined \$50 and \$5 court costs.

Some people charged in court plead guilty to the offence and engage a counsel to make mitigating remarks on their behalf. Some counsel stumble and mumble, mentioning their client was drunk or that he never appreciated the extent of the offence, and then resume their seat. This is highly unsatisfactory and occurs more frequently when the defendant has been given legal aid. Speeches in mitigation are important for giving the Magistrate factors about the defendant so that a lesser sentence can be imposed. Lawyers should treat them more seriously.

This weeks reports by Bernard Randall. The credits omitted on last weeks reports were for Wiki Oman and John Ryall.

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# EDITORIAL

## "Censored"

If Salient isn't strong enough for you: this year and you were wondering where the sting has gone, the answer is that it's been cut out by the censor.

Who is the censor? First, our legal readers. Each week after the layout is completed the issue is closely read by legal eagles who watch for libel, contempt of court, and infringements of the Indecent Publications Act. This year we've had to chop things out all over the place, and make extensive changes to a large number of stories.

The second censor is Wanganui Newspapers, our printers. Due to an archaic oddity in the law, not only writers and publishers can be done for libel, etc, but also the printers. So the men whose job it is to make negatives and plates, run the printing presses, and so on, also have to protect themselves by being censors. An example of their work was in issue 2 when they hacked out the names of drug squad detectives, for fear of repercussions, despite the factuality of the article.

Before any of the censoring takes place, of course, is the editing and writing. And that's where the biggest cuts are made. There are so many articles I would like to write or print that under the present law and in the present climate of opinion, I cannot. About magistrates, for example. We can make general, vague criticisms about the courts and justice and get away with it. But when it comes to specific criticisms of

— whether magistrates, lawyers, police, we are effectively gagged.

About politicians there are so many things that need to be said but cannot. In New Zealand the gap between what is being preached and what is being practised is widening every day, largely because the press, especially the radical press, cannot touch it for fear of lawsuits. In New Zealand every day business interests connive or buy more influence among politicians, who are becoming progressively less democratic and more corrupt.

For instance, we could tell you about Norm Kirk the [redacted] at [redacted] or what Muldoon said about [redacted] Maori blood or about the shares that [redacted] has in Ivan Watkins Dow or Muldoon has in [redacted]. We could go on and on, exposing mini and maxi Watergates in NZ politics, except that the censor would have to go on cutting them out.

In this respect, Norm and Co's mumblings about Radio Windy and other tamely radical media, are to be viewed with the gravest alarm. From way back Norm has had a suspicious attitude to the media, calling off press conferences, denying critical journalists access to interviews, and so on. Now that his boys like [redacted] are also getting heavy handed, what is "freedom of speech" worth?

Another recent sinister event is Harold Wilson's suing newspapers in Britain for defamation. Politicians have done this in NZ already, of course, but not a Prime Minister, as far as I am aware.

People such as politicians who stand for positions of responsibility should expect, invite, and not be afraid of the most trenchant criticism. Similarly, journalists should be given the freedom to act as watchdogs on people in responsible positions. They try to at the moment, but find their teeth in danger of being forcibly extracted.

Salient has similar difficulties in attempting to report the tenants side of landlord/tenant relationships. Many stories this year have been emasculated for fear of defamation action even though our facts have been triple-checked for accuracy. The law, you see, claims to allow "fair comment", but it is those with financial interests in this society who control the courts. They aim to protect themselves, and so we are up against the ruling class definition of "fair comment".

The same point applies to landlords as it does to politicians — they are in a position of control over people's lives, and should be fully accountable to the people.

Needless to say, the only way to finally get rid of landlord problems is to get rid of landlords.

We have even run into defamation problems here on campus. Some academics evidently consider themselves above criticism, and have made rumbling noises about suing us. Last year we actually [redacted] from one of them.

What is to be done? As I see it, little can be done as long as society is structured the way New Zealand is. As long as decisionmaking and influence remain in the hands of a few rather than in the masses, there will always be injustice and people wanting to cover up.

If there is to be any short term solution, it will come from a change in attitudes about what responsibility entails. All people in positions of responsibility must declare their interests and be answerable to those whose lives they affect.

There will have to be some rewriting of the law relating to defamation, and Salient intends to print articles on this question in the future. It's a difficult question, because the law cannot be simply scrapped. Some form of protection must remain against false and malicious attacks on public figures, and abuse of journalistic license.

Whatever way it is done, whatever way the law is rewritten, it must be changed. At present the laws of defamation are hopelessly constricting on journalists and on the free press.

—Roger Steele

## Clean up the beach (& your soul !)

by Kevin Miles (Environmental Officer)

On April 20 there is going to be a beach clean-up at Oriental Bay. "So what?"

Publicity obviously; radio announcers will be there, newspaper reporters, 2ZM, 2ZB.... the whole works. "Publicity for what?" To tell people that there is still an environment around to live in this year and probably for a couple more years. But also to tell them that we may not always be so optimistic, if we remain complacent.

So what can Ecology Action do? Are they just a useless bunch of EcoFreaks helplessly decrying the situation? Obviously so much will only be superficial talk. Even if it is possible to make local bodies create suitable environmental laws, they still must adequately enforce them and as with any other situation, the majority of the people must be in accord with the laws to make them work.

But the environment crisis is more basic — it's life styles that require changing as well. As Wendell Berry says in "Think Little" — "...the environmental crisis rises closer to home. Every time we draw a breath,

every time we drink a glass of water, every time we eat a bit of food we are suffering from it. And more important, every time we indulge in, or depend on, the wastefulness of our economy — and our economy's first principle is waste — we are causing the crisis. Nearly every one of us, nearly every day of his life, is contributing directly to the ruin of this planet. A protest meeting on the issue of environmental abuse is not a convocation of accusers, it is a convocation of the guilty. That realisation ought to clear the smog of self-righteousness that almost conventionally hovered over these occasions, and let us see the work that is to be done."

And the work is understanding our position fully in respect to our environment and educating by example once this position is understood. If we start at Oriental Bay maybe, just maybe, we can make a clean sweep of the whole town, and go right to the hearts of the people: "not by words will we find truth, but by the side of a sewerage outlet and on a congested motorway."

## Salient Notes

All the Salient workers were away on holiday over Easter, so the issue produced itself. Countries keep on wanting independence, nations liberation, people keep on wanting revolution, and Salient keeps churning out like an irresistible historical trend.

The Salient office is on the middle floor of the Union Building. LETTERS can be stuffed in the box outside, handed to the editor, or posted to Box 1347, Wellington.

The phone number is 70319 and the editor's home phone is 554-884, Norman Kirk take note.

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# Suffering the obstacle course

## Re-orienting the University

Talk at the latest meeting of the October Club centred around the Orientation Week discussions and lectures. This year a group of students formed an Orientation Committee to approach stage 1 students to try and create some awareness among students about their role in the university, and the university's role in society.

The medium chosen was that which figures most prominently in the life of the student — the lecture. Coupled with hand-outs which tried to create student awareness, these lectures were aimed at building an atmosphere conducive to dialogue and discussion.

### Opposition

Some staff members were receptive to the action that was being initiated. Others, however, were quite dubious, and apparently fearful of what might evolve from free, critical discussion of the issues facing their departments. The difficulty of actually getting into some departments necessitated toning down some of the lectures.

If everyone is to be reached, a cordial atmosphere between staff and student must be maintained.

The actions of the Orientation Committee were bred out of the dissatisfaction and frustration which are rife on campus at the moment, and the belief that these feelings are unavoidable consequences of the way the university operates and what it operates for. Many students simply do not enjoy university life — university is seen as a sort of obstacle course, a suffering that one has to experience to achieve some distant but enticing future happiness. Students tend to view their problems as peculiar to themselves, not realising that the problems arise not from within, but from outside pressures.

Orientation lectures attempted to create this realisation. The solution of the problem is in a sense socialistic because the problem becomes not an individual one, but that of the group. The focus therefore is not on the individual but on collective participation and organisation.

### Rationales preclude analysis

Many students have a dismal attitude,

resulting from a long history of constricting and negative influences. Critical awareness is minimal and honest appraisal of what education is all about is dextrously avoided. The development of such an attitude is ably assisted by the ideological slants of the subjects that are taught. Many subjects simply discourage critical appraisal of their own particular reason for existence. From sociology to chemistry to business administration, underlying rationales preclude a true critical analysis.

Most subjects are grounded in a firm belief in the virtues of empiricism, of a supposedly value-free study of simply "what is". If what exists around the student is to be studied, and the scope for this type of superficial study is endless, then to accommodate it all and continue studying it, almost unavoidably leads the student to a position of assent, to an unquestioning acceptance of the status quo. Challenges posed to this orthodox method are treated in a totally cursory fashion, because alternatives cannot be studied by such methods.

Take, by way of example, the study of dialectics. The theory involves the resolution of contradictory and opposing forces, and yet it is studied with methods embedded in theories involving equilibrium theory



which involves ideas totally inappropriate for the study of the conflicts of dialectics. The study of radical alternatives therefore becomes mere tokenism, and the supposedly liberal arts in reality are as narrow and accepting as commerce and science subjects, because all are reducible to a common denominator of ideological mystification.

### Alienation

A lot of students have no idea why feelings of frustration and discontentment abound. The university after all is really nothing more than the people in it, and to talk therefore of university as something "out there", detached and dominating, can only mean that the student feels discontentment with the social relations that the people at university have established. This feeling of alienation, from what should really be the fruitful and rewarding relationships with those whom one is surrounded with, finds its counterpart in other areas of university life. Subjects, for instance, are not to be enjoyed but mastered. Instead of becoming part of a student's life, they become outside of and opposed to the student, to be strenuously avoided. This can be seen in the way in which textbooks are avoided like the plague in the period November to March. As long as knowledge is to be dissected, dealt out and digested, and learning manipulated and distorted,

so as to become compliant with the demands of getting a job and earning a living, such alienation is unavoidable.

### Staff not the enemy

The focus of conflict in the university is not staff-student relationships. The idea that they are is a throwback to days at school, and memories of authoritative and apparently omnipotent teachers. The polarisation that this mistaken view leads to is a hindrance to staff-student unity and frustrates the creation of a learning atmosphere.

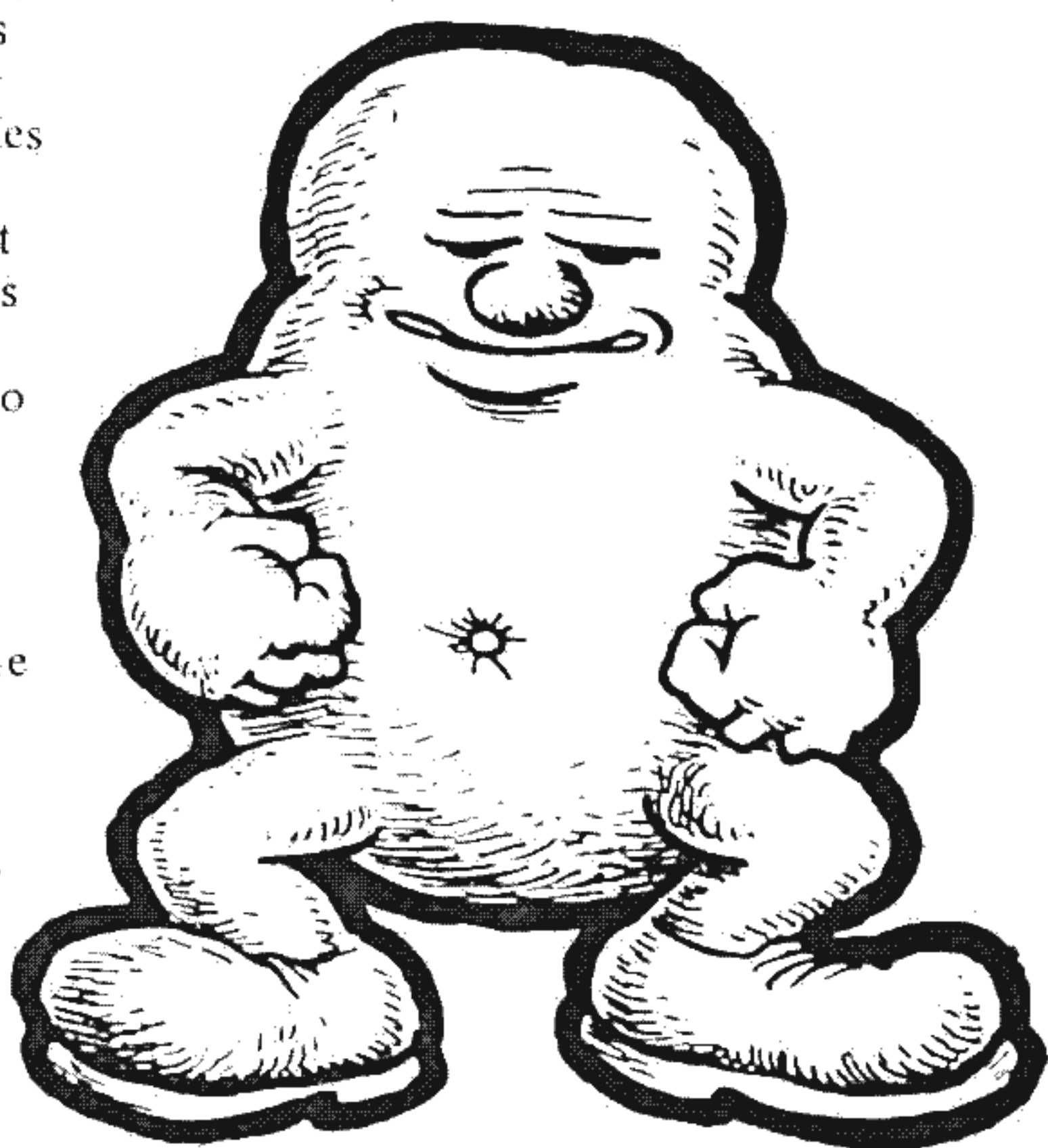
Staff themselves have their own set of pressures that tend to ensure the maintenance of the present system. For instance, the roles of teacher and administrator are closely tied and the possibility of personal advancement necessarily involves "toeing the line", and the desire is not to become a better teacher but to become a better administrator. Surely if a lecturer or tutor is to become fully involved in learning as well as teaching, then he should be free from promotional concerns and constricting administrative preoccupations.

### No assessment

Assessment, something which is a direct course of the present dissatisfaction on campus is not in itself wrong or somehow injurious. But the reasons for being assessed will determine the methods of assessment used, and the strictness with which they are applied. The university, as it stands, is an institution interlocking with the rest of society. Its continuance demands that it fulfils its functions within society, and so the question of the university's function in society cannot be divorced from the question of assessment and its function. As long as the system of which the university functions as a part, demands that students be rigorous and strictly assessed, on the basis of quite distorted criteria, then the problems associated with assessment will remain.

The type of change that the October Club is hoping to achieve and which was attempted by the Orientation Committee involves advancement on two levels. Dialogue and thought must be complemented by positive action. This combination of action and reflection should lead to changes on both the level of structure and consciousness. This sort of synthesis was the one aimed for by the Orientation Committee. The success achieved and the experience and guidelines gained promise well for future action.

—Patrick Martin



Mike O'Flaherty, like David Tripe, seems to be under the misconception that middle-class Pakehas are less entitled to liberation than their working-class Maori sisters.

Mike O'Flaherty does not approve of the concentration of the women's liberation movement on the abortion issue, does he think he, as a male, can choose which issues the women's movement should concentrate on, and which it should cast aside? Does he consider himself an expert on women's suffering?

He doesn't think that the abortion movement will help working-class women. It is true that reform of the abortion laws would benefit very few women. But repeal of the abortion laws would benefit all women. However, as a man, he is not really in a position to appreciate what it would mean to a woman to have the right to choose.

As to his comment about fighting capitalist society. Of course we recognise capitalism as the oppressor. The full demands of the women's liberation movement cannot be met by the capitalist system. However, not every woman has the same political opinion, and we are more concerned at present with getting women to recognise their oppression, than with having political wrangles. The women's movement is different and independent from all other movements and must not be confined by political boundaries. While it must unfold according to its own dynamic, it is also a part of the broader anti-capitalist struggle.

Because women have a basic interest in supporting and allying with others who are fighting against oppression, University Feminists has every intention of uniting with other women's groups, especially Maori women's groups. What we don't intend doing, as I pointed out in the article, is arrogantly organising liberation groups for them. Every oppressed group must work out its programme of demands itself, otherwise its usefulness would be destroyed.

Is that so difficult to understand, Mr O'Flaherty?

University Feminists meets every Monday night in the Student Union Building. Meetings during April are all in the Listening Room. No meeting on April 15. The AGM will be held late in April. Watch noticeboards for details.

Not necessarily group views.

—Fern Hickson

# UP FROM UNDER

In reply to Mike O'Flaherty, Salient No. 4, March 27, 1974.

The intention of the 'Up From Under' column in Salient No. 3 was to reply to some comment made about the women's liberation movement. It was not intended to indicate what the movement is trying to liberate itself from. I should think that that is obvious, and anyway it would take more than one article in Salient to discuss it.

Just as he has misconstrued the purpose of the article, Mike O'Flaherty has misconstrued the theme of the article. Comments were made about University Feminists, and therefore comments can only be applied to University Feminists. That University Feminist members are mainly middle-class Pakehas does not lead to the broad generalisation that the women's movements as a whole is middle-class and Pakeha. Besides,

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# Student politics

## alive and well at AGM

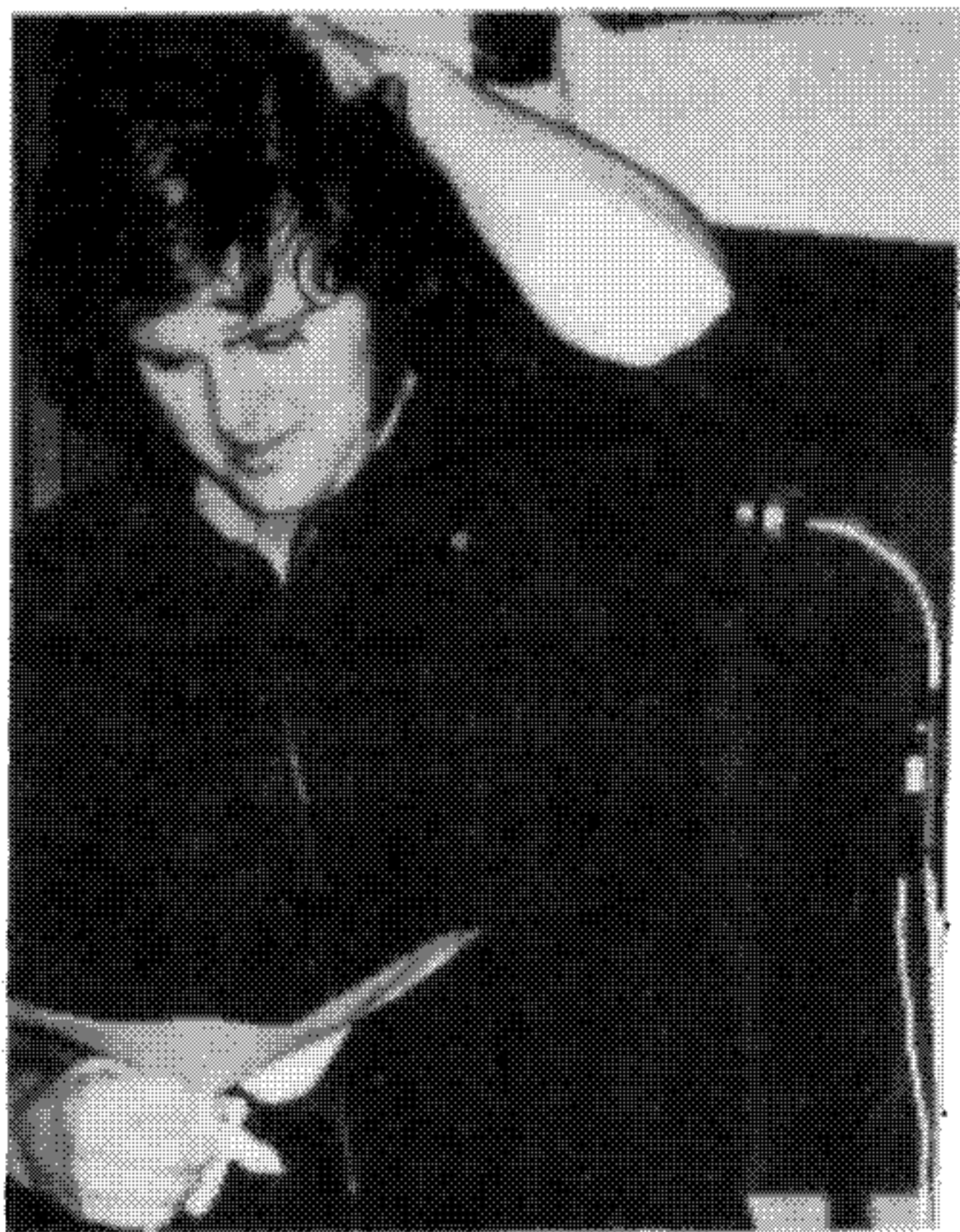
About 90 people turned up to the Students' Association A.G.M. on Tuesday April 9th. The report of last year's treasurer, Byron Cullen, stirred the meeting into life. The fact that neither Cullen nor the accounts were present produced general hostility. Various methods were put forward of making sure that treasurers were in future present at the A.G.M. with the accounts. Eventually it was decided that a motion of no confidence would be passed and something would be done to ensure that the treasurer would be present at the next A.G.M. Local Aesop Mike Law told the meeting that there was a moral to this story — "this is what to expect if you elect right-wing Christians to positions of office."

### Office Boy to Life Member.....

Gyles Beckford presented a petition with seventy-five signatures requesting that Graeme Collins be made a life member at the Association. This was passed unanimously by the meeting with sustained applause. Graeme, who arrived at Vic some time in the middle nineteen sixties, started on his path to glory by being Salient office boy. Since then at one time or another he has done every other job on Salient, even editing a few issues. He has held a number of Exec. positions and was president in 1971. While in these positions, he actually worked! Graeme has also worked on just about every committee around the place and has given years of service as a student rep on Prof. Board and Council. In addition to his positive contribution to student welfare, Graeme has worked tirelessly in a wide range of progressive political organisations. All this (and more) while completing a law degree.

### Change in Constitution

A number of constitutional changes were put forward. The first was proposed by David Cunningham and asked that his Executive position, N.Z.U.S.A. liaison officer, be abolished. This was eventually passed with the amendment that this motion come into effect in 1975. David also proposed that an accommodation officer be added to the Exec.; this was carried. Thirdly, he proposed that a new position be created to co-ordinate S.R.C. representatives. He thought that the present S.R.C. system was useless and that an appointment of someone responsible for making it work would be a great step



Graeme Collins trying to think of something to say

forward. Objections to this were that the new officer would have no power and would be an unnecessary member of Exec. However, the motion was eventually carried.

The aim of constitutional changes in election procedure was to make student elections less of a farce than they have been in past years. Before this A.G.M. if there was only one candidate for an Executive position that person was declared elected and there was no ballot. This situation in no way gauged student feeling for the candidate and produced a mandate by default. A motion was passed which now requires every candidate to be included in the ballot. This means that if unopposed candidates receive more than 50% 'no' votes they do not get in.

### Abolish Capping?

One issue close to the hearts of the silent majority is capping. A motion which would have re-allocated the budgeted money for capping was withdrawn after a speaker asked the meeting to consider the need for a balance between political and social aims of the Association. By abolishing capping week, he said, a further distance would result between the main student body and their representatives. Executive members said that no interest in running capping was shown at the last SRC. The people who had

been shouting that capping week should go ahead eventually formed a committee and mumbled 'well, at least we might have a look and see what could be done'. \$300 has been allocated for capping.

### Solidarity — Pensioners and Students

The trend towards students showing responsibility for other sections of the community was seen at the AGM. A motion from Colin Feslier 'that VUWSA donate \$200 to the Wellington Pensioners and Beneficiaries Association and write to them assuring them of our support' was passed unanimously.

### Unhealthy, Fatty....

What else but cafe food! Again the complaints about the lack of variety, the absence of nutritional value and the high prices were voiced and each time louder. However, the situation is not simple exploitation of the poor student by the capitalist caterers, as various members of the catering committee explained. There are high labour costs, made even higher by the need to employ labour to clear away the filthy mess left by the students. Full staff numbers have to be kept up even during the slack periods.

Although vegetarian meals have been clamoured for, when they were actually pro-

SALIENT PAGE FIVE, PARIL 17 vided, they proved to be one of the slowest moving items. It was agreed that some balance must be maintained and that less pastry and cakes be supplied to allow for more fruit and vegetables.

### No-confidence Vote

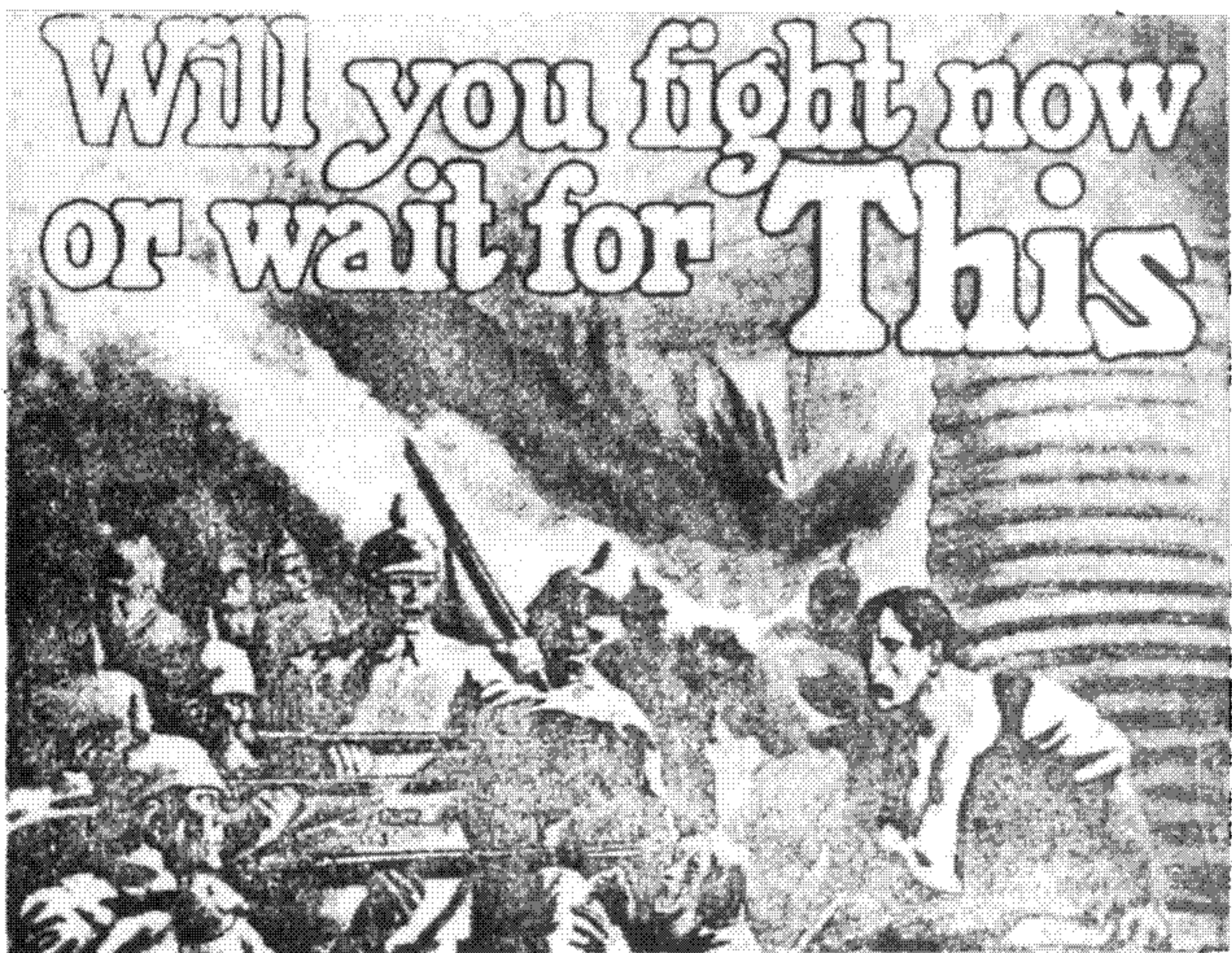
Last of the formal motions was a vote of no confidence in the position of Deputy Managing Secretary of the V.U. Building. This motion was carried.

### Privileges for Some

Don Carson, the Association's Sports Officer moved that the Association should make a definite stand over the proposed leasing of the new cricket pavilion. At the moment \$22,000 of student and university money has been lent to the cricket, soccer and hockey clubs to enable them to have the right to lease the top half of the pavilion. The terms of the lease, according to the Wellington City Council, are that only club members and no others, — student or non-student, can use the facilities. The situation is especially strained because the student membership in this year's cricket club is twenty. The motion was passed which prohibits any lease being signed which allows only hockey and cricket club members the use of the facilities.

### Support for Kindergarten Teachers

The final motion from the floor called for students to support the claim by Kindergarten Trainee Teachers for an allowance equal to Primary School Trainees. It was carried unanimously.



# ONE YEAR AFTER

Last week we commemorated the anniversary of Lenin's birth. But we neglected another important anniversary. The date of the calling off of the 1973 Springbok Rugby tour of New Zealand. Here is the text of a pamphlet prepared by the National Anti-Apartheid Committee for the occasion.

On April 10, 1973 — a year ago today — the Government informed the New Zealand Rugby Football Union that the scheduled 1973 springboks tour would have to be abandoned until such time as the South Africans were able to select their team on merit.

What has happened in the year since the Springboks tour was cancelled?

### Government

Government for its part has been consistent in upholding the Olympic principles of non-discrimination in sport. As a result no racially selected team has been allowed into New Zealand over the past year. But while Government will not permit racially

selected teams to enter New Zealand and flaunt apartheid under our noses, Mr Kirk has made it clear that Government is not prepared to prevent New Zealand teams travelling abroad to compete against South African teams. Government is however firmly opposed to this contact, and invariably communicates its opposition and its concern to the sporting bodies concerned.

### Sports Bodies

In the past year a number of New Zealand sporting bodies have sent teams to compete in South Africa. These include squash, surf lifesaving, womens hockey, trampolining and a club rugby team. In the coming three years a large number of New Zealand sporting bodies will seriously consider competing against South Africa. These include womens hockey, squash, rugby, softball (mens and womens), golf, bowls, netball, tennis and others. By going to South Africa, these teams are helping to undo much of the good work achieved by the abandonment of the Springboks rugby tour.

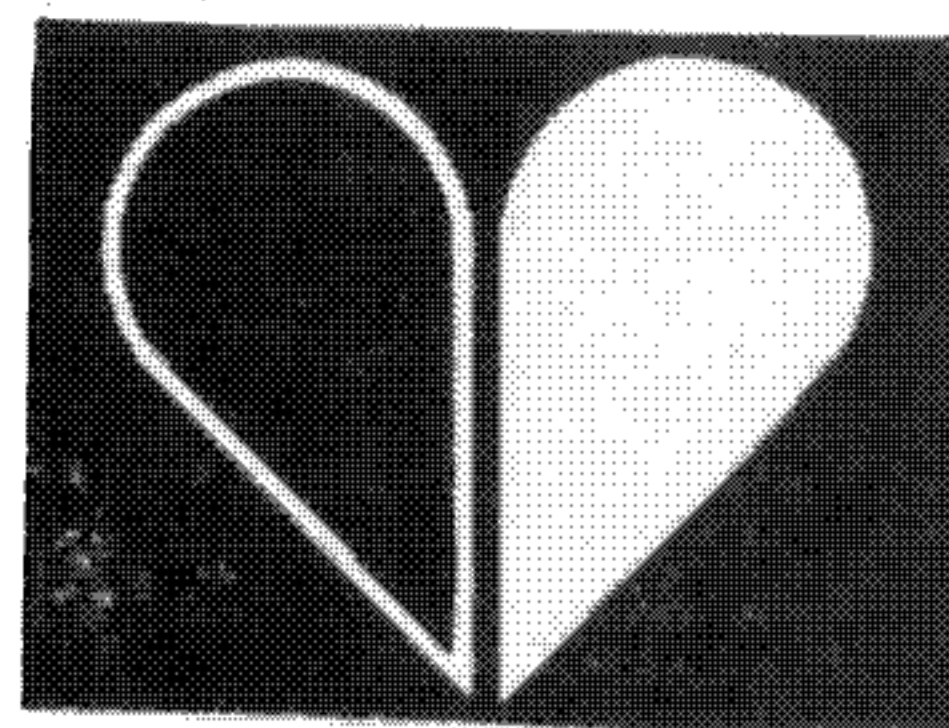
By competing against South Africa these sports bodies are defying both international opinion and their own Government. They are behaving in an arrogant and a selfish manner. They are taking decisions which will reflect badly upon their own nation, and which will give aid and support to those attempting to ensure the continuation of white domination and control in South Africa.

Before deciding against racist South African teams, New Zealand sporting bodies should look carefully at the behaviour of their Australian counterparts. Faced with similar situations, in the past few weeks two Australian sporting bodies (tennis and squash) have decided against touring South

Africa because of the opposition of the Australian Government.

### Racists desperate for NZ support

Our sporting bodies should realise that white South Africa is looking to them for their aid and support now more than ever before. It is no good our sporting administrators saying "we are not important sports", or "we will only send a club team". South African racists need them all. Take the recent Petone club tour for example: Their baggage manager, Mr Johannes du Plessis summed it up when he said (*Dominion* 2.3.74): "South Africans feel very badly about the cancellation of last year's tour. Petone's tour is more than just a club tour. We must, and do, treat



them as internationals. They are making up for the loss of the Springboks rugby tour of New Zealand."

### Oppression in South Africa increasing

Some people maintain that the situation is improving in South Africa. Take Andy Leslie; he was captain of the Petone rugby team on their recent South African tour. When he arrived back in New Zealand he told reporters (*Dominion* 28.3.74):

"I was surprised at the lack of apartheid in South Africa. We were told it was everywhere. We saw virtually none of it."

Apparently he failed to notice, among other things, that every team he played against had been selected according to the principles of apartheid!

Oppression inside South Africa is increasing, not diminishing. Just consider the following:

Under new legislation introduced this year it will be possible for the South African authorities to punish non-racial sports body who make representations to international sports bodies for membership.

Last year Mr Hassa Howa, Chairman of the non-racial cricket body had his passport removed in order to prevent him from travelling to London to put the case of his association before the Imperial Cricket Conference. Furthermore, Mr Morgan Naidoo, Secretary of the non-racial swimming association was slapped with a banning order after the racist swimming body had been expelled from the international swimming body.

Even Graeme Thorne, the ex-All Black who has recently returned from South Africa had to admit that "It is going to take an awful lot to persuade South African whites to pack down in the same scrum with blacks."

No one should believe that by playing non-White South African sides any improvements are likely to come about. Hassa Howa is very clear on this:

"Matches between visiting sports teams and non-white South African sides are a lot of rubbish and nothing but window dressing. That sort of thing does not help non-white sportsmen. When people understand about apartheid, and what is happening in this country, they won't play sport against South Africa. It only condones apartheid. I agree with the stand taken by HART and CARE. We sing the same song."



# ELECTIONS

The AGM discussed several motions that will nominally reshape the executive of the association. From a practical point of view, the passing of them has little effect on the forthcoming elections except to confuse them momentarily. The following is the Electoral Committee's interpretation of them for the election April 23 and 24.

(i) The position of President remains unchanged and the candidates are: Don Carson, Stephen Lungley, John McDonald, Peter Rotherham.

(ii) The motion regarding NZUSA Liaison Officer has the effect of removing this position as of December 31, 1974. In other words, it will be contested by: Tony Lane, Anthony Ward.

(iii) Under motion number 5 any position for which only one application is received, then that applicant must receive at least 50% of the vote, i.e. not more than 50% of voters having struck out his/her name.

The only nomination received for the position of Woman's vice-president was that of Diane Hooper. Under normal circumstances her appointment would

be final as of the last possible time that she was able to withdraw her application (4.30 Monday, April 8)

It is a debatable point as to whether or not this motion can or should effect the election process that has already been started. The committee leans toward the view that the spirit of the constitution and the spirit of the motion itself should be interpreted to include this motion in the rules for the forthcoming election. However this point has not been finally decided, but it will be made clear on the voting papers.

Candidates are reminded that photographs for display at polling places can be obtained through application to Salient urgently. Polling booths will be at the following times and places:

Tuesday April 23 and Wednesday 24.  
Library Foyer 8am and 6pm both days.  
Student Union Foyer 8am to 7pm both days.

There will be an election forum on Monday April 22 - watch for notices of time and place.

Robert Lithgow  
Returning Officer



Don Carson  
Presidential candidate



Expressed student opinion will determine my actions throughout the remainder of this year if I am elected President. SRC is the policy-making body of the Students Association and no member of the Exec can disregard its directives. Those who disagree with SRC policy have the opportunity to change it through a democratic process instead of choosing to make allegations about the operations of a mythical clique. I will continue to be available to all students wanting advice, support or just to talk.

I am an Arts student, the present Sports Officer, and have been active in student affairs for the past three years. Because of this experience I have an extensive knowledge of both the way the university and student activities are operated and of the personnel involved; this is important knowledge for a President especially when he is elected in a by-election to take office immediately.

The provision of student car parks in Wait-e-ata Road is a recent positive achievement that I can claim. As Sports Officer it is difficult to separate personal achievements from collective efforts, or

John McDonald  
Presidential candidate



I am a student standing for President of the Students Association, interested in giving rebirth to student social activity, at the expense of intellectual wanking. I am an alternative to the 'clique' who for the past year or so, have controlled internal politics and finance. Hopefully the majority can once again control decision-making for the student body.

My reasons for standing for President are numerous. Firstly, I am tired with the constant attacks by left-wing extremists alleging that most students are apathetic and not interested in student affairs; this is incorrect, students are interested but resent having to express their opinion through Maoist or socialist representatives. Secondly, I object to a 'clique' carrying so little student support controlling the Students Association, many of whom are using their posts to expound extreme left-wing views. Thirdly, it concerns me that the present executive have spent too much time on arguing the virtues of the far left and not enough time catering for the desires of students in general.

The past year has shown that the

bureaucratic functioning. Because of Sports Council policy I have initiated, a small number of elitist and badly run clubs will find it difficult to receive grants this year. Better grants will be available to those clubs which deserve them.

If elected President, my primary concerns will be among the areas listed below and I will work towards them at both the SRC and Exec level.

1) Academic workload is the most immediate problem facing the majority of Victoria students. Activity in social, sporting and political life has dropped off alarmingly in the last year.

2) Because of the pressing needs of work, SRC has declined as an active forum for policy discussion. I intend to cooperate with the SRC Co-ordinator to give a high priority to providing opportunities for wider student participation and involvement in areas as diverse as capping or the forthcoming ZANU appeal raffle.

3) The cafeteria facilities can and must be improved. Wastage on perishable items must cease and retail buying of fruit and vegetables must be replaced with wholesale buying. The number of food outlets in the Union and their efficiency should also

Students' Association has been tightly controlled by a group of extremists who have little interest for the students in general. They have in their attempt to destroy Capping done away with the social activities of Capping - was this a reflection of student opinion? If not why has this sort of activity been abolished?

Dissatisfaction is rife in the university - it comes from many neglected quarters. There is a concern by many students that secrecy as to the goings on of the Students Association is a practice of the Students Association. There is some truth in this. I believe every student should if desired have the right to know, Student Association activities and decisions will be published in Salient weekly.

If I am elected President I will inherit the problems associated with the cafeteria. I will look at evidence of different groups and decide which is the best way to improve the cafeteria; after a series of public forums on the problem will have been held.

Basically I am an alternative to the various left wing candidates; personally I am liberal-moderate in my political out-

be investigated.

4) The first priority for Welfare Services must be the provision of adequate creche facilities; the theatre foyer is not a long term solution. There are vacant university buildings in Kelburn Parade which could be used for a creche.

5) The Staff Club in Rankine Brown is a privileged facility. If regular liquor provisions are obtained for the Union, the Staff Club should revert to library use. Staff and student relations will be enhanced by sharing recreational facilities.

I make no apology for, or secret of, my political beliefs. Last year I was on the executive of the Wellington Committee on Vietnam and have worked with other organisations for progressive change both on and off campus. I will give continued support to progressive groups such as the Tenants Protection Association, the National Anti Apartheid Committee, the Committee on Vietnam, Pensioner's Association, and others.

My previous experience has been: Sports Officer, SRC Rep on the Joint Committee of University Council, Publications Board, Victoria International delegate to 1973 May and August NZUSA Councils.

look. This is immaterial if elected, for not as one of my opponents wrote: "Most students do not vote: I do not represent them or their interests. Such students are representative of an ignorance and selfishness that imagines....." - Don Carson. For on becoming President I will represent all students.

I believe that all clubs at this university should have the right to use facilities of the university free of charge. If and when the Sports Council takes the licence with the City Council they will be asked by the Sports Officer to allow all groups within the university to have free access for functions, provided the group is responsible.

Finally I ask you to record the words of Abraham Lincoln - a President should be "from the people" a reflection of public opinion within the society from which he comes; "for the people" once elected representing all those he is President for; "by the people" without a positive vote from you the above will become invalid. I ask each and everyone of you for your vote.

## Other Candidates

Two Presidential candidates failed to present their manifestos before the stated deadline. They are Peter Rotherham and Stephen Lungley.

Both candidates for NZUSA Liaison Officer also failed to show up in time for photographs and with their manifestos; Tony Lane and Anthony Ward.

The deadline was advertised in Salient two weeks ago, so these candidates have only themselves to blame.

To find out what their views are and what their faces look like, come to the election forum on April 22.



Diane Hooper  
Woman Vice-presidential candidate

Creche facilities and student involvement in their own association would be the two areas of my immediate concern as Woman Vice President.

The students trip to CHINA is on again this year. For details, see the union noticeboards.





# Abortion and Women's Rights

*The following is the text of a submission to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Women's Rights by the National Abortion Action Committee. The hearing of the submission took place on April 9, 1974.*

The Women's National Abortion Action Campaign was initiated to campaign for the removal of all restrictions on women's right to control their own reproductive lives. We believe that one of the most outstanding injustices to women in New Zealand is the fact that restrictions on this right still exist, a right which we feel is basic and essential for the achievement of real emancipation and human dignity for the female sex.

To quote from a leaflet we distribute:—"It is a woman's fundamental right to decide for herself when and if she will bear children, to have control over her own body. This right is presently denied by the laws prohibiting abortion, by the laws prohibiting those under 16 from obtaining contraceptives, by the lack of free, easily available contraception and sterilisation, and by the backward attitude of our educational institutions towards realistic sex education. All women suffer to some extent in this situation, but those with means suffer less than poorer women. The right to be free from the fear of unwanted pregnancy and childbirth must become a reality for all women."

## A Novel Idea?

Our point of view on abortion and birth control in general is far from new; it has been put forward for decades by women all over the world. From the beginning of the twentieth century, women in many countries have demanded and fought for the legalisation of abortion, on basically the same grounds that we do: that women have a right to freedom of choice in a matter concerning them so closely.

Our own New Zealand experience is worth noting here. In 1936, the major women's organisations in this country were among those who made submissions to a Committee of Inquiry into the incidence of septic abortion. Widespread concern had been expressed at the rise in the number of women dying as a result of illegal abortion over the preceding years. The case for legal abortion was put forward, and, according to the Committee's report (NZ Parliament. Appendix to the Journals. 1937-38, v3, H-31A.) the sentiment behind it was substantially backed by public opinion. On page 11 the report states: "It is clear

that, whether the motives be worthy or selfish, women of all classes are demanding the right to decide how many children they will have."

And on page 18: "Evidence was given by responsible and representative women in support of a mother's right to say when she will bear her children..."

However, the Committee chose to ignore these opinions, to characterise this right of women as a "privilege", and to recommend as a "solution" to the problem of illegal abortion a strong appeal to the womanhood of New Zealand to overcome their "selfishness" and respect the "privileges of motherhood"!

We sincerely hope the women of New Zealand will not be offered the same "solution" in 1974.

## Science and Social Policy

Women have always wanted control over their reproductive lives. What is new is the possibility today for meeting that desire easily and safely. Medical science can now provide women with complete security against unplanned childbirth.

The great advances in contraception made in the past few decades have raised women's expectations. Sexual relationships need no longer be fraught with anxiety about unwanted pregnancy, anxiety which has been a blight on the lives of virtually all women and which no man ever has to experience.

The new methods of early abortion which have been developed can further dispel that anxiety by providing a simple, non-traumatic solution to contraceptive failure.

Undoubtedly, if we had a positive social policy, both pre- and post-conception birth control methods could be even further improved.

Such advances can be of real benefit to women and can greatly enhance their feelings of security and dignity, by giving them control over an important area of their lives.

Yet we are faced with the absurd contradiction that these advances are being denied to women.

Contraceptives are not legally available to all. They are costly, they are not readily accessible, and they are simply denied to

some by doctors who refuse to prescribe them for their own personal reasons. Women cannot effectively choose to prevent pregnancy unless they have all the means of prevention available to them.

We have laws prohibiting abortion, the origin of which dates back to last century. For most women who conceive accidentally, the only alternative offered by this society is compulsory continuation of pregnancy. The right to choose, which was never guaranteed before conception, is definitely unavailable after it, except to the few who have the cash and the connections. And their "choice", involving as it does clandestine activity and possible risk to health, is just as degrading alternative. Equally degrading is the manner in which the law allows abortion only to those whose health is seriously endangered or those who are prepared to have themselves certified to be on the verge of mental collapse.

Sterilisation operations are refused to women on the grounds that they have not produced sufficient children. Many gynaecologists do not consider women fit to make such a decision for themselves, and they arrogantly make it for them. Applicants for sterilisation operations are also required to obtain the consent of their spouse, even if they are separated from them.

Sex education in our high schools is a farce. By the time they receive it, young people today are already aware of how to produce a pregnancy; what they want to know is how to prevent it.

## Effects of Restrictions on the right to choose

Since abortion has been labelled a crime, it is extremely difficult to get an accurate picture of how many women suffer through lack of access to safe, legal abortion. The facts are buried under a heap of secrecy and hypocrisy. The only serious study we know of is the National Research Bureau Survey made in early 1972, which was commissioned by the Abortion Law Reform Association. That survey estimated that about 6,500 illegal abortions were taking place annually. It also estimated that attempts at abortion totalled about 11,000 a year.

There are other figures which have

bearing on this question, such as the continuing high rate of births outside marriage, the numbers of women under 16 who give birth, and the proportion of brides who are pregnant, which is widely claimed to be one in three. It would be ridiculous to pretend that all the births involved in these cases were voluntary. The area in which it is most difficult to see the effects of abortion laws is that of married women, having no recourse to adoption, these women must resign themselves to additions to their family if they have an unwanted pregnancy. According to the above-mentioned survey, married women constitute well over half of those seeking abortion.

Our case does not stand on numbers alone. If an injustice is being done, it matters little whether it is to one person or one million; it is still an injustice. But it is clear to us that the abortion laws and other restrictions on birth control have been responsible for bringing a great deal of strain and misery into the lives of many thousands of women over the years.

## The Wider Implications

Women's susceptibility to the unplanned birth of a child is used to discriminate against them in employment and throughout public life. Employers refuse to promote women or accept them for positions of responsibility on the grounds that they might get pregnant and have to leave. Only a few years ago, a large national bank had a policy of sacking women upon marriage, in anticipation of their becoming pregnant! Mortgage finance is refused to women on these grounds also. In fact, when women try to make any kind of long-term commitment, they come up against this barrier of being considered a "poor risk".

We wish to state here that we firmly believe there should be no handicaps placed on women simply because they have children, and we would draw the committee's attention to other submissions which deal with the need for maternity leave, childcare and so on. But we insist that if women are to be able to enjoy equal opportunity with men, they must be given the means to plan their lives, and this includes the means to exercise free-

(Continued on next page)



This woman was the victim of a criminal abortion. Her body was photographed exactly as it was found by police in a bloody and barren motel room; exactly as it had been abandoned there by an unskilled, profiteering abortionist. Becoming frightened when "something went wrong" he left her to die alone.



(Continued from previous page)

dom of choice over when and if to have children.

#### The Current Controversy

Since this submission is presented during a period of significant public interest in the issues of abortion, we wish to deal with the main arguments raised against our case for women's right to choose abortion.

##### 1) "Abortion is murder"

This argument is raised on the claim that a foetus is a "human being". The point at which it is said to become a human being is the "moment of conception".

We consider this argument to be based purely on faith, not scientific knowledge. Science explains human life as a continuum, with the process of conception merely a stage along the way. If opponents of abortion wish to be consistent they should all oppose contraception as well, but only some of them do. The state has not upheld the view of this last group by banning non-medical use of contraceptives.

"Human life" is different from "human being", the latter being the status accorded to all members of society. Embryonic human life has only the potential to become a human being. It is at birth that we begin life as social entities and it is at birth that society regards us as human beings, counting our age from that point. This is the prevailing attitude and it is a perfectly rational one.

One of the greatest inconsistencies of our opponents lies in the fact that they want the present abortion laws to remain; they do not propose a total ban on abortion. Yet the law allows abortion on wider grounds than for the preservation of the physiological life of the pregnant

woman, which is presumably the only allowable ground for those to whom abortion is "murder". Anti-abortionists are therefore prepared to make exceptions to their own "rules" as they themselves see fit. Their stated concern for the "sanctity of human life" is merely a cover for their real intentions. Their main concern is to keep the decision out of women's reach, to contain abortion within limits acceptable to themselves.

##### 2) "Abortion is dangerous"

Claims and counterclaims abound on this question. We believe, however, that there is no question that early abortions, performed on healthy women under proper medical conditions are even safer than childbirth. And the only way to ensure that most abortions can be carried out early, when they are safest, is to make sure that when women want them they get them, and are not kept waiting while someone else decides their fate.

We concede that there are dangers inherent in the abortion procedure, just as there are in any operation. But how can they be compared to the dangers of illegal abortions performed by unqualified people?

It will be time to discuss the essential dangers involved in abortion when the practice is given the same priority and is researched equally as fully as are the methods of improving fertility and maintaining pregnancy. If New Zealand can produce experts in these fields, surely it can do likewise for the cause of preventing unwanted births.

##### 3) "Legalised abortion will mean overcrowded hospitals"

The end result of uninterrupted pregnancy is birth. Confinements take a lot more hospital time and space than straightforward abortion (which, inci-

dentally, leave only one person to care for instead of two). Early abortions have been carried out successfully and safely overseas in clinics staffed by paramedical personnel; there is no need to increase the burdens on general practitioners.

Women should not be penalised for the failure of successive governments to provide an adequate medical service. Whether they want their pregnancies ended or carried to term, they should have access to proper medical care.

##### 4) "Legal abortions will lead to permissiveness"

Here we get a little closer to the real motivation behind the anti-abortionists' campaign: the desire to enforce one morality (their own) for all.

Moral persuasion against extramarital sex being something of a lost cause, the self-appointed guardians of public morals try to discourage it with punishment. "Women must pay for their sins", it is said, on the assumption that all unwanted pregnancies occur outside marriage. But even married women are not to be spared: "Women must pay for their irresponsibility".

There are many reasons why women become pregnant unintentionally, not the least of them being ignorance of, or lack of access to effective contraception, for which we have these very moralists to blame.

It is barbaric to punish these women by insisting on unwanted births. And what effect does this have on the children who are born as a punishment?

We find such punitive attitudes abhorrent.

##### 5) "Legal abortion will lead to euthanasia"

What we are seeking is women's right to control their own bodies. We find it hard to see how people can associate this with the killing of the aged or infirm. It seems to us that a society which accorded women this fundamental right fully (and nowhere in the world has this yet been done) would be a humane and just society.

Reference is frequently made to Nazi Germany in support of the above anti-abortion argument as an example of what can happen when the "sanctity of human life" is violated. But the fact is that Hitler was a staunch guardian of prenatal (german) life and he ruthlessly suppressed abortion, invoking the death penalty for women charged with this "offence".

The Nazi example adds weight to our cause, not to that of opponents of abortion.

##### 6) "The population will decline - the labour force will be depleted"

The comparison with Nazi Germany is more apt here. Women's rights are to be subordinated to what is claimed to be "the interests of the nation"! With precisely such philosophy did Hitler found his repressive regime.

There are more rational and humane ways to ensure a productive society than arbitrarily raising or lowering the population level. The idea of claiming population considerations to refuse a women the right

not to have a child is as obnoxious as the idea of using that excuse to refuse her right to have a child. We would protest just as strongly if the tables were turned and women were being forced to have abortions. Freedom of choice is our major concern, not which of these choices is made.

##### 7) "Abortion on request will deny men's rights"

A man should not be able to have children to order by forcing a woman to go through with an unwanted pregnancy. A right to decide for a father-to-be cannot be legislated for without condemning some women to compulsory motherhood. In any healthy relationship, mutual agreement would easily be arrived at without resort to the law. We are opposed to any measures which bolster the tradition of regarding women as breeding machines, and their children as property.

##### 8) "Women will abuse the freedom to have abortions at will"

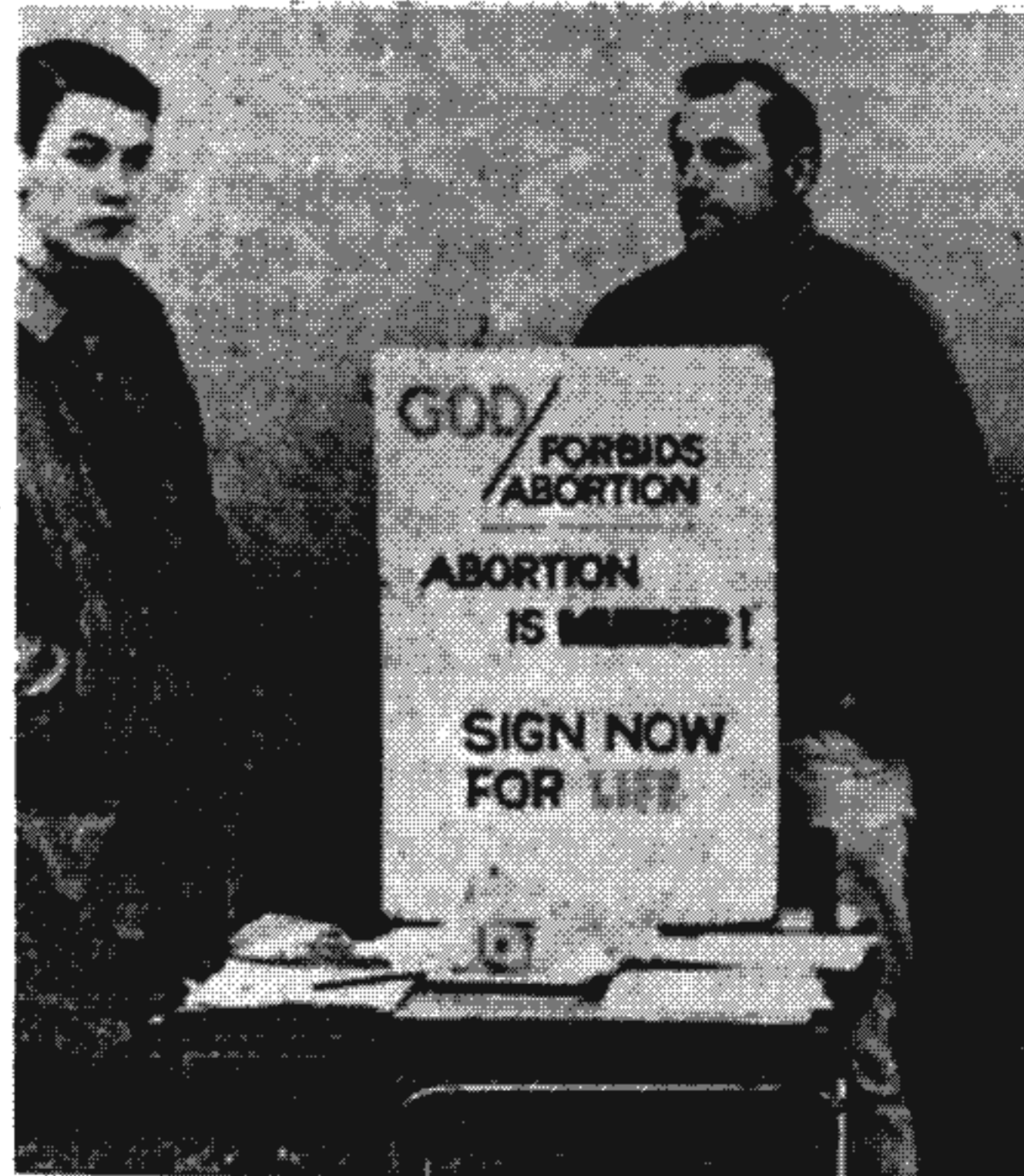
This is like saying that people will get sick on purpose to take advantage of free medical care.

The first line of defence against unwanted pregnancy is knowledge of and access to effective, safe contraception. If that defence fails, for whatever reason, the only one left is abortion. Since we do not believe abortion itself to be wrong, we have no moral objection to the number of times women resort to it. But if women did have really adequate protection against conception, it seems highly unlikely that they would deliberately choose abortion instead.

##### The right to act according to one's own conscience

We recognise that some people sincerely believe abortion to be morally wrong. We are aware that there are Catholic and other women whose beliefs would never allow them to consider abortion for themselves. We respect their point of view and do not ask for a moment that they act any differently from the way their consciences guide them.

We would appreciate a similarly generous outlook towards those who want legal abortion available. No-one should have the right to coerce another into acting against their will, especially when it is a matter concerning their own body. Anti-abortionists have no right to force their particular brand of



## What is WONAAC?



The current campaign to repeal the abortion laws dates back to the National Women's Liberation Conference held in Wellington in April 1972. From this conference, education activities and public protests for repeal of the laws were launched for the first week of May. Because of the response to these activities, the Committee which had organised them decided to continue, and to campaign around the following demands:

Repeal of the abortion laws; freely available contraception for all who want it, voluntary sterilisation, and a realistic sex education programme at all levels of schooling.

By early 1973, it was obvious that the campaign appealed primarily to women and was being organised by women for their right to control their reproductive lives. As a logical next step, the word "Women's" was added to the name of the Abortion Action Committee. At this stage, Committees were functioning in the three main centres.

From the outset, the campaign has concentrated on involving as many women as possible, for it is women who suffer under these laws and it is women who must act to change them. Activities have included marches and pickets, public meetings, deputations to Parliament and

debates with the opposition.

With the campaign growing in different centres, the need for more efficient co-ordination grew. A conference was held in Wellington, July 14-15, 1973 and the Women's National Abortion Action Campaign (WONAAC) was launched from this. Its task is to co-ordinate nationally a woman's action campaign for the demands listed above.

WONAAC includes women from a number of different organisations, and seeks to unite in action a broad spectrum of groups and individuals in the community who feel that abortion is a matter of individual choice, not a matter to be decided by the law.

The campaign's action perspective is based on a recognition of the need to keep the campaign visible, so that it can attract public attention and support, and bring the government's attention to the problem in a way which it cannot easily ignore. In addition, a visible, active women's campaign can give confidence to the thousands of women too intimidated by anti-abortion propaganda to be convinced as yet that the right to choose abortion can be won.

WONAAC is confident that large numbers of women will join the campaign, putting pressure on the government to make abortion a matter of choice, for all women.



morality onto the rest of the population through the laws of the land or through any other official channels.

Successful governments have been guilty of perpetrating the coercion of women by refusing to remove the restrictions on abortion. Recently, we have seen both sides of the House assuring Members that should the abortion issue arise in Parliament they will have a "conscience" vote. It is the height of injustice and hypocrisy to propose to exercise this right to Parliament while continuing to deny it to the public. If it is a "conscience" issue, why does the law have to come into it?

#### No concessions

We are opposed to the idea that restrictive abortion laws need only to be slightly reformed. We think that the right to control one's own body is absolute, and those women who seek abortions for reasons of physical or mental health, rape, economic and family difficulties, or risk of foetal deformity have a double claim to this relief.

Being a woman with an unwanted pregnancy is sufficient qualification by itself.

In fact this is the only qualification that the vast majority of women seeking abortion have. If it is not legally recognised, these women will continue to seek relief in self-abortion or backstreet abortion and the problems will continue as before. They want a solution to their problem, which is an unwanted pregnancy. There is no other solution but abortion.

"Better contraception" is no solution to a pregnant woman. She cannot turn back the clock.

Adoption is no solution either. It is inhuman to force a woman to bear a child she does not want. Childless couples must be helped by other means which do not depend on the sacrifice of a woman's dignity.

It is lack of respect for this dignity which leads to the inclusion of some restrictions in "liberalised" abortion laws overseas. Many people are fooled into thinking that partial reform, while it may not be all that is needed, will at least be "a step in the right direction".

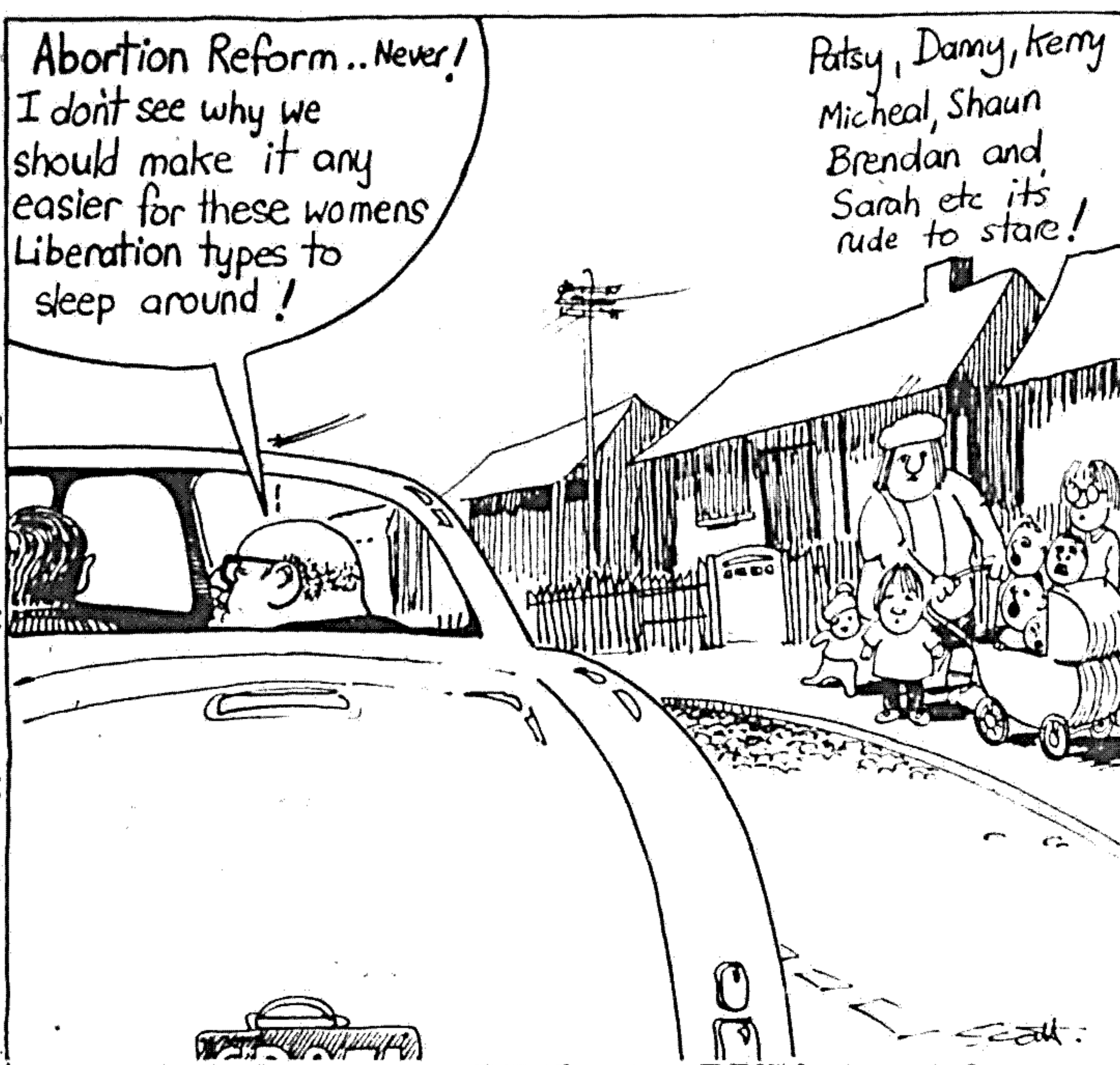
We wish to point out why it will not, and why it will instead be a setback. We will go over the four restrictions which are most commonly made:

#### 1) "Abortions may be performed only in licensed hospitals"

The simple procedure required for most abortions can adequately be carried out in a clinic or doctor's office. Hospital boards are notoriously conservative. Already, fewer abortions and sterilisation operations are allowed in public hospitals compared to the number estimated to be done in private hospitals, where fees play a persuasive role. Restricting abortions to hospitals would help those who could pay large sums of money at the expense of those who could not.

There is no reason why women should be forced to leave their fate in the hands of those who have proven themselves unsympathetic. This restriction has been put forward overseas by opponents of abortion who know full well what the results will be.

#### 2) "Abortions may only be performed by licensed physicians"



This sounds reasonable enough at first, but a closer examination shows the following disadvantages:

Most doctors have neither the time nor the inclination to do abortions. Many have probably never had any more experience of abortion than a cursory study of it at medical school. If we train people in the special field of midwifery, why not train special auxiliary staff to do abortions?

In spite of claims to the contrary, this restriction will do little to prevent the operations of butchers and quacks, because it narrows the field too much. Women who could not get an appointment with a willing doctor in time would turn to the illegal racket for relief. The law provides for the punishment of those who practice medicine of any kind unlawfully. Illegal abortions will only be put out of business when doctors have the right to train the people they need to help them cope, and when women have the right to abortion at no more expense than other public medical care.

Looking ahead a little, this restriction would also deny women the right to use self-abortion techniques when they are perfected, which may be in the very near future.

#### 3) "Abortions may not be performed beyond a certain point in pregnancy, unless the woman's life is at stake"

This kind of restriction essentially says this to a woman: (i) at a certain stage, your body suddenly belongs to the state and it can force you to have a child, whatever your own reasons for having an abortion late in pregnancy; (ii) because late abortion entails more risk to you than early abortion, the state must "protect" you even if your considered decision is that you want to run that risk and your doctor is willing to help you.

This restriction insults women in the same way that our current abortion laws do: it assumes that we are lacking in the ability to judge a situation for ourselves and assume responsibility for our own decisions. This is the paternalistic assertion on which the abortion laws were originally founded.

We already allow abortion for medical reasons regardless of the possibility of foetal viability. And who can say with any certainty exactly the moment of viability is reached, or that it will not change from today's estimate with ever-increasing advances in technology? If one day it becomes possible to support a three-day-old fertilised egg outside the uterus, should that then become a reason to ban abortion altogether?

There are many reasons why a woman might seek a late abortion, and she should be able to obtain one legally if she wants it. She may suddenly discover that she had German measles in early pregnancy and the foetus is deformed; she may have had a sudden mental breakdown; or some calamity may have changed the circumstances of her life. Whatever her reasons, she belongs to herself and not to the state.

#### 4) "Abortions may be performed only when the married woman's husband or the young single woman's parents give their consent"

We have already indicated our point of view on the "rights" of the father-to-be. Investing veto power in anyone but the pregnant woman herself violates everything that the right to abortion should give her: the freedom to decide for herself what happens to her own body.

Restrictions like these will bring about an equally unjust situation to that which we have now. They will satisfy to some extent those women who can buy their right to choose; they will make poorer women suffer.

A partially reformed law will give people the illusion that things have really changed, while in reality the female population has been saddled with the same basic denial of dignity and freedom.

We reject these methods of buying women off. We want no concessions; we want women's rights.

#### What must be done in New Zealand?

We have in this country a history of innovation in social legislation. New Zealand women won the right to vote 27 years before their counterparts in the United States and 35 years before the women in Britain. We have since lost ground steadily in the field of women's rights, and this is particularly true of our record on the right of women to control their reproductive lives.

To correct the injustice of restrictions on this right, the government must implement the following programme as an urgent priority

1) All laws restricting women's right to abortion must be repealed. No woman wanting an abortion should be refused. This may require the setting up of special clinics and training programmes for providing the qualified staff for them. Such clinics should be part of the free medical service.

2) All laws restricting access to contraceptives and advice on contraception must be repealed. Contraception must be readily obtainable and free on social security. Public educational campaigns to combat ignorance of effective contraceptive techniques should be launched by the government. These should be of an informational nature only and must not be directed against any particular social group because of its economic status or racial origin. Special efforts must be made to improve birth control methods, including abortion and temporary sterilisation, so that there are entirely satisfactory methods for all women at all times.

3) All legal or other impediments on the right of a person, married or single, to voluntary sterilisation at their own request must be removed. Forced sterilisation, or attempt to impose sterilisation as pre-condition for abortion must be outlawed.

4) Sex education must be widely extended throughout the state education system and must include education on the means of preventing conception. Sex education must be on a factual basis and attempts to impose a particular moral view must not be allowed.

The curtain of hypocritical secrecy which has smothered the whole subject of birth control, particularly in regard to abortion, is beginning to lift. The second wave of feminism is encouraging women to speak out against the intrusion of the state into their own personal affairs, and against the paternalistic manipulation of their lives.

Women all over the world are demanding the right to control their own bodies, and here in New Zealand there is a growing number of women who are prepared to take a public stand for this right. It is our intention to continue to encourage this trend, to mobilise women into a vigorous campaign aimed at impressing upon the government the extent of concern over this issue and the urgent need for positive action.

We will not be bought off. We will not be satisfied until the right to choose has been won for every woman.

# abortion a fact of life

## A Woman Doctor Deals With the Medical Issues Involved

(Prepared by Margaret J. Sparrow for the National Women's Abortion Action Conference, held at Victoria University of Wellington, July 14-15 1973).

Although I am a member of a number of organisations, some of them medical and professional, I would like to make it clear that I do not speak for any of them. What I present today is a personal viewpoint. It is the viewpoint of a practising doctor with a respect for human life, an interest in the quality of life, and a human-

itarian concern for people.

At the outset I must state that what I am going to say is biased. You also have your own particular bias and I think it is helpful that we recognise this and respect each other's values and endeavour to find areas of agreement.

I received virtually no education on abortion during my medical training. I did not take the trouble to read the Crimes Act 1961 and like the majority of doctors was confused about the law and its inter-

pretation. I found it difficult to discuss abortion with many of my colleagues and even more so with my patients. I ignored the problem for as long as possible. I had an inkling that all was not well. When a patient said, "Well, if you can't help me I'll just have to find someone else", I proffered something about the dangers of illegal abortions, adding quite illogically, "But if you do need help after an illegal abortion, come back and see me". Fortunately for me some of them did and I was forced into rethinking my position and my whole attitude to abortion. I joined the Abortion Law Reform Association.

I am frequently asked, "Are you for or against abortion?" To me this is a non-question. I am neither. For me abortion is a fact of life, sometimes natural, sometimes necessary and sometimes desirable. And yet people don't ask me, "Are you for or against appendectomy"? It is clear that although abortion may be a medical event it is also something more than that. It is a topic which arouses very deep feelings. It is a complex problem with ethical, social, legal, medical and very personal aspects, none of which can be regarded in isolation. Many individuals feel

that they have worked through to a position that they find tolerable, but our society in general has been unable to reach agreement on some of the major issues. There is much argument about what the real issues really are. The only way abortion can appear uncomplicated is to concentrate on one of the issues such as, "When does human life begin?" or the freedom of the individual, or feminist rights, but the complexities of the abortion issue are not readily amenable to this one-dimensional approach.

So we are off to a pretty shaky start. One must also be aware of certain perennial conflicts. There is a great discrepancy between professed attitudes and actual practice e.g. the distraught parent proclaiming, "We don't really believe in abortion doctor but this is our daughter", or the doctor professing the sanctity of human life from the moment of conception, while inserting intrauterine devices. There is also the conflict between reason and emotion, exemplified by the young woman who sincerely believes that abstinence is the best method of contraception, until the morning after. She may also have a conflict between deliberate planning and the

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very human tendency not to plan. The law highlights the conflicts that exist between freedom and control, and the rights of the individual versus those of society.

With such a complex subject and so many areas of conflict abortion is an ideal subject for a crusade and the tactics are familiar. You belittle the opposition, you overstate your own case, you monopolise the discussion, you only marshal those facts which support your argument and you use all the emotive language at your disposal. Everyone has a right to crusade and you may feel very strongly that this is the only way to tackle the problem, but the weakness of this approach is that it very often leads to confusion rather than enlightenment.

I will now concentrate on some of the medical issues that are frequently raised, not because I think that they are the most important, but because this is the area in which I think I have a responsibility to contribute. The so-called medical decisions that doctors make however are ultimately a reflection of their own bias rather than decisions based on purely medical facts. Incontrovertible evidence just does not exist for many of the abortion issues and doctors merely select those papers, scientific articles or opinions which support their own ethical or moral stance.

Such controversial issues are:-  
What are the medical indications for abortion? Physical health? Ectopic pregnancy? Mental health? Congenital deformity?  
What are the social indications for abortion? Rape? Incest? Under 16 years? Family circumstances? Premarital conceptions?  
What are the psychiatric effects of an abortion on the mother?  
What are the effects of not having an abortion on the mother? On the child?  
When does human life begin? (Very often discussed).  
When does contraception end and abortion begin? (Hardly ever discussed).  
Who should decide whether to abort or not? The doctor? Two doctors? A committee? The mother? The father? The parents? A social worker? Who and why?

Taking the last question first, I can find no sound reason for assuming that I know better than the patient. I consider it my responsibility to provide her with medical information and to discuss the problem as fully as possible, considering all the alternatives. Each case is different but in general the final decision should rest with the woman.

Papers can be cited to "prove" whatever stance one adopts and even the same paper can be used for different purposes. Take for instance on the topic of psychiatric indications, the Swedish paper by Kirstin Hook. It is a follow-up survey of 249 women refused abortion in Sweden, where the decision rests with a committee. 14% did in fact have an abortion, while 86% continued the pregnancy. 23% were considered to have adjusted to their situation

**"What I present.....is a personal viewpoint. It is the viewpoint of a practising doctor with a respect for human life, an interest in the quality of life, and a humanitarian concern for people."**

almost immediately, 53% to have achieved adjustment after an initial period of disturbance and 24% were still showing significant disturbance after 18 months. The paper concluded that the mental health of women denied abortion was worse than those granted an abortion. Others however use this paper to point out that the majority adjusted well and emphasise the need for supporting services etc. It convinces them that abortion is not the only course that there are workable alternatives.

So what? All this doesn't mean that there are no answers to the questions, but it does mean that the truth is harder to find.

When does human life begin? There is no consensus here. Some say at conception? What does that mean? At fertilisation? At implantation? Some say at quickening, others at the point of viability about 26-28 weeks. Others say at birth. At the

first International conference on Abortion in Washington, October 1967 the following statement was issued and is often quoted: "Our group could find no point in time between the union of the sperm and egg and the birth of the child at which point we could not say that this was a human life. The changes occurring between implantation, a 6 week embryo, a 6 month foetus, a week old child and a mature adult are merely stages of development and maturation".

Life is a continuum. An ovum is alive. A sperm is a living, moving cell. Both contain 23 chromosomes. When the ovum is released it passes into the Fallopian tube where it may meet living sperm. Fertilisation may occur, probably in the outer part of the tube. This significant event passes unnoticed by the woman and it is undetectable by medical science. The two nuclei of the ovum and the sperm fuse and we now have a single celled zygote with the full complement of 46 chromosomes and a sexual identity, genetically male or female. The zygote travels along the Fallopian tube and 24 hours later the first cell division has taken place. By the third day there are 16 cells and by the fourth, a small cluster called a morula. On about the fifth day this cluster of cells hollows out to form a blastocyst. It has now reached the uterus and on about the sixth or seventh day the process of implantation commences. This process takes about 4 days to complete. Cell divisions continue apace and the primitive placenta and the primitive embryo develop separately, the life support system being much larger than the embryo proper at this stage. Between the 2nd and 3rd weeks twinning occurs in the case of identical twins. By the third week the embryo is composed of three layers of cells and is approximately 1½mm in length. But let us leave it there and take a closer look at some aspects.

There is a rare condition called a hydatidiform mole which occurs in 1:2,000 pregnancies. It is an overgrowth of the placenta at the expense of the embryo. It is difficult to argue the rights of the placental tissue versus the embryonic tissue. Both are the product of the fertilised egg. Logic reaches the point of absurdity. Common sense prevails and medically the hydatidiform mole is classified as a pathological entity which is removed as soon as possible.

**"....I can find no sound reason for assuming that I know better than the patient."**

Other rare tumours such as teratomas, collections of genetically unique human tissue, exist. These cannot be categorised either theologically or legally but only medically. They are removed surgically and treated as any other tumour.

In these cases the law does not intrude into medical practice. Society has confidence in the system of professional ethics, standards and conduct.

Another well known complication of pregnancy occurs when the embryo implants in some ectopic site, usually in the Fallopian tube. About 1:300 pregnancies are affected in this way and on very rare occasions the pregnancy can go to term. There are a few people living in the world who have never been in their mother's womb. However even strict Roman Catholic ethics allow termination of an ectopic pregnancy, sacrificing the potential life of the foetus for that of the mother. Looked at in fine detail even the most monolithic ethical defences have cracks and absolutes are abandoned for statistically based decisions.

Abortion is a fact of life. Many fertilised ova fail to implant. Of those that do, conservative estimates are that 10-15% at least, spontaneously abort. A proportion of these that have been studied have shown an increased number of genetic defects. Abortion is common, natural and in the case of defective genetic material, biologically useful. Should research be promoted into salvaging this natural wastage? Should gene manipulation be encouraged? These are difficult questions to which we must apply ourselves, sooner rather than later.

Advances in medical science have raised new ethical and legal problems. We draw



Dr Margaret Sparrow

arbitrary lines to serve our social needs but these need reviewing in the light of new knowledge.

Where does the "morning-after" pill fit into the scheme of things? High doses of oestrogen prevent implantation of the fertilised ovum, yet we cannot even tell whether an ovum is fertilised or not. We do not fully understand the mechanism of action. Should the use of this method be discouraged? I am inclined to think not and prescribe this medication when it is necessary.

What is the position regarding intrauterine devices? The ovum is fertilised but does not implant because of the presence of the device. Once again we don't fully understand the mechanism of action.

We are entering new fields every year. What of prostaglandins given at the time of a missed or late period to induce menstruation? And the use of menstrual extractors for the same purpose? These are new and valuable methods helping to bridge the gap between foresight contraception and hindsight abortion.

Congenital deformities such as Mongolism (Downs Syndrome) and Rubella raise different problems. Many doctors would support termination when there is a significant risk of producing a serious congenital abnormality, but this is not permitted under our present legislation. I think women and parents generally should have the right to decide whether or not to risk having a seriously malformed child. About 3-5% of babies are born with a major defect, most unsuspected. What are the rights of the handicapped to life? Should they be any less than a normal foetus? Having spent a considerable part of my professional life caring for the handicapped I am aware that even those with a moderately severe handicap still show a zest for life. But I have also seen the immense problems that sometimes accompany a handicap and I believe that parents should have the right not to start on the journey if it seems almost certain that they will have a serious accident on the way.

In the case of Rubella, immunisation of girls before they reach child-bearing age should be encouraged, (and incidentally we have the occasional pregnancy in 11 year olds). If Rubella is contracted in the first 4 weeks of pregnancy there is a 40-60% chance of a major defect and later the risk drops to 15-20%. Is this a sufficient reason to abort?

In the case of Downs Syndrome, foetal cells are required for examination to detect the chromosomal pattern. It is possible to sample these at about 14 weeks gestation but it might be 20 weeks before the diagnosis is made. Because the relatively new science of cytogenetics has not yet made early foetal sampling possible, such cases are necessarily terminated in the mid-trimester.

Pregnancy diagnosis is another problem. Some of you may not realise this. To you it is self-evident. Either a woman is pregnant or she is not. In practice it is often difficult to diagnose an early pregnancy. In a woman with a regular 28 day cycle she will usually be unaware of any change until the missing of her first period, approximately 14 days after fertilisation. But there are other causes of delayed periods and

most women do not have regular clockwork cycles. If she is in the habit of taking her morning basal temperature she may be able to record a sustained elevation of temperature, one of the first signs of established pregnancy. If the period is delayed for reasons other than pregnancy, menstruation can be induced by giving a combination of oestrogen and progestogen. The most certain and widely used tests of early pregnancy involve the detection of chorionic gonadotrophin or HCG. It is detectable between the 21-25 days of pregnancy and reaches a maximum in the 2nd or 3rd months. Immunological tests have replaced the older biological tests such as the frog test. One such test commonly used by doctors is performed on a slide, using a drop of urine, and the result can be read in two minutes. It is accurate in about 95% cases but there may be false positives or false negatives. The test may be positive within 10 days of the missed period but many doctors do not normally do the test until the period has been delayed by an estimated 14 days because of the large number of false negatives in the early period. There is a mail order service for those who cannot see a doctor. Uterine enlargement cannot be detected with any degree of certainty until 6-8 weeks gestation. Changes in the vaginal and cervical tissues may assist diagnosis as may the presence of breast changes and nausea.

I hope that this has at least demonstrated what a large grey area there is between the two states, pregnant and non-pregnant, between normal and abnormal, and between contraception and abortion. More research is needed into many of these aspects.

With improvements in medical science the discussion we have today may become irrelevant to our daughters. It is often stated that contraception is better than abortion. I say it myself often. But isn't it largely a matter of safety? If a method of early abortion was developed that was safer than any available method of contraception, would you still prefer contraception? Consider the prospect of an absolutely reliable method, which women could use themselves, as often as they liked, with no side effects, so cheap it could be distributed free to all who wanted it, readily available from non-medical sources, and so simple to use that uneducated women could understand the method. Would it matter whether the method was technically an early abortifacient or a strict contraceptive?

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WONAAC Newsletter. The Campaign newsletter is produced monthly and carries reports from local Committees on recent activities they have organised. Subscribers are informed on what the Campaign is doing and how they can participate. Overseas news items, relevant quotes from MP's and local news items, plus contributions from subscribers are also included. Subscription rate is \$1 for 10 issues.

"On Abortion and Abortion Law" by Lucinda Ciser. This excellent and very readable article deals with the question of "reform versus repeal" and discusses the detrimental effects that partial changes can have. The article has been reprinted from a US feminist publication, 'Notes from the 2nd Year' published in 1969. 20c per copy.

"The Right to Abortion" by Stella Brown. In this article, published in an anthology on abortion in 1935, the writer puts forth a powerful argument for women's right to choose abortion. It is inspiring to read, since it part of the history of the abortion rights movement, and yet it is still very relevant today. 30c per copy.

Help Build WONAAC!

To: Women's National Abortion Action Campaign  
P.O. Box 2669  
WELLINGTON

Please post me the Campaign newsletter. I enclose \$1 for 10 issues.

Please send me the reprint "On Abortion and Abortion Law". Number of copies (at 20c each).....

Please send me the reprint of "The Right to Abortion". Number of copies (at 30c each).....

I want to be active in the Campaign.

Please ring me.

I wish to help the Campaign by donating \$.....

Name.....

Address.....Phone.....  
.....



Armed policemen searching for "illegal" tapioca planters near Sungai Siput (Ipoh). Circle shows newly harvested tapioca left by the planters.



# Peasants will have to fight

Resettlement of landless peasant families under the "Federal Land Development Authority (Felda)" is seen by "foreign experts" as the most successful attempt to remove the problems of landlessness in Malaya. Felda schemes are the most publicised projects in the country. However, this optimistic view is at once exposed by the revelation of the facts.

According to the Government's census in 1955, there were then 750,000 peasant families who were landless. By 1968, according to a radio broadcast by Tun Razak (then the deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Rural Development) the government had succeeded in settling 14,000 peasant families which means that in the 14 years after "independence", only 1000 families were resettled each year. Thus a mere 2% of the total number of landless families benefit from this very expensive scheme. At this rate, it will take the government at least 320 years to resettle the landless peasants. This is not taking into account the number of the peasant families who are made landless each year through rural landlordism and exorbitant land taxes resulting in accumulation of lands into fewer hands in the rural areas.

Thus, not only is the Felda scheme a failure, but also a sham — it is used to cover up the need for total land reform in the countryside. People with liberal attitudes tend to be happy at the achievement of the government in the sense that at least 14,000 families enjoy the benefits of the scheme. However, even this view is deflated when facts and figures are revealed.

## Indebtedness

Each settler family on acceptance of resettlement in the scheme was given an imaginary loan of \$15,000 to \$25,000. A certain acreage of land was allotted to each of the families, usually about seven acres. This allotment is more or less on a temporary basis in the sense that if the land is neglected that family will be asked to leave the scheme to make way for another peasant family, without any form of compensation for the work already done on the land. Usually, none of the plots are neglected because after being landless for generations, each peasant family is determined to take the land for keeps. Being landless and poor all their life, they accepted the imaginary loan without much complaint. According to this imaginary loan system, each family will be given a monthly allowance of \$70.00, (and measured by any standard, this is far below the poverty line). Out of the \$70, they have to contribute 50 cents to "seedlings", and \$1 to "co-operative society" in the scheme. Still the settlers remained and worked on the land without fuss because they were promised that when the land became successful, they could earn at least \$300 to \$400 per month. With these earnings, if realised, they can afford to give a decent life to their family, and there will be surplus for them to pay the imaginary loan. In time, they were promised, the land would be theirs.

## Permanent Debt

Bilut Valley Felda Scheme is the oldest scheme in Malaya. No doubt, one of the most successful. A primary jungle has been transformed into a 'virgin' rubber plantation. The virgin trees grown from good seedlings produce latex in good quantity and quality. Ordinarily, with that amount of latex produced, they could have easily earned \$400 per month. But strangely enough their income did not increase.

Although their productivity could give them an ample earning of about \$400 per month, the government has limited their income to the amount of \$70. Any income surpassing the \$70 limit is automatically expropriated by 'Felda' under the pretext that the excess sum is used for the payment of the imaginary loan.

This imaginary loan has become a bogey, it has been exposed as a manoeuvre by the government as a smoke-screen to deny the settlers title to the land. As a test case, a settler in Bilut Valley with the cooperation of others, raised enough money to pay off the imaginary loan. But 'Felda' replied with the bold answer that it was not prepared to accept the payment. Neither would it give the title of land to the settler concerned. Secondly, a settler in Kampong Awah Felda Scheme paid his debt "religiously" for three years in succession only to be told by the Felda that his debt has increased to \$18,000 i.e. an increase of \$4,000 from the original imaginary loan.

The active life expectancy of rubber trees is between 15-20 years. Beyond that period replanting is necessary, and for that, the settlers will be burdened with a new imaginary loan to the tune of \$15,000 to \$25,000. Taking the above into consideration, the settlers will be reduced into the status of cheap labour or rubber estate workers without any labour benefits (like pensions, paid holidays, injury benefits, sickness or hospital benefits).

## Expulsion from the Scheme

Recently, settlers in certain schemes (Bilut Valley) were given expulsion orders. They were asked to leave the schemes before a certain date, and if they failed, they would either be sentenced to imprisonment, ordered to pay exorbitant fines, or be physically removed from the schemes. The reason for the expulsion was that they were found selling rubber scraps (not the latex proper) to an outside dealer, and not the Felda. From time to time, the settlers do sell the scraps to outside dealers not because the money derived from the outside dealer is a better price, but the money derived from the sale is theirs. If they sell to the Felda, the money is Felda's, the settlers' income has been limited by Felda to \$70 per month, per family (a sum not even sufficient to maintain one person, never mind a family, especially those having young children).

In some schemes, notably the Bilut Valley and the Babu Jaya, strike actions were taken against the expulsion order, and so far, they have been successful in resisting the high-handed action of the government.

In retaliation to the "outside dealings" the government has blocked the road leading to the schemes with gates, and security guards are stationed there. Thus, not only are the settlers reduced to cheap labour status, their freedom of movement is strictly checked. Is this not similar to New Villages Schemes set up by the British in 1948 to combat so-called "terrorists"? Felda scheme has been turned from an economic development into a political concentration camp.

## Paradise for big contractors

From year to year, the development expenditure per family and per acre in the schemes have increased, but without a corresponding increase in the benefits to the settlers. Those benefiting from the increase in the expenditure are big contractors who are invariably patrons of the Alliance Party.

Increase in the		Development expenditure	
Development expenditure	per family	Development expenditure	per acre
1956-60	\$ 4,235	1956-60	\$ 423
1961-65	\$12,731	1961-65	\$ 852
1966-70	\$20,874	1966-70	\$1,388

## Land taxes in rural Malaya

Malaya is a paradise for foreign investors. Not only can they reap cheap labour, but they also enjoy tax-holidays for a period from five to eight years. A further extension is allowed if the government agrees. (In a report in The Guardian, last month, Mr Adam Raphael — reporter — found that South Africa has the highest rate of return for foreign investment in the world after Malaysia). They also enjoy a lower rate of taxation.

In plantation industries, foreign capitalists pay land taxes of a mere 30 to 60 cents per acre each year, while a villager in a rural areas has to pay between \$8 to \$12 per year for the same amount of acreage.

According to a new land tax law, the government can expropriate any land belonging to a peasant if he is unable to pay his land taxes, without the option of giving the peasant the chance to buy the land by auction as formerly done, or putting his case for his failure to pay the taxes. The 'Utusan Melayu' (Malay Mail) reported on August 8, 1972 that the District Officer of Temerloh issued a warning to villagers in the District

that their lands would be grabbed by the government unless they paid their taxes. The warning came at a time when a great number of villagers in the district were unable to pay land taxes due to their falling income because of the falling rubber prices.

Income in rural Malaya has fallen to a level lower than any other period since 1957. Thus more and more underprivileged peasants will be rendered landless due to this new land-grabbing policy of the government.

Only when the peasants unite in struggle will the land-grabbers be crushed.

(The above article is from Berita Socialist, Vol. 2, No. 4)

## Footnote

As the Felda Scheme does not solve the problem of landlessness, the peasants are forced to open up some rural areas by group efforts despite the warnings and barbarous treatment of the government. According to incomplete statistics, 200,000 acres of land in Kelantan, Pahang, Perak, and Kedah were opened up by the landless peasants themselves. In Pahang alone, about 50,000 acres of land were involved. In Temerloh (Pahang), 5,000 peasants were 'illegally' involved in the cultivation of about 30,000 acres of rural sites.

In 1971, the State Governor of Kedah revealed 101 cases of 'illegal seizures' of land and 120 were reported in the following year. Ironically the just struggle of the landless peasants is recklessly suppressed by the authority. These peasants were forced out of their newly cultivated land by armed policemen and put into jail.

On September 3, 1969, Hamid Tuah, the leader of a group of landless peasants in Telok Gong (Selangor) was arrested for 'illegally' opening up 80 acres of virgin jungle and he was put in the Batu Gajah detention Camp.

In January 1973 about 200 acres of padi fields in Kampong Java of Penang were destroyed by bulldozers and 100 lorries, under the supervision of the Penghulu (District Officer). News reports revealed that these lands were claimed by the state government to construct foreign enterprised industrial sites such as electronic and textile factories. Their padi fields were ruthlessly destroyed without prior notice, leaving the peasants in a state of desperate helplessness.

On January 26, 1973, Nanyang Siang Pau (a local Newspaper) reported that a team of armed policemen led by the district officer of Sungai Siput (Ipoh) went on a wild search for a group of "illegal" tapioca planters in the "claimed government lands". Fortunately all planters escaped in time even though their crops, tools and belongings were confiscated. These planters had been applying for some land for years but their requests had never been met.

The crucial point of interest is that why do the government authorities deny the landless peasants the right to open up some rural jungle land for cultivation purposes? Firstly, the landless peasants are to be used as cheap labour sources in the Felda Scheme as shown in the above article and secondly, those rural jungle lands (which are claimed to be the properties of the Sultan and the state) are either reserved by the comprador-bureaucrats for foreign capitalists as industrial sites or sold through bribery and corruption with large profits.

—Tongin



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Everyone welcome

## PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

AGM followed by an address by Prof. N.F. Barber on: "Should learning be a process of invention". This will be followed by supper and a discussion. The meeting will be held on Wednesday April 24 at 8pm at 34 Kelburn Parade. Anyone welcome.





"Everywhere the same story, man — nothing but student unrest."

## LETTERS

### Guerillas will never give up

Dear Roger,

Referring to Hee Kiang's letter which appeared in the issue no. 5 of Salient, I would like to make a few comments. He said, "There is no point in shouting revolution when the Sarawak government is already committed to social justice and progress."

Let us look at the present situation in Sarawak. The fact that the people in Sarawak are exploited by the comprador-bureaucrats with the support of imperialists has not been changed in the least over the past 10 years. The people become the victims of unemployment, inflation and soaring prices of commodities. The wide rural areas are plunged into bankruptcy and the livelihood of the peasants is poor and miserable. What sort of social justice and progress has the Sarawak government committed!

The aim of guerilla fighters is obviously to change the economic system and to liberate their homeland. With the surrender of Bong Kee Chok and his group (it is believed that the majority of the group was deceived and forced to surrender) when the economic system has shown no sign of improvement, we can see on which side Bong stands: collaboration with the government for his own interest or fighting for the liberation of the Sarawak people? The people of Sarawak have been betrayed by Bong and his group.

Hee Kiang also raised a question on "whether armed revolution is the only means to achieve social justice in a developing country". The failure of the Indonesian Communist Party by taking the Parliamentary elections to change the corrupted social and economic system is a good answer to the question. At that time, there were three million members in the Party, one million in the worker unions, one million in peasant organisations and tens of thousands of sympathisers. As the fascist forces started to attack, tens of thousands of revolutionaries were massacred! Another example shown by the unsuccessful overthrowing of foreign domination in Chile by Parliamentary elections further affirms that the only way to achieve social justice is by the people's armed struggle.

Over the past ten years or more, the reactionary government intended to eliminate the guerilla forces by spending the amount of tens of millions of dollars and gathering tens of thousands combined troops (Malaysian and Indonesian). However, they haven't been successful and will never be successful.

The surrender of Bong and his group is a setback to the revolutionary movement in Sarawak. But the guerilla fighters still remaining in the jungle, and the people of Sarawak under the leadership of the proletariat party, will learn a lesson from it and sum up the experience so that they will be more determined to fight until their homeland is liberated.

Michael Lim Hee Kiang, who thinks that the guerilla fighters have been defeated and is a spokesman for the reactionary government, has revealed himself as the enemy of the people of Sarawak.

Patriot

### Academic bourgeois arrogance

Dear Roger,

In Salient on April 3 you published an unsigned article called "Putting Screws on Students Money" dealing with the attempt by Muldoon to introduce legislation which was to restrict student finances.

While being totally in agreement with the article, I was however, disturbed by the attitude expressed in one paragraph: "Mr Goldie said that these views were based on his experience of life. How-

ever persistent questioning from Frank O'Flynn revealed that Mr Goldie's experience was limited to a time as an apprentice carpenter and to some involvement with the Boy Scouts."

Without defending Mr Goldie's views or the Boy Scouts, I take strong objection to the inference that because one has been apprenticed then one's views are less valid than otherwise.

Having been an apprentice myself and having been subjected to similar examples of academic bourgeois arrogance, I wonder whether the correspondent would have questioned Mr Goldie's views had his "experience of life" contained three years within the safety of the sterilised walls of academia?

May I through Salient, suggest to your smug correspondent that most of present and future comfort in life and his privileged complacency have been at the expense of exploited groups in our society such as apprentices.

Neville Taylor

### Not for BCA students

Dear Sir,

You should have your noses down. This is my first letter to that radical, disruptive, left-wing, socialist (etc. etc.) thing called Salient. I am a conservative apathetic third year BCA student (doing stage II due to an unfortunate event in my first year — I failed my major subject).

Always, fellow BCA students — and myself — complain bitterly to each other about numerous things which come under the nasty nebulous title of "the System", but the only alternative (to our conservative minds) is anarchy — and of course this is worse.

Finally, when an opportunity to do something positive comes up, where are all the discontented students? At the inaugural meeting on Tuesday of the proposed Commerce and Administration students association, no loud-mouthed critics (or supporters) were there. No supporters is understandable — in a discussion as to whether or not those present were representative of all BCA students, or only the dissatisfied ones, one bright spark stated that nobody could be satisfied with the system as it was — so if you're contented with it you are a nobody — or haven't thought about it.

If you're dissatisfied — or positively satisfied, take an interest next time you hear of this group. They need your help to prevent BCA graduates from being mere machines.

Ex-disinterested

### Communication

Dear Sir,

All students write essays. It is in their own interest that they be legible for marking ease, and of course, it is a matter of courtesy. Unfortunately, this courtesy is not always reciprocated by 'markers', whose scrawly comments are too often illegible. Admittedly some student essays are unreadable, but a number of staff could definitely benefit from some lessons in handwriting. Courtesy, like communication, is a two-way process; a little more courtesy and there may be more communication.

B. Cook

### Ethics for capitalists

Dear Sir,

It is generally accepted by true socialists that a large proportion of business executives and

company managers and owners are money-sucking capitalists aiming to make as much dough as they can at the expense of the workers and other non-capitalists.

May I suggest one way the university could perhaps help fight this evil: make a course in ethics a prerequisite for a BCA degree (I suppose such a prerequisite wouldn't do the law faculty any harm either). I'd just like to hear one good reason against this idea.

Dieter Katz

P.S. Why isn't there a rule against publishing anonymous letters?

### A distorted view of Singapore

Dear Sir,

I think the review on Singapore in Salient the week before last is the work of a narrow-minded, one-eyed treacherous prick! K. Menon puts out a very distorted view of Singapore and ignores the numerous impressive achievements of Lee's Government. I think Salient is better off without the likes of such people.

T. Ong

### Big Jack

Dear Sir,

Once again the rugby season is upon us and we can bow down in awe before the person by the name of (dare I mention it?) Jack Sullivan, who I am sure we all hold in great reverence and who deserves all the adulation and acclamation he can get for his wonderful services to rugby, public relations, Bantus, the RSA and Godzone.

Yours,

Norman K.

[Your "satire" on homosexuality was also received — not amused — Ed.]

### Where do our values lie?

Dear Sir,

The article in last week's Salient "Pensioners Protest" seems to indicate clearly just where the values in New Zealand society lie.

In a society with an economy based on profit, people are of interest only in so far as they can contribute to the profit making process, when this is no longer possible they are thrown aside. The neglect of the aged by family and by society in New Zealand is to my mind a good reason upon which the present capitalistic outlook in New Zealand should be reviewed. The aged in this case, are in a situation that is economically imposed.

At present in this country is a world expert on Geriatric Medicine, Professor M.R.P. Hall, who within his statements quoted by Canon Arnold in the Evening Post, Saturday, April 6, mentions two important points.

Firstly that "...the needs of the elderly.... (are)....dependent upon the structure of the community," and that "...neglect of the elderly often arose from prejudice to old age."

Here I think lies the crux of the whole issue, the structure of our society forces the elderly to retire and offers them from 65 onwards no real place in society, because where profit is the revered value in any society, anything unprofitable whether it be a machine or a human being is disposed of. Thus the prejudices in New Zealand today towards the elderly, resulting in their neglect, can be expected.

Society must be changed then, if we are to ever become responsible towards the aged. A statement by Michael J. Savage in the 1930s, shows that New Zealand possibly has the humanitarian heritage to one day bring this change in values and society about:

"Social justice must be the guiding principle and economic organisation must adapt itself to social needs."

Rosalie Smith

### Petty Theft

Dear Sir,

If students are supposed to represent persons with a higher level of intelligence than the norm, then why must they sink to pocketing such items as pens, pencil cases etc when they are left in lecture rooms or labs. Is it too much to ask for them to tell a demonstrator or take the junk to the caretaker or the Enquiry Desk in Rankine Brown.

A pencil case full of pens etc can be as dear as \$8 (it was in my case) or a set of dissecting tools, \$5. God knows that's a lot of cash so how about handing other people's lost property in. It may happen to you someday.

Yours peeved,

"May I Borrow a Pen"

Roger deCasta

### THE PIPE SHOP

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N.Z.P.A.-REUTER

**PRETORIA, Friday.**—Mr Tom Osmond, a member of the New Zealand Maori Council and president of the Hawke's Bay Rugby Club, said yesterday there may be an encounter between the All Blacks and the Springboks next year.

Mr Osmond, in Pretoria, for an international Moral Rearmament conference, said it was "only a possibility at this stage".

Mr Osmond said it was essential that contacts be maintained between the two countries.

He said he was in favour of tours such as this year's by the British Lions, "even more now that I have visited South Africa and seen what is happening here".

### The hypocrisy of Moral Rearmament

Dear Sir,

P. Aron fails to realise that he is being 'paternalised' by MRA when he lets himself be subverted by its 'teachings'.

Enclosed is a news clip from the "Dominion" (13.4.74) whose words Mr Aron will no doubt accept as "factual" and "unbiased". Please read it carefully. Then, ask yourself: how can MRA's position be justified in respect of South Africa?

How would you as an Asian Christian like to live in South Africa and suffer for God's sake, what the coloured people there are undergoing. Do you seriously believe that an MRA person who preaches racial equality would at the same time connive to play games with people who uphold the evil practise of apartheid. This is against all the teachings of Christ.

The news report merely serves to convince me of the hypocritical nature of MRA. What it wants is what employers want, a servile unquestioning working population which is gullible enough to think it is God's will they should maintain the status quo. Before you condemn yourself to the everlasting fires of hell, repent and stop thinking MRA thoughts because you are being exploited by them.

Anak Sarawak

### Why me, Lord?

Dear Sir,

Peter Rotherham makes a 'Freudian slip' in his poorly researched answer to the letters of Auld and Franks. When he quite deceitfully claims the above mentioned writers "are reduced to mindlessly apologising for the outrages (!) which have been committed in the name of socialism by Stalin, Mao and company". He goes onto say that "large doses of blind faith are needed" in this most important field of political debate. He also says that faith only "stands in the way" in this field. These brave words are insufficient to convince the VUW Rationalist Society of Rotherham's rejection of religious type thinking. His whole "argument" is nothing more than superstitious anticommunism, he simply laughs at the fact that he has been called "counter revolutionary", as if it were a ridiculous charge. In other words he has great (and blind) faith in the petty bourgeois prejudices of some sections of his student audience. Furthermore, Peter Rotherham has blind faith that all the specific points brought up against him by his critics — none, not one of which he answers — will have been forgotten by these same readers. Those of us in the VUW Rationalist Society who were originally reluctant to criticise the pro-religious leanings of Rotherham in our previous letters are now quite satisfied with that action. Peter Rotherham has fully exposed himself as a social-theist, that is — a socialist in words and a theist in deeds.

Susan Hampton,  
VUW Rationalists

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## A piece of cake for everyone

Dear Sir,

For an overseas public that has been weaned on a 20-year news diet of Malaysia's grim jungle skirmishes, racial tension and confrontations with Indonesia, success is an unusual concept in Malaysia. The impressions made by Malaysians, especially students, overseas are not always favourable because in most cases the critics tend to be obsessed with their own prejudice pre-conceived ideals. They often overlook a new force that has permeated every walk of lives in Malaysia now. This new inspiration is prosperity — a piece of cake for everyone to share.

The economy is booming as never before. An upsurge in exports last year has boosted the national out-put by 15.5% etc. In some states such as Sabah and Sarawak, economic growth is phenomenal. In 1972 Sabah had the highest trade record deficit since the Second World War. However, in 1973 it was a completely different story, the economy recovered dramatically and resulted in an all time trade surplus record; an increase of about 50%.

I do not for one moment suggest that Malaysia has no problems. Malaysia, perhaps more so than many developed countries, has many pressing delicate and urgent problems. The restructuring of Malaysia's wealth, with the ultimate aims of eradicating poverty and restructuring Malaysian society in order that the identification of race with vocation and location may be avoided; is not simply an exercise in figures. It involves breaking down attitudes which to some extent are a legacy from the

British rule. Thus the critics of Malaysia must bear in mind the recent socio-economic development trend and the unique situation Malaysia is in when they embark on grossly exaggerated allegations and one-sided criticism; as most critics writing in the Salient do. Take this one taken from last year's issue for example. "The Razak regime was groomed and installed by British imperialism....to indulge in various forms of bribery and corruption, swindling and plundering and formed a comprador feudal bureaucratic, capitalist class possessing enormous fortunes. The regime has been going all out in consistency implementing a Malay chauvinist policy with a view of undermining the broad anti-imperialist unity of the people of all nationalities and diverting the people's attention from the target of their struggle so as to maintain their fascist rule." This type of baseless allegation or biased criticism is uncalled for; not only because it sounds more like a James Bond movie but even more so because it is a pure 'white' lie.

To most overseas public racial equation may sound strange but in Malaysia it is a reality Malaysians have to face, a basis for a long-term political stability. It is a known fact that the Malays comprise 50% of Malaysia's total population, hold the political reins but only have a 2% stake in public companies; the Chinese who make up 37% of the population hold a 20% share (the remainder 60% is in the hand of private foreign investors). The new economic policy is aimed to correct this social and economic imbalance between traditionally rural Malays and urban Chinese. The idea was

conceived from the May 13, 1969 riot when the boil of resentment wept blood in the street. This is so not simply because the Malays and other indigenous people are in the majority, not only because the existing racial imbalances are fertile ground for political and social tensions, but fundamentally because it is the right and just thing to do.

The myths inherited from the colonial era still exist in the mind of a considerable number of Malaysians; that each race was graded according to economic status. A white man was called "Tuan" meaning master, a Chinese man was called "Tawkey" meaning merchant or rich man while a Malay man was called "Inche" implying simplicity with a connotation of being lazy and only fit to be a driver. The government is trying to dispel these myths and had pledged to help the country's five million Malays to own and control 30% of the economy by 1990 with other races owning 40%. This assumes that Malaysia's spectacular economic growth will continue and foreign private investments in estates and tin mines, which account for 45% of all foreign holdings, will decline steadily.

Malaysians, however, should not be too optimistic about this development plan but at the same time and by the same token should give it a fair chance; after all most countries think we are doing better than most developing nations of the Third World.

Henry Lawhutt

### A review of MSA's Suara Siswa

Dear Roger,

The editorial in Suara Siswa is a piece of sheer

bloody bullshit. By 'criticising' the High Commission the editor tries to hoodwink and misrepresent to the first year students who are new to the scene at Victoria, that MSA is an independent and progressive body. And putting up a few bourgeois dances and promoting pop music (their only programme each year) these sellouts are distorting and degrading the healthy culture of the Malaysian people. MSA was, still is and will always be a puppet of the 'Malaysian' High Commission. There is no need for me to go to lengths to prove this point to you freshies. Time will lay bare the dirty nature of this organisation and prove the truth.

Ken Lim is a first class coward of a president who doesn't even dare express his stand in a straight forward statement but to 'crawl round the bush' to arrive at his reactionary shit jargon, — to fight for a revolution with religious and parliamentary democracy (in a fascist country)!

'To be or not to be' and 'Bedtime story' are two articles equally racist, except one lengthier than the other, and both peddling racial chauvinism. Both writers are openly promoting the racist line of the 'Razak Government'. They provide no solution but incite hatred among the races and insult the Indian and Chinese people in Malaya as 'chickens with no guts' to resist injustice. These two ignorant bastards have arrogantly violated the scientific truth that 'where there is oppression there is resistance'. These two also fail to see that this is a class issue rather than a racial issue. Who are the real enemies of the Malayan masses? They are the British colonialist, American imperialist, Soviet social imperialist and the local reactionary puppet authorities.

Using the tactic of 'divide and rule', enforced by racist and fascist laws, the authorities slanderously proclaimed special rights for the Malays, and that the Malay language will be taken as the national language, in a vain attempt to win over the Malays, and promote frictions among the multi-races in our motherland. But have the poor Malay peasants and fishermen lives become any better ever since the so-called 'independence' in 1957. The answer is evidently no. The ones who do really benefit are the 10% Malay ruling class.

The present situation of mass unemployment, high rate of inflation, severe housing problems, underfed population and ever rising prices of commodities are the only apparent results achieved by the Razak Government. Aware of this rotting society, more people are awakening with each passing day. Malaya will soon see the day when a new society is born, rid of foreign domination and where the long oppressed masses are masters of their own land.

The last article entitled 'Truth' by MSA 'moralist' John Chin is a far cry from the reality and the needs of the students of this revolutionary era. It is a mere waste of the members money to have this superstitious Bible preaching article in print. The only line that is worth a glance in this two and a half pages of shit is the caption 'Listen to that Fanatic'.

Suara Ra'ayat

### Wilson stretching his neck

Dear Sir,

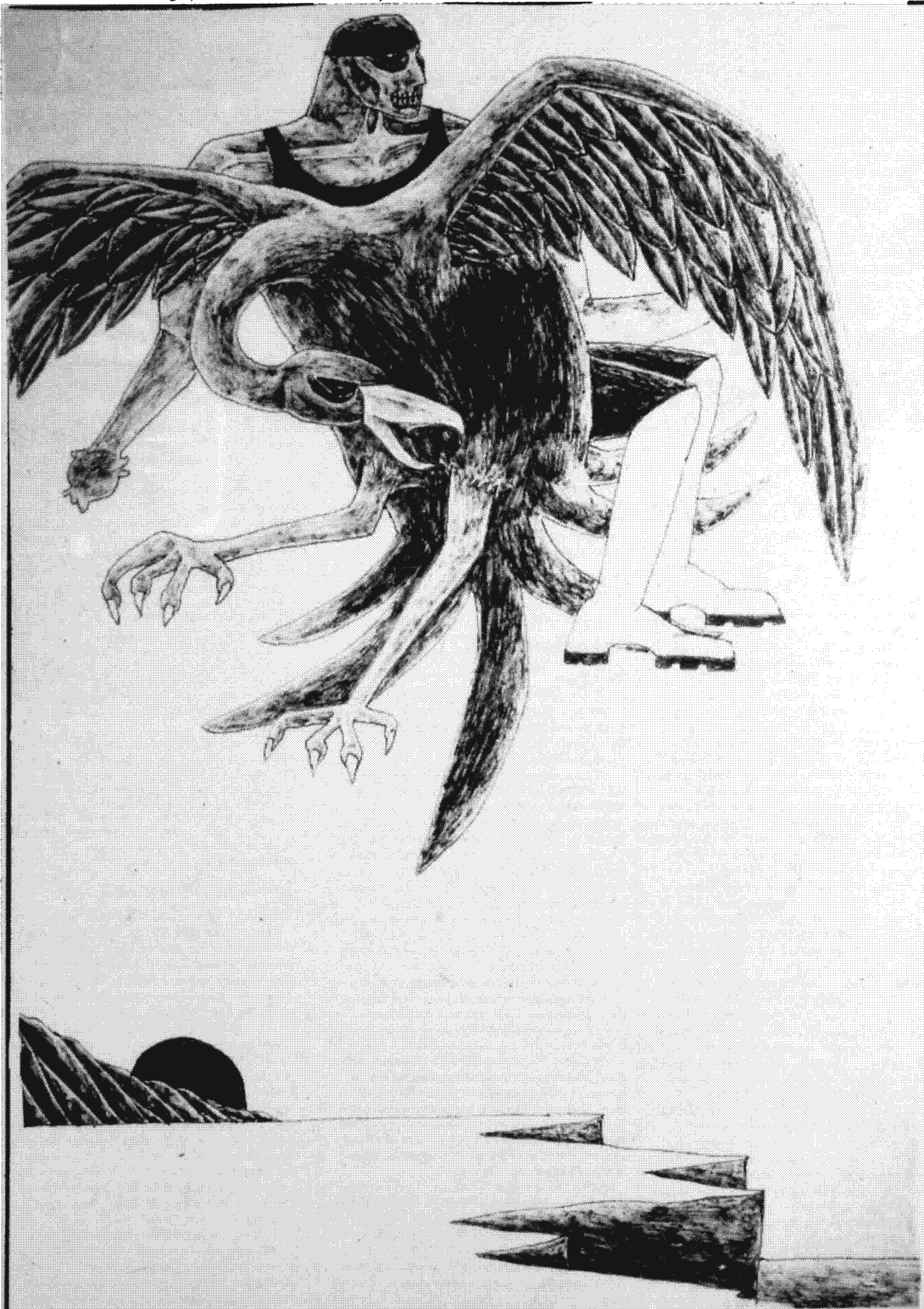
During the recent AGM held on April 9, Peter Wilson in his Presidential report adamantly refused to change the word Malayan High Commissioner to Malaysian High Commissioner on the ground (as he vaguely described) that Malaysia is a Neo-Colonialism connotation, and therefore is not accepted. Because he cannot accept it, he pretends that Malaysia as a political reality does not exist.

The funny thing here is why does he change his opinion so rapidly. If I am not mistaken he used the so-called neo-colonialism term, Malaysia, in both of press and presidential statements dated 10.9.73 and 12.9.73 respectively concerning the Malaysian High Commissioner's intimidation of Malaysian students last year. It seems to Wilson, that the word then was not a neo-colonialism term, but now it is. The most important thing, however, is not so much that he changes his mind so quickly as to what that change implies.

By using the term Malayan High Commissioner he immediately denies the existence of the two Eastern states namely, Sarawak and Sabah (because Malayan only refers to Malay Peninsula) and at the same time implies that Jack deSilva does not represent those two eastern states, of which to any sensible person, he does. Secondly this change of word could mean that there was no intimidation by the Malaysian High Commissioner, because in his Presidential report which the student body, confirmed, such intimidation was made by the Malayan High Commissioner, of which there is no such post here in New Zealand. Such a blunder is not out of character when a politically minded person clash with political reality.

Finally I would like to remind Wilson once more that we are not Malayan students but Malaysian students. Whatever, his political inclination is he cannot deny the existence of Malaysia as a political entity. But if he must so insist in eradicating colonial and neo-colonial terms and memories why not begin at his own doorstep of New Zealand. There is an old saying which says: "If you stretch your neck too far you tend not to see the dirt on your own body."

James Masing



Graphic by Karoline Campbell



## Once again Mr Rotherham

Dear Roger,

Despite having had two weeks to compose a reply to my rejoinder Mr Rotherham's latest apology for Trotskyism is distinguished merely by its schoolboy evasion of the central points at issue. Anyone reading Salient for the first time last week would be justified in thinking that our discussion has nothing to do with Solzhenitsyn and the class struggle under socialism.

Rotherham's silence about Solzhenitsyn came as no surprise to me. Three weeks ago I read in 'Intercontinental Press', an organ of the SWP of America, an article on Solzhenitsyn's letter to the Kremlin which revealed the acute embarrassment now being experienced by his Trotskyite defenders. And following its one constant principle — "If it rains in New York, all SALERS will put up their umbrellas" — the Socialist Action League is ducking for cover.

The editor of 'Socialist Action' signalled the new line when he stated, in the course of evading points raised in a letter, that "it appears Solzhenitsyn's ideas are evolving to the right." ('Socialist Action', March 29, 1974). One can only assume that for Locke, Solzhenitsyn's attack years ago on the national liberation and revolutionary movements, defence of the South African racists, regurgitation of US lies about the NFL, etc were not right wing.

All three points raised by Rotherham further demonstrate his incapacity to understand basic Marxist-Leninist principles, particularly the reality of class struggle under socialism.

To summarise: Rotherham adheres to Trotsky's spurious theory of the Soviet bureaucracy which is mechanically transferred to all countries. But to Marxist-Leninists, socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. During this period classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road continues and the danger of capitalist restoration, spearheaded by new and old bourgeois forces, remains. This struggle is protracted, complex and becomes very acute at times.

Because he does not understand this, Rotherham is reduced to mouthing liberal phrases and debating tricks. To him the following is a crushing argument. He claims that with my "customary clumsiness" I give further evidence for the correctness of the charge of monolithism when I "admit that dissidents will emerge in China and in the future". (Apparently Rotherham feels that redundancy is particularly nimble-witted.)

A naive reader might conclude from this that the skilful Rotherham had trapped me into an

admission of something I had previously denied. His argument is nothing more than a puerile attempt to cover up his own ignorance of past ideological struggles in China to which I had pointed in my previous letter.

He says "regardless of their political ideas and programme, Auld knows in advance that these people (i.e. dissidents) 'will be bearers of bourgeois ideology'. This kind of 'logic' has a practical usefulness, of course; it is much easier to crush political opponents who have been tried and convicted in advance."

Rotherham's argument has a certain practical usefulness. It is designed to obscure the fundamental question which divides us in this debate: Is there class struggle in socialist society?

Rotherham's nimble answer shows that he cannot come to grips with this question. Instead he chose to make a childish distortion of my arguments. Unlike Mr Rotherham, being a Marxist I believe in causal law. In all socialist countries without exception, the class struggle has raged in many different forms in the economic base and in the superstructure. Just as this struggle in the past has thrown up bourgeois elements, so it will in the future. It is inevitable. And unless people recognise this inevitability they will be ideologically unprepared to meet it head-on.

The struggle between proletarian and non-proletarian ideology in a socialist society is one which is protracted and complex precisely because people who sincerely consider themselves proletarian revolutionaries advance policies which serve the interests of the old exploiting classes. Contrary to Rotherham's inventions, Mao Tsetung has spent a considerable part of his energies to bring home to the Chinese people the necessity for vigorous struggle to resolve the class contradictions in the superstructure. "Never forget class struggle!", is one of his most important slogans.

Rotherham is simply being foolish when he implies that in China there is "suppression of all critical thought, around a system where the masses adhere to one line which is set 'for them', or else risk being labelled 'reactionary'."

Firstly, it is completely un-Marxist to talk about "critical thought" in the abstract. All

kinds of thinking in class society are stamped with the brand of a class. In the ideological sphere Marxists insist on the most vigorous debate to defeat non-proletarian ideology.

If Rotherham stopped reading 'The Militant', 'Intercontinental Press' and other tripe and started reading a few books and articles by people who have lived and worked, or visited China, he would learn that among the masses there is continuous debate about which path each neighbourhood, factory, commune or city and China as a whole should take: the socialist path or the capitalist path? The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the campaign to criticise and repudiate Lin Biao and Confucius are the most important manifestations of this debate.

To rid himself of his simplistic notions of socialist society, Rotherham should begin with the following: Hinton's "Turning Point in China" and "Hundred Day War"; Myrdal's "China: The Revolution Continued"; Jean Esmein's "The Chinese Cultural Revolution"; Jean and Elsie Collier's "China's Socialist Revolution"; and Wheelwright and McFarlane's "The Chinese Road to Socialism".

Rotherham reduces the dictatorship of the proletariat to "the working class in power". This is a discrete formulation which obscures its class essence and is designed to woo petty bourgeois elements who shrink from violence.

The dictatorship of the proletariat implies democracy among the people (the working class and its allies) and dictatorship over the old exploiting classes and their agents. This dictatorship may be exercised relatively leniently or it may involve limitations of movement, jailings and executions. When the contradictions between the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinites and the Soviet people, headed by Stalin, became antagonistic in the 1930s in the Soviet Union, they were dealt with by the punitive organs of the Soviet state.

People who shrink from violence in the course of revolution, who deplore the violent aspects of proletarian dictatorship, as the Trotskyites do, should admit that they are not revolutionaries and openly confine their activities to winning reforms within the framework of bourgeois democracy.



Rotherham says that "Auld and Franks proudly boast that if they had any say in the New Zealand revolution the 'Trots' will be among the first to go to the wall. After all, Trotskyists are 'counter-revolutionaries' and 'agents of the CIA', aren't they?"

It will not do Mr Rotherham. Save tricks like this for your schoolboy audiences.

I do not believe that you and your friends have any long-term viability. Trotskyism has some small significance at present because it influences a section of the progressive petty bourgeoisie. I do not believe that it will ever reach out into the broad masses of the working class.

Whether or not the Socialist Action League is in the pay of the CIA is irrelevant to me. Being a Marxist, I judge people not by their declarations but by the effect of their actions on the masses of society. The criterion for judging individuals and political parties is social practice and its effect.

Because of their right-wing ideas, whatever their personal beliefs may be, the activities of the Trotskyites in all countries serve the interests of the international capitalist class. As I attempted to explain to Rotherham earlier, people can serve bourgeois and petty bourgeois interests while picturing themselves as proletarian revolutionaries.

In whose interest does the Socialist Action League operate when it: (i) supports socialism everywhere except where it exists; (ii) confuses the divergent aims and policies of China and the Khrushchovite Soviet Union; (iii) attacks the Vietnamese revolution by working to prevent the implementation of the Paris agreement; (iv) attacks medical aid for the liberated areas in Indochina as "Corso for radicals"; (v) works to split the anti-war and anti-apartheid movements because these movement had rejected their opportunist and trivial policies; (vi) attacks Nyerere and Tanzania, the firmest African supporters of liberation movements in Southern Africa; (vii) defends a fascist like Solzhenitsyn while failing to offer the slightest aid to two militant union delegates under attack in Wellington, etc?

In whose interest did Mr Rotherham operate when he became the mouthpiece for the police during a sit-down demonstration in Auckland in 1972? In attempting to break it up, the police had Mr Rotherham meekly relay their orders (which were ignored, of course) to the demonstrators.

In making this broad statement, I do not wish to imply that Trotskyites have never been the paid tools of reaction. Starting with Trotsky himself, there have been too many examples of Trotskyites in the role of conscious henchmen of the bourgeoisie.

Yours fraternally,  
Terry Auld

## 'Democracy and freedom are relative not absolute'

Dear Roger,

As could be expected, the debate around the exile of Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union has been 'deftly' shifted by Mr Rotherham onto 'a number of broader issues'. What does this mean? A glance at Mr Rotherham's weekly bible 'Intercontinental Press' reveals that the fascist Solzhenitsyn has become too embarrassing even for American Trotskyites. Consequently the ragged fringes of the Fourth International — i.e. Rotherham and Co are in a state of great disorder, although for them the situation is not excellent. I will spare our one-time defender of the dissident to end all dissidents from further embarrassment. But what smokescreen does our hero put up in order to retreat from his untenable position?

In his letter Rotherham claims to have explained how "in Stalinist Russia (which is his term for the Soviet Union — P.F.) and China a system of monolithism has been established". This claim is empty. Rotherham did indeed proffer a few cob-webbed cold war phrases in reply to Terry Auld's concrete analysis. So have Trotskyites and fascists "argued" since their emergence. And, one might very fairly ask — so what? In his reply to the letters of Terry Auld and Don Franks Rotherham employs neither a single fact nor any logic whatever, let alone the concrete analysis of concrete conditions demanded by Lenin.

To attempt to debate with such a person is tiresome and would indeed be entirely futile, were it not for the fact that the 'Marxist' Rotherham has, like all phenomena, a positive side to him.

Rotherham is, like Trotsky before him, a great teacher by negative example. Rotherham is no Marxist-Leninist, neither is he an openly reactionary right-winger. He is simply a miserable liberal, dedicated to vulgarising Marxism in a manner scarcely equalled by Trotsky himself. Witness his attitude to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Rotherham repeats Don Franks' quotation from Lenin that "proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy". He then goes on to draw the conclusion that only in 'times of intense crisis such as during the civil war following the Russian Revolution (it is) necessary to suppress opposition view points.' He then emphasises the democracy and freedom of the proletarian dictatorship to such a degree, and in such a vague and classless way as to merely pay lip service to the other aspect of the contradiction.

Lenin himself makes nonsense of Rotherham's liberalism, pointing out that "The dictatorship of

the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow," and that "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, education and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society." (Foundations of Leninism, Moscow 1950, page 63).

Quoting Karl Marx, Lenin said further that, "It will be necessary under the dictatorship of the proletariat to re-educate 'millions of peasants and small masters, hundreds of thousands of office employees, officials and bourgeois intellectuals, to subordinate them all to the proletarian state and to proletarian leadership (my italics) to overcome 'their bourgeois habits and traditions....' just as we must "....in a protracted struggle waged on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat re-educate the proletarians themselves (my italics) who do not abandon their petty bourgeois prejudices at one stroke, by a miracle, at the behest of the Virgin Mary, at the behest of a slogan, resolution or decree, but only in the course of a long and difficult mass struggle against mass petty bourgeois influences" (Ibid, page 64).

Fortunately Rotherham does not have a monopoly over ideas on freedom and democracy under proletarian dictatorship. As if in reply to Rotherham's milk and water idealism, Mao Tsetung clearly points out the dialectical nature of these phenomena.

"Both democracy and freedom are relative, not absolute, and they come unto being and develop in specific historical conditions. Within the ranks of the people democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united and we should not over-ideally emphasise one to the denial of the other.... This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline constitutes our democratic centralism. Under this system, the people enjoy extensive democracy and freedom, but at the same time they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline." (Four Essays on Philosophy, page 86).

In contrast to Mr Rotherham's shambling version of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" in which "different working class tendencies" (i.e. Trotskyites and Solzhenitsyns) are free to spread their idealistic, unscientific and downright reactionary ideas we see that proletarian democracy proper is militant, scientific and based on a clear class understanding and foundation.

Perhaps this may help to explain why no Trotskyite party has yet led a successful

revolution, why Rotherham's 'Young Socialists' are so utterly divorced from the working class and an understanding of scientific socialism and why liberals like Rotherham spend their time defending parasitic Russian fascists instead of the prominent militant union delegates recently sacked from Ford Motors and the Gear Meat Company.

Yours fraternally,  
Peter Franks

## The guts on Malaya

Dear Roger

A friend of mine who returned to Malaya recently wrote a letter which I felt might interest both New Zealanders and overseas students particularly from Malaya. Part of the letter is quoted as follows:

".....after several years away from home, I find that not much has changed at my home village. Most young people swarm into the cities hunting for jobs. Soon after I arrived home, I felt instantly the serious problem of inflation. The prices of almost every commodity have been increased but the workers' wages do not seem to have had any substantial rise. The living conditions of the labouring people are increasingly difficult. The price of food has shot up three or even four times higher. The situation in Singapore seems worse and more serious from what I have seen there during my brief stay...."

"Another distinctive phenomenon is that the number of beggars seems to be greater than in the past. During my stop-over in Kuala Lumpur, I saw a couple of Indian children begging for money from customers at the roadside foodstalls. I gave them some coins. Within a short while, about a dozen other children surrounded me begging me for money. I gave away all the coins I had. Later, more and more children came and surrounded me. Finally my friends and I had to leave the place. Some of the customers laughed over our behaviour and some showed no sign of sympathy. Most of these beggars are Indians."

"The Chinese Club of Malaya University together with more than 40 other cultural organisations throughout Malaya, organises a cultural concert to raise funds for private secondary schools which have long been suppressed by the government. The concert will be on stage from April 28 to May 10. The concert was originally planned to be held at Negara Stadium. However, the show is forced to change the venue to the Assembly Hall of the Chinese Association which can only accommodate a much smaller audience. The government would not allow the concert to

be held at the Negara Stadium under the pretext that it wanted to use the place at the same date and time. This is in fact a means of oppression by the government which tried every possible manoeuvre to stop the concert. One of the organisers was arrested. The Hai Yin Choir of Chin Chow Association was blamed for taking part in the concert and their cultural activities were banned due to the pressure from the government."

"It seems that the government is exerting great pressure to stop the staging of the cultural concert. Whether the concert will be allowed is in doubt. However, my friends told me that the concert was strongly supported by the Chinese Schools Board of Directors and Teachers' Association. I believe the concert will be successfully held as planned with the support of the people and with the determination of the cultural organisers and workers...."

It should be pointed out that MSA always claims to represent Malaysian students in New Zealand and if its existence is not serving the reactionaries, it should stand firm and condemn the government oppression of cultural activities in Malaya.

Yours sincerely,  
Anti-Oppression

## Knocking Debbie

Dear Sir,

I know that Marshall McLuhan has been saying for years that the printed word is a totally fucked form of communication, but it took Debbie Jones's article in last week's Salient to finally prove that point. Since some of it referred directly to me I'd like to clean-up some areas of difference.

1) I thought I'd said in the last bit of my article that because I had personal doubts about much of the women's movement I wouldn't put in print any final suggestions. According to Debbie Jones though I am the "type" (?) of "radical man who insists that he agrees with women's liberation but spends a lot of time trying to give us good advice". About the only thing she got right there is that I am a male. I'm not a type, I'm not a radical, I don't insist on agreeing with anyone, certainly not women's liberation and I can't remember any advice I gave that was much good to anyone.

It seems to me Debbie Jones is dipping into those categories that as an upfront emotional person she claims to reject. I write for Salient she thinks; therefore I must be a radical. My article was not 100% antagonistic to women; therefore I must be patronising them, or (paranoia, paranoia) making a superficial identification only so I can shape it to that



"theoretical framework" I'm supposed to have. Let's liberate ourselves from these categories, huh Debbie? I'm an individual. You're an individual. But nah, I don't want to ball you.

2) Debbie (I hope you don't mind me calling you Debbie) says my article "arose in part from a compulsion to fit feminism into a theoretical framework". Now I don't want to make anyone suspect their "gut level identifications" but I thought my article was a protest against the damage that rigid theorising does to reality. I wanted particularly to complain about the way people, especially dead ones, get the reality of their lives twisted to fit the theories and needs of other people. That's one reason why I'm not a radical, even though I confess to knowing Roger Steele.

3) It's good to hear from Debbie that there is no card carrying women's movement, no elite leadership, nor even "primarily any ideological or tactical analysis" beyond "learning to trust and act on our feelings". Sort of like "in your heart you know you're right", as Barry Goldwater used to say.

But I get confused. Because while Debbie says at one point that "women have no common culture and few adequate models" at another place she says that women's revolutionary spirit derives from "a shared consciousness of pain and oppression". And in one small article she can cite, with approval, four females as models of one kind or another. Similarly, after telling us how the women's movement is a product of "extremely distorted" male views she begins the next paragraph with "now, about our beautiful Janis". Who's "us"? Not that illusory women's movement I hope, actually I didn't realise anyone had taken out ownership papers on Janis.

But the really interesting part of Debbie's article comes when she gives an example of how a truly liberated woman conducts a sexual relationship. Its Janis again; she was playing at a concert with this guy and dug him, so she told him she wanted to ball him. In Debbie's scornful words "he fled". Seems he just couldn't handle "a woman who doesn't play games".

If you want to see how wierd this reasoning is, just reverse the sexes. You'll get the typical Saturday night party scene, guy moving in on chick, she refuses, he assumes she must be frigid. According to Debbie Jones this is the model we should look to with approval.

So how can any male avoid being at least patronising and at worst downright antagonistic to feminist rhetoric? White males have been on the other end of two little consciousness raising scenes in the last year or so. Playing Mister Charley to the blacks and Pig Oink to the feminists. It didn't matter too much that these groups were trading in stereotypes, creating non existent enemies and so on, because the point of the rhetoric was internal, not external; to raise the morale of the troops. The hope was that blacks and women would one day be secure enough to see white males as something other than enemies, patronising comen and take-over artists. But that stage never really arrived. The blacks have collapsed into phallic fantasies and revolutionary posturing, and I don't really see much point in going through the same crap with the feminists.

Finally, if as Debbie says "women face a conflict between the desire to be loved and protected and the desire to be free" then that's for the individual to sort out. You can't have independence and Prince Charming as well. But this desire for maximum experience and minimal responsibility (if I can avoid sounding Muggeridge) crops up again and again. It seems so easy to confuse the problems of being a woman with the problems of being alive, period. Society doesn't have an obligation to resolve the loneliness of the individual. That kind of pathetic "love me, I'm just doing my thing" is what finally messed up the hip movement. And as Midge Dector says (New York Times Magazine Sept. 1973) it was also the story of Janis Joplin.

Gordon Campbell

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## DOWNSTAGE THEATRE

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Nightly at 8.15pm  
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**The Sea**  
by Edward Bond

Directed by Sunny Amey  
Designed by Raymond Boyce  
Student concessions  
Bookings taken for coffee and play  
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Watch papers for details  
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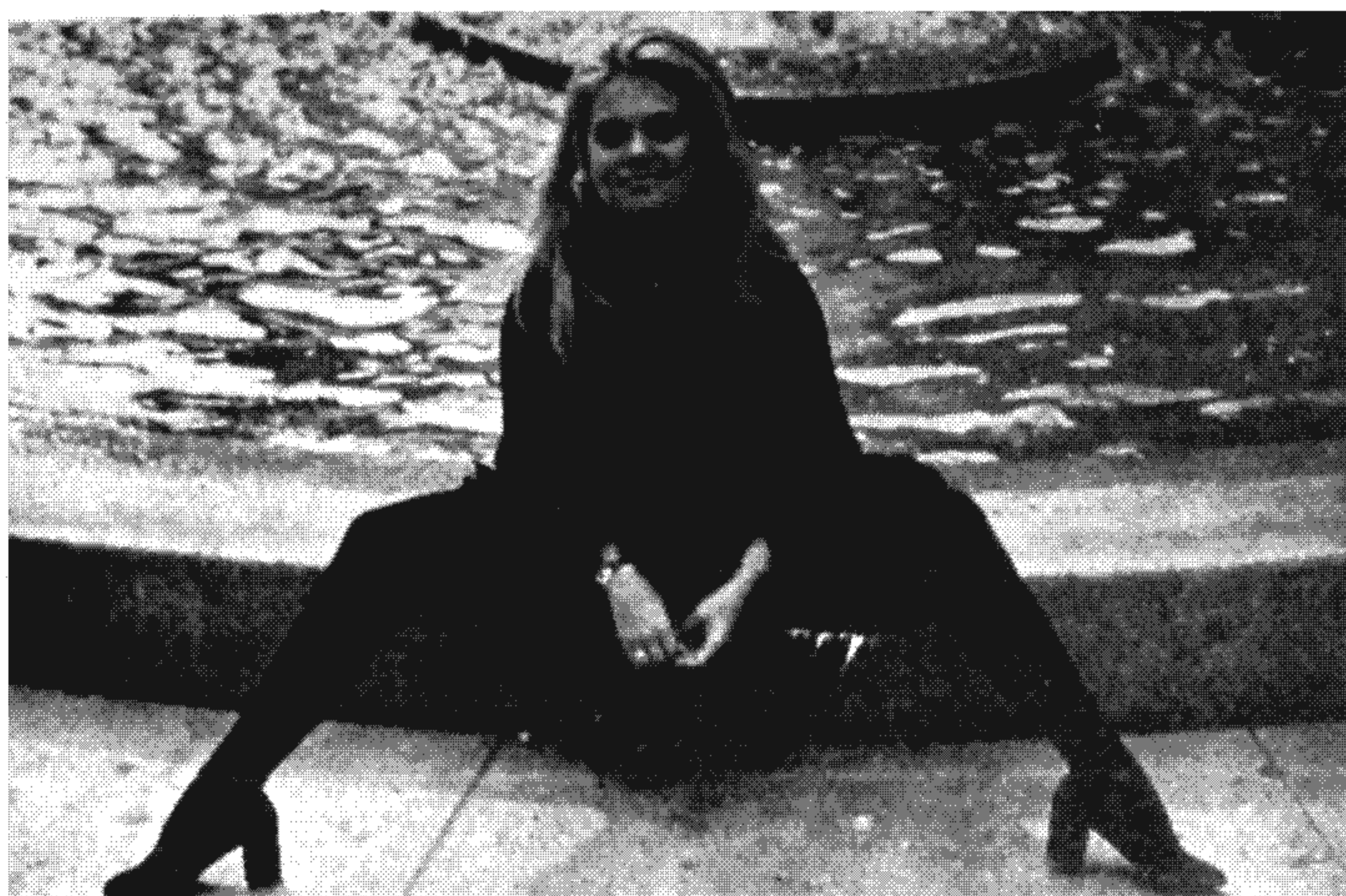
# CONCERT

## Mammal last Thursday

Mammal is the sort of band that incites riot, sometimes they are nasty and sometimes they're just plain dirty. I hadn't seen them since early 1973, big and bold with Sam Hunt in front of the town library, pounding away at "Gimme Shelter" and "Delta Lady" while people in the crowd threw bottles and boogied. Mammal have no class you see, they're too goddam messy; like sleepwalkers, shuffling to the microphone to mumble the title of the next son: thenestsong 'sby.....ah.....TenWheelDrive.....then keeping it moving for eight minutes. But don't be fooled by the music, really they're a bunch of lazies: thissong'sby.....Neil Young....."Ohio", long and tasty with some delicious harmonies; then into "It's All Over Now" and "Johnny B Good", and a bit of good stuff like Free's "Wishing Well".

I remember when they would play "I'll be Creeping", then the air would fill with evil and bad, and the crowd would shrink together. On Thursday night something could easily have happened; the Union Hall was in darkness, the light show was flashy, the guitars were screaming, Rick Bryant was screaming, the drums were pounding!! and people were throwing themselves into a frenzy. What did happen? Well Mammal played some fine music and the people had a good time. There was Rick Bryant blowing into a saxophone, and new member Peter Kennedy on guitar, and some good original music; a round of applause for "Masquerade" and "Children of the Mist". They still play those damn good Tamla Motown songs: "I Heard it Through the Grapevine", "Can't Get Next to You" and "Cloud Nine", faithfully copied right down to the four-man choruses, which shows, if nothing else, they've got real taste; not the sort of thing you'd expect from a Wellington band. Mammal is really a University band after all, almost an institution, and they've been around. On a recent trip to Christchurch apparently they lost money; with this sort of interest and support Mammal could easily become extinct. Is this a good thing? No! Let's try and get a Mammal motif emblazoned onto the Victoria University pendant, organise a "save Mammal" campaign, support Mammal by buying their records and going to their concerts. After all, Mammal is kin man.....

-Brian King



# FLICKS

Pleasing as it is to record that Hollywood has at last owned up to being the most illustrious ghost town in the annals of the West (the date of its actual demise can be left to the more perfidious film historians), there is little call for the ghosts themselves to be put out on show to prove it. The cheapskate nostalgia irritates, and all those responsible emerge with reputations for impotent sensibility, to say nothing of bogus craftsmanship. On reputations such as these stand 'The Best of Sheila', now showing at the Kings.

Nothing less than a gallery of ghosts adorns this brittle thriller, pastiched from Agatha Christie's waste paper bin. John Mills and James Coburn looking like mere shadows of their former selves, Raquel Welch paling before the effort of maintaining the glamour tradition in which she undeservedly finds herself, Dick Benjamin and Dyan Cannon representing all the stars who never were and Ian McShane and Eileen Hackett attending on behalf of those who never will be.....ghosts aplenty there. And not each spooky or spacy or whatever the chic clique say. In the hands of

Director Herbert Ross (the most intrepid ghost hunter of them all) they move with the eerie adroitness of mechanical toys with minor malfunctions. Maybe that is how script-writers Anthony Perkins and Stephen (Mr Broadway) Sandihem people their grim who-dunnit world. Or maybe that is what is meant by Hollywood's golden past - but if it is, then it's fools gold, for it has not the capacity to either beguile, amuse or entertain, aspects no movies can afford to be without.

All of these reservations require qualification, however. The film has a certain exotic setting which means that the coincidental details have a power of their own. The various states of undress in which the women are apt to find themselves, the enticing views of the Riviera low-life, the miscellaneous scraps of history included to load the air with atmosphere....that sort of thing. Not enough to keep people happy. I imagine, but enough to make things bearable. Which, given the basic ingredients of this pot pourri, is what its producer could really expect.

And what of the ghosts, then? Are they there to frighten people away as one might be lead to believe? Perhaps, but I prefer to think they're out and about only to be exorcised. If so, that would be, as the saying goes, 'grouse'.

# POMES

## MIDNIGHT

### Midnight Juliet

Why can't you talk?  
You turn, face motionless -  
revolving, inhibitions freezing you  
dead as ice  
Yet I saw you, midnight Juliet  
naked last night, wanking in a  
snowstorm, covered with a strange  
light, suffering from overexposure  
Chillblains on the clitoris?

Today you cannot talk  
freezing under the counterpane  
face blue as ice and half as  
embarrassed. Chipping me with  
your cold stare, you wear your  
sex like a striped lifebelt, a  
loincloth of frost that my  
warmth cannot penetrate.

Tomorrow you will stride  
Wild as the whispering wind  
staring at me in scorn back over  
your ivory shoulder to where  
I sit in sorrow  
And tomorrow you can speak  
Why? Why won't you love?  
She whispers, moans  
"It's this place, this  
godawful place, it freezes  
my bones."

Chris Stafford

## Willpower

I spent a whole hour last night  
eating salted peanuts  
and writing a 3-page Biology Essay  
without one sexual reference  
what-so-ever

## Dead Shark

honest it was all a big mistake  
I didn't mean to I didn't I didn't  
but that really doesn't make it any easier  
cue-shaped holes continue to ventilate  
his nether regions  
and his heart

by Samuel Wind

OCTOBER CLUB FILM "Salt of the Earth"  
Memorial Theatre, April 17, 12-2pm.  
A true story of a strike in New Mexico.

(from THE SEED GARDEN MANUAL  
FOR PLANTING)

the fantail  
his small god divided  
and divided  
asking each stranger  
where am I  
2  
he is the dream we only half  
remember  
catching a spark  
in a tin cup  
a ship from the fire  
the ash of a fern  
3  
the forest is a cold nest

when it rains  
leaves fall to the bottom  
half rotten stumps  
are eaten white  
with fungus  
the colour  
of the inside of an egg  
or a discarded feather  
4  
too far up a rubbed tree  
where the antlers  
loose their first years  
he tells me the faults  
each sin  
the ones I'd forgotten  
somehow I'm pleased  
there were enough to fill his brain  
D.S. Long Christchurch

Thursday

# BULLDOG'S

Thursday



LUNCHTIME CONCERT UNION HALL 45c  
Presented by VUW Folk Club



