

## NZ Gets 'Social Contract' (7% Solution)

*The current series of wage negotiations under the new conditions of "free bargaining" will determine at what rates students will be paid in the coming holiday period. Students who are increasingly feeling the pinch from continuing inflation and a devalued standard tertiary bursary will be looking at these negotiations with intense interest.*

But how "free" will the "free bargaining" be and how much chance do the unions have of substantially compensating for the fall in the real value of wages over the last few years?

### "Free bargaining"—out of the blue

Just as the negotiations on wage guidelines to cover the post-freeze period seemed to be getting nowhere, there came a surprise announcement on July 19 that there was to be a return to "free bargaining".

To some, like Uncle Sir Tom Skinner, it was no surprise. Uncle Sir Tom and Muldoon had apparently spent many a happy weekend together working out the details of the return to "free bargaining".

The return had a number of easily visible strings. All awards would have a minimum period of twelve months and there could be only one wage rise in that period. Unions would have to withdraw their claims from conciliation if they wished to go on strike, either to support the claims or for any other reason.

These restrictions are two fold. Firstly, no one in New Zealand can confidently predict the inflation rate 12 months into the future and yet unions will be asked to negotiate an increase for a future 12 months before they can again ask for a wage rise, despite any increase in inflation. A major union weapon to back up wage demands and demonstrate the solidarity of its members behind those demands is the strike and yet this is illegal under the Industrial Relations Act. An analogous restriction on student associations would see us banned from bursary marches while negotiating higher bursaries—an absurd situation.

### "Social contract"—the seven per cent solution

But the real catch that will make the return to "free bargaining" as much a farce as the cartoons that characterised National's election campaign is the so-called "Social contract".

Prime Minister Muldoon explains: the return to free bargaining is to be on "on the understanding that all parties will adopt a reasonable and restrained approach"; and "if there's any sign that things are getting out of hand then full controls will be imposed immediately". So New Zealand's "return to direct bargaining" is yet another attempt to hold down wages.

With the weight of the FoL top leadership behind it, the government hopes to continue and intensify its policy of cutting real wages. The guideline rise set by Gordon and to be enforced by the FoL leaders is seven per cent. This figure is from an un-disputable source.

The Government is attempting to set up a "social contract" situation as in Britain where workers wages steadily declined and unemployment rose under Phase 1 and Phase 2. It is not in any way an enlightened move. Muldoon made this clear when he warned of the reimposition of "full controls" if things were "getting out of hand".

### Labour's Leg Irons

Further backing up the Government's drive to lower wages is the vicious legislation it has passed since attaining office. This legislation has made illegal virtually any strike by any group of workers in any situation. If they so choose the Government can declare a strike illegal and the union, the union officials and the workers concerned will all be liable to large fines and the officials liable to imprisonment.

**WE'RE WAGING WAR AGAINST INFLATION! WITH OUR WAGES!**

On top of this legislation the Government passes legislation allowing them to conduct voluntary unionism ballots. At any time (including during award negotiations ) the Minister of Labour can hold a ballot among a unions membership to see if they want their union to be voluntary or compulsory. The absolute power of the Minister of Labour to call a ballot any time and the weak stand the FoL is putting up against the ballots is leaving many union leaders paranoid and afraid to act in their members interests.

# The Unions Response

Although it was quite clearly a sham, the return to "free bargaining" was hailed as "free bargaining with no tags" by Sir Tom Skinner.

This deceit is an integral part of the social contract. The pretence of "free bargaining" is maintained while bureaucratic union officials sell out their members privately during award negotiations.

Jim Knox spelt this out on a recent Dateline Programme. He said the FoL would tolerate no "wildcat" strikes if "excessive" wage claims were opposed by employers. Also, he charitably noted that "some employers haven't got the ability to pay"—ignoring the large number of workers who currently haven't "the ability to pay" their basic bills. Knox was congratulated by Gordon, for his interpretation of what the return to "free bargaining" meant with these words: "Mr Knox has put it as graphically as I could have—'social responsibility'" ('social responsibility' is Gordon's euphemism for 'social contract').

But the top leadership have not had it all their own way and an increasing number of unions have come out against any notion of a "social contract" including moderate unions such as the Clerical Workers.

The sabotage of the silent Knight and his cohorts does not look like lasting long unchallenged.

The social contract is part of the Government's policy of making workers bear the brunt of the current economic crisis.

Despite the fact it is the system created by big business and the monopolies that is in crisis the Government's policies are to direct more money to the monopolies and less to workers. More unionists now oppose this policy and the all new social contract with the policy that the bosses should pay for their own crisis and that workers need higher pay to maintain basic living standards.

## What students should do

Come October and November nearly all of us will be entering the ranks of the workforce. The majority of us will enter working class occupations. What happens at this current round of wage negotiations will affect us deeply.

Even if our only motive is self-interest we should all attempt to take the following steps:

- Help expose the 'social contract' for what it is—a 'social con-trick'. We should try to swing public opinion behind the legitimate demands of unions opposed to the 'social contract'.
- We should continue to expose the growing restrictions on trade union activity—the anti-strike legislation and the compulsory /voluntary "unionism ballots. These are detailed in the NZUSA booklet "Labour's Leg Irons". These restrictions are a major back up to the 'social contract'.
- We should take an active interest in union affairs. We should take the trouble to investigate their side of the story in a dispute—and we should respect and stand by their decisions.

Student and Unionist.

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## Executive Election

## Election forum

## Vote

Hear the candidates Monday 12 noon Union Hall.

Wednesday 7th and Thursday 8th Sept

Rankine Brown Foyer, Union Foyer.

8.30 am - 6.00 pm.

## Michael Berghan—President

I am standing for President of VUWSA because I think it's wrong that a handful of so called 'political

heavies" dictate the policy of over 6,0 students. I am standing with no political bias. I'm neither Trotskyist nor Marxist and like many students, don't understand the differences between the two. I don't regularly attend SRC, because I'm bored by them. There are always the same people arguing about the same things, the majority of which are irrelevant to the direct and urgent needs of the student. I think that if SRC was more directly concerned with the needs of students in New Zealand and particularly with those at VUW then a lot more interest would be generated. It [unclear: istounds] me that we give money to almost any group or organisations and yet the Tenants Union had to fight to get only \$50. I'd like to see more attention given to this type of thing as well as better Union facilities made more available to all students, more social and cultural activities on campus, more support given to social and sporting clubs, as well as continued emphasis on bursaries, assessment, etc. These matters should take priority over political working.

## Robert Moore - Jones—President

There are three major aspects to this Association's work:

- Political
- Service
- Social/Cultural

As Education Officer for 1977, I have been heavily involved in the political work of the Association and have gained much experience in the running of campaigns and so forth. This experience will be a definite advantage for 1978 as I foresee campaigns being waged on numerous fronts - bursaries, overseas students, opposing the Royal Commission Report, opposing enrolment restrictions, assessment etc. Many of these issues will of course, gain greater importance than they have this year for 1978 is as everyone should know, election year.

However, much importance we place on our political work, however, we should not forget the service aspect, and there is room for a great deal of work to be done in this area. Questions such as cafe food and organisation, the use of the restaurant and indeed the use of all facilities in the Student Union Building will have to come under close scrutiny, and in these areas, there is a definite need for improvement.

The use of Student Union facilities is, of course, tied up with the social and cultural aspects of our work. I do not feel that our facilities have been used to their fullest, to provide the right kind of social atmosphere on campus. Hops, socials, concerts, plays or whatever people want to participate in, should be held frequently and with the greatest amount of student participation. As somebody has said, "the better the social atmosphere on campus, the better the political atmosphere", and I tend to concur with this sentiment.

As I have only limited space here, I can only point to the major areas of work next year, however, I will be around the Studass Office most of the time, and would be happy to discuss any aspect further.

## Patrick Mulrennan—President

The fight for a living bursary is my number 1 concern. I believe that the President should also lead the Association in campaigns for:

- an end to enrolment restrictions, such as in the law faculty.
- an end to discrimination against overseas students (such as the Latos test) restore the pre-cutback, entry levels!
- the interests of all those in New Zealand who face discrimination, such as racial minorities, women, and trade unions—and the rights of all including students, to a political voice.
- the rights of the oppressed world wide, such as students in South Africa and South-East Asia.
- a campus where debate is encouraged, and all students, no matter what their political persuasion, have full rights.

The bursaries campaign, like any other, can be most effectively waged by having an ongoing educational campaign, and by involving as many students as possible in public demonstrations (like the one on August 3). I believe that we should take our cause to the community to gain the support of working people, high school students, etc. Those who have been denied university education will support our demand that education be not a privilege but a right.

## Peter Callinicos—Man Vice President

I am a candidate for the position of Man's Vice President, a position requiring general work in various aspects of the Student Union business. I am at present President of the Victoria House Students' Association and can say with some confidence that I have gained experience in organising social functions of various kinds, which if I am elected, I will apply to the many varsity attractions from SASRAC to Hops.

It is my desire to become involved in as many areas of Students affairs as possible and I will willingly assist in Student Welfare Accommodation or the next Winter Tournament to be held at our Esteemed establishment.

I can make no wild promises like putting a Pub on Campus or doubling our Bursaries but can guarantee that if there are any problems affecting students I will do my utmost to solve them. I can say that I am no "Yes man", not being aligned to any political factions I will act on what I believe is right not what my allegiances would demand. If anything I would say that my standings are predominantly moderate-conservative but am always willing to accept ideas if they are of practical and realistic benefit to our society.

## **John Hebenton—Man Vice-President**

We, of the Thorndon Anarchy League, the chosen few who have dedicated our intellectual prowess to following the Cyril Bumtrinket and his philosophy of life, stand for the injection of spirit into this campus, politically, socially and culturally.

Being a rep on Arts Faculty Union Management and Catering Sub-Committee has been very educational. To achieve anything the rep's need student and Executive support. As Man Vice-President, I would work hard to ensure this support is given.

This year I was involved in Radio Active, our job being mainly to provide information for students. Next Orientation, I intend to establish a student information booth designed to answer any questions students have.

While on the Bursary Action Committee I was appalled by the lack of spirit on campus. My Campaign has tried to inject some interest in the elections, and next year I hope to continue this, through the booth and a general reaching out campaign of speaking theatre forums and so on.

To do any of this, the League those who will help me, needs your support. Help us help you, and vote John Hebenton for Man Vice-President.

## **Juanita Doorey—Woman Vice-President**

I think the Women's Vice-President should be active in leading the fight for women's rights on campus, As a representative of the Students Association it is also important that she work with groups in the community with the aim of defending and broadening women's rights.

Students can play a big part in the fight of women to gain control over their own bodies. The government's latest anti-abortion bill shows its hostility to women's rights. I will be active in opposing this bill, and as Women's Vice President I would involve students in the campaign to repeal the abortion laws.

There is only one Women's Studies Course offered at Victoria at present. As Women's Vice-President, I would work to ensure that more such courses are made available.

If elected, I will also take part in the bursaries campaign, giving particular attention to the need for women students to receive special bursaries to compensate for the lower pay they get in holiday jobs.

## **Leonie Morris—Woman Vice-President**

Next year students will see an intensification of the governments two pronged policy of holding down wages and cutting government spending; and eroding away our civil liberties. This policy is designed to solve NZ's economic crisis, but this will not solve the problems. In 1978 the Executive must involve students in campaigns on issues which students are concerned about and [*unclear*: unite] with the rest of the community to halt the onslaught on New Zealanders living standards and civil liberties.

Of special concern to students will be the continuation of cuts in government spending on education. Already the Education Report has produced a paper endorsing the principles of student loans over the principle of a fully supportive bursary.

Womens rights are also under vicious attack. The government is attempting to push women into the home We must fight this attempt to define women solely as mother or wife and demand the necessary conditions whereby women can make a full contribution to society.

As well as political activities the executive must encourage more social and cultural events. For a healthy balance of social, Cultural and political activities it's essential to a healthy campus life.

Curriculum Vitae

- 1976—SRC International Affairs Office
- 1976—Womens Vice-President July—Dec.
- 1977—SRC Womens Rights Officer.

Stephen Underwood—Treasurer

No photo or manifesto supplied.

Peter Thrush has stated his intention not to run for the position of Secretary. All other positions not shown here are unfilled.

## Tom Duggan—Publications Officer

The Pubs Officer is the person who leads the Publications Board, which decides what publications the Students Association will support. The two main priorities are 1) to ensure that Handbook is ready for orientation week and 2) that Salient is organised and ready to function as our weekly newspaper by the time University starts in March. The Pubs Officer's responsibility in these areas is to co-ordinate the activities of the various people involved in these publications, e.g. help in the effort of trying to find competent people to fill the positions of Advertising Manager for Salient and also a Treasurer for Publications Board.

The Pubs Officer can then turn his/her attention to other Publication ventures that Pubs Board might undertake. One publication that I will be trying to promote is a cultural and/or literary magazine that will be published on a periodical basis. Already this year, Hasard has been produced by some students on campus with the aid of NZSAC (Inc.). This definitely looks like a possibility that our Pubs Board could undertake or at least help in its preparation.

## Kevin Callinicos—Accommodation Officer

Being a second year Law and Commerce student this year, it felt as though I was slipping into a rut of apathy that many in my position do.

To prevent this, I became involved in the Bursaries Action Committee midway through this year, and among other things, organized an all-day leafletting downtown by Victoria House.

Having completed this, I attended the August Council as delegate for Welfare and Accommodation.

Both these activities have given me a little experience in student politics but more importantly, they have given me insight into the workings of the Executive and the desire to participate in it.

I see the position of Accommodation Officer as one that has been sadly neglected in the past, Accommodation problems can be crippling to any student so it's importance has underrated in the past. There is a real need for an Accommodation Officer who can advise students on their rights, obligations and their bargaining power. This adviser must be available to all, and it is this lack of availability I hope to cure.

Coupled with this advisory capacity, there is the task of maintaining student flats and very generally being the student's advocate in accommodation problems.

Polling takes [*unclear*: place on] Wed & Thursday

## Voting Rules

There will be two polling booths during the elections. One in the Library Foyer of the Rankine Brown Building and the other on the Ground Floor of the Student Union. All current financial and life members of the Association are entitled to vote. Those members who wish to vote but will not be present on the voting days may cast an absentee vote by seeing the Returning Officer.

At each polling booth there will be a copy of of the student roll and the voters name will be struck off as the vote is cast. The voter's student number will be recorded on the voting paper to guard against double-voting. The candidates names will be listed alphabetically on the voting paper, and the voter will be required to delete the names for the persons that he/she does not wish to vote for.

In addition to the candidates' names there will be a 'no - confidence' provision for each position. To cast a no - confidence vote the voter should cross out all the names present.

At each booth there will be a picture of each candidate plus their manifesto.

The booths will be open from 8.30 am to 6 pm on both days and the result will be announced after counting on Thursday night at about 9.45 pm.

## Editorial

### Vote for an Active Executive!

kimnopqrst

This will be an extremely difficult task for voters this year as the line up is pretty dismal. It seems that enthusiasm for student politics is at an all time low. Mind you .... that's what they were saying in 1974 and things have gone downhill since then.

Only three positions are being contested and three positions have no applicants at all. There is no great battle looming up, no big issues and the only ticket is that of the Young 'Socialists' who are stoically putting up two candidates.

This year's election harks the arrival of a new voting provision: namely that of no confidence. This system has been tried at Auckland University with some success; last year's Presidential race turned out to be a victory for no confidence. The no-confidence vote should be used as the name suggests, namely a situation when you have no-confidence in the candidate(s) standing. The danger of the no-confidence provision being used as an outburst of reaction against the Students Association and all that that entails is something that Auckland University has also experienced. For people intent on using no-confidence in this way, I suggest you express your grievances in a more positive way, like attending SRC's or the election forum.

Which brings me to the election forum. Believe me fellow students there is nothing quite so enjoyable as an election forum. As John Cleese would put it: "120 minutes of ritual, cheerful humiliation of the young and greedy ". Besides the fun aspects - - it's also useful to know who you are putting into office.

So be there! Monday, high-noon in the Union Hall.

## NZUSA positions

Image of a crest

Applications are called for the position of President, Education Vice-President and National Vice-President of the New Zealand University Students' Association for 1978. These positions are full-time and carry a salary of approximately \$5,700.00. Successful candidates will be required to live in Wellington and reasonable removal expenses will be paid.

Applications close on September 24 when a Special General Meeting of the Association will be held to elect the candidates.

Applications should be addressed to:

The Returning Officer

NZUSA

PO Box 9047

Wellington

For further information on the duties of the positions please contact the President of your Students' Association.

Lisa Saksen

President

### ***Our resident cartoonist's view of the coming elections.....***

### **Better late...**

Nutters and most politicians usually get good audiences to the Union Hall and last terms Mayoralty Forum was no exception. Standing resplendant (in some cases ) were the latest crop of hopefuls for the Capitals top civic job. Also included in the retinue were some of the rejects from the last elections. We were expecting that here, in front of a live television audience the incisive wit and discerning questions would expose all before it. However at the end we were still waiting.

## **Values Party—Radical Alternative?**

Tony Brunt weighed in with the claim that "the capitol plan" (faithfully supported by Lloyd Jobson ), was little more than community talking and that certain persons had what seemed to be a "kiss of death", or "edifice complex". Tony offered as his contribution to changing the shape of New Zealand society the establishment of a "volunteer bureau", the expansion of an already understaffed civil defence, and the predictable anti motorway noises that appear to be the role of the Values Party these days.

## **"Good evening—I'm from Civic Reform"**

Tom McMillin was the sort of person who in his own words, was all for "making things run in a proper way". He had this fixation about buses "running all the way to Houghton Bay": extensions to the airport and the de-flouridation of the towns water supply. This to be the answer to a multiplicity of social/cultural/ and financial ills of Wellington, with a bit of luck the Houghton Bay bus might refuse to bring him back!

## **"Sharing resources" ...**

. . . implored Bill Jeffries (on behalf of Sir Francis who was sick ) "is what the Labour Party stands for" (hmm, I hear whirring noise from the grave of Pat Hickie "We are now a bland society and trends in the way that the city is being run are self fulfilling; the stagnation in city transport leads to more stagnation (Econ 101 )"). Bill like his leader carried on by suggesting that "it would be to your acquiescence to not vote Labour this time. He than went on to do a bit of second rate soothsaying by warning the masses to beware of false eccentrics, making oblique references to Carmen, and a small group of sponsors that Labourites had good cause to be worried about. Although identifying them in all but name, he actually declined to do so when asked.

## **Citizens and ratepayers Association exposed**

Saul Goldsmith the dogged battler for the trams exposed the "undemocratic" selection procedure that the Cits. and Rats. operate in selecting a Candidate for their local body ticket. Mind you, seeing Saul in action one can see why it is run in that manner. Saul stated that "the city was being run by a bunch of rookies" and upon being elected to office would proceed to get the government to pay rates for the land that they occupied on the threat of leaving their footpaths unrepaired. He further added that he would even come along every night to water the weeds in an effort to make them pay. For this Saul received the greatest response of any of the candidates.

On the subject of public (of the few On the subject of transport Saul stated that the Boeing Aircraft Corporation were now engaged in the manufacture of modern tramcars. It would be a distinct probability that with production line construction they would cost not a lot more than the much vaunted bending bus tried out recently in Wellington.

## **Thrusting forward**

Carmen in fumbling through a speech that had obviously been written by some body else said that the last thing that they on the farm (where he was simply known as Gordon ), expected was that he would be Wellington s first lady Major. If elected Carmen stated "that lady councillors would be required to do erotic dancing accompanied by the humming of male councillors". (can just see Cnr Campbell now ). In offering Wellington the way it wants it (or who wants it?), Carmen claimed considerable contact with politicians, (what's that about priviledges???). Carmen was still sufficiently self-opinionated to suggest that "I am less arrogant than my opponents; better looking than Sir Francis; more charming than Michael Fowler (but can't sing - Ed.) and could beat Tony Brunt in a brawl any day".

Carmen finally brought the house down with the revelation that "I am a business woman"

## **Totally nasty**

Michael Fowler as the present incumbent had little to say that was constructive. His opening remarks were "that Sir Francis didn't have the guts to turn up". This was despite the already accepted explanation of the indisposition of Sir Francis. Further remarks attributed to the man are not worth reporting here are best ignored, except to note for voting purposes, that he supports the continuation of the motorway, as being "good news for Wellington"; and refused to answer questions on the proposed B.P's complex to replace the existing kiosk, at the top of the cable car.

Generally speaking it was not a very exciting forum. The speakers were dull and predictable in the main, and would hardly inspire me to race off to the polls in late October.

This is precisely what is intended. Carmen's nomination for the Mayoralty was no accident after all, who did write Carmen's speech? Obviously Carmen lacks that sort of incisive wit, didn't. If that is the case then why would anybody want to back a sure loser? Come on now it is fairly obvious . . . spoil it for them . . . Don't Vote for Carmen. In case you did not see them both Bob Jones and Pat Rippon were "spectators" in the audience.  
Kevin Swann

**A vote for me is a vote for Bob Jones.**

**Bring back the Trams!**

**Operation Waterloo has a balance now of \$34,75.**

## **Chile - Ballot box Socialism failed**

Photo of men saluting  
Map of Chile

De Salvadore Allende came to power as President of Chile in September 1970 as the leader of the self-proclaimed Marxist coalition Popular Unity. (Unidad Popular). This coalition consisted of the Chilean Socialist Party, Communist Party, Radical Party with the support of other minor parties and the left Christian Democrats. Allende's victory was somewhat of a surprise, he polled 36% of the vote only narrowly defeating the right-wing National party candidate (35%) and the Christian Democrats (28%).

Under the Chilean constitution where no Presidential Candidate has an overall majority the onus lies on Congress to confirm one of the candidates. Popular Unity gained support prior to this ratification vote following the assassination of the Chilean Chief of the Armed forces and Allende's declaration that he would act "constitutionally" as President. Congress confirmed Allende's victory by 153 votes to 35.

## **Chile—neocolony of US**

To understand the events which led to the fall of the Allende government in September 1973 following a right-wing military coup it is necessary to first look at the state of the Chilean economy before the 1970 election. Chile was basically a neocolony of the United States, its industry was monopolised by multi-national corporations and profits from investment in Chile flowed back to the USA at the rate of US\$4 for every US\$1 invested [*unclear*: 4] one days US profit would have paid the average Chilean daily wage to 1,000,000 workers. Land ownership however was still on a precapitalist basis; 2% of the population owned almost all land. Agricultural production, despite recent increases, was not capable of even approaching self-sufficiency, even for rural areas and large quantities of food had to be imported. Food imports alone formed 25% of the country's entire imports bill and this amount was steadily increasing. Unemployment and poverty were rampant, half of all families in Chile lived below the sub-sistence level. Half a million families lacked homes and another half million lived in hovels or shanty towns. Disease, starvation and violence took a heavy toll on the working class.

## **Chilean economy in the shit**

Chile had a chronic balance of payments deficit; the economy was totally dependent on foreign borrowing resulting in a massive overseas debt. Servicing this debt as well as internal government debts contributed to increasing inflation. The Chilean government, along with the bourgeoisie, was resting on the top of a potentially highly explosive situation; a fact reflected in the spending of 25% of the country's annual revenue on the armed forces and police. Keeping the Peace in Chile meant keeping the profits for the bourgeoisie and United States.

Drawing of a man on a US ship

Despite an election programme aimed at control of the Chilean economy Allende's coming to power did not relieve many of the basic problems. A programme of nationalisation of foreign and domestic monopolies in industry (notably the copper mining field) provided many job opportunities and unemployment was halved and production initially lifted in heavy industry. Land reform was instigated, a new port built with Cuban and Soviet assistance and a number of political prisoners freed. Chile was however moving towards Soviet dependence rather than USA. Inflation could not be halted and rapidly rose to world record proportions. Food supplies were scarce and production in the newly state-run industries began to fall. The failure to control the economy, despite initial wage rises, and a dropping standard of living meant that the middle classes began to turn towards the right

## **Vigilante groups organise**

Counter revolutionary detachments appeared in Southern Chile although Allende denied their presence. Meanwhile Ultra-leftist organisations, to some degree encouraged by the Communist Party despite its role in the government, began organised disruption in industry and also became active in rural areas. The coalition suffered from fragmentation within its constituent parties as factions swung to the right, (notably the Christian Democrats)

The Chilean bourgeoisie had supported the expropriation of the foreign monopolies as it benefited them, but once this process began to near completion they attempted to use their control of congress to amend the Constitution to prevent further nationalisation. In late 1971 Allende used his power as President to veto that move in favour of a new constitutional tribunal on which his appointees were in the majority, thus setting in motion the permanent crisis that was to bring down his government.

## **Allende's second Election win**

The year 1972 was one of struggle between Popular Unity and the bourgeoisie. The opposition had begun to organise and in October the Truck owners went on strike followed by shopkeepers. Faced with the strikes and a consequent cabinet crisis Allende took the step of bringing the armed forces into the government. The army Commander, General Prats becoming Minister of the Interior, the Air force general Minister of Mines and an Admiral, Minister of Public Works. That the military was prepared to join Allende rather than forcing his resignation at that stage may have been due to a desire to prevent civil war rather than any real support for Popular Unity's goals. With elections due in March 1973 for Congress the joining of the military however not only disconcerted the opposition but divided Allende's supporters. The Christian Democrats and National Party joined in a coalition with two other right-wing parties to fight the 1973 elections

Drawing of a Chilean Junta

The March elections resulted in a 43% vote for Popular Unity—a better result than expected. However internal problems dogged the coalition with the split of one of the smaller supporting parties following the election. It was probably a desire on Allende's part to maintain some form of Unity within the left that led to the departure of the military from the Cabinet following the elections. The military was however already well towards supporting a right-wing takeover and the period after the elections saw a number of challenges to the Pro-Allende High Command.

## **Premature coup put down**

In June 1973 a premature coup by members of the Armed forces was put down. However it is now known that officers planning a coup held discussions with middle-class union and business leaders, many of whom had backed the October strike, and while Allende was made aware of this he refused to take the step of arming his supporters in the working classes.

The period from March to September 1973 was one of increasing street-violence, economic collapse and falling cabinets. Fascist groups instigated terrorist raids against state property while the ultra-leftist organisations co-ordinated disruption aimed at achieving what they considered a "new revolution". The middle-classes began their strikes in August with the stated intention of beginning the government down and professional groups joined them.

## **Final Curtain**

Although the order for the coup was given on September 10 garrisons had been on the alert for about 10 days previously. To ensure success those considered loyal to Allende were arrested, most are still missing or

detained. The armed forces and police carried out systematic repression against all people suspected of left wing sympathies, hundreds being jailed and tortured. Since the coup the organised right has continued to liquidate its opponents and persecution and torture have become commonplace in Chile.

The ruling junta has continued to deny responsibility for the death of the man dubbed by the media "The only freely elected Marxist President in the Western Hemisphere" sticking to the story that he committed suicide rather than surrender.

## [unclear: Fffdtfle Ohrnirrr—Nancy Palmer Agency]

Allende has been viewed alternately as a martyr to the Marxist cause or as a proof that socialism cannot be achieved through the ballot box. Popular Unity controlled the executive arm of the government but the bourgeoisie retained control of Congress, the armed forces, police and administration. Without a revolution state power remained in the hands of the Chilean bourgeoisie making socialism an impossible dream and Allende's fall an inevitability following the desertion of the middle-class and the unsatisfactory lead given to the working classes.

—Sue Cairney.

CHILEAN SOLIDARITY DAY Paramount Theatre Sunday September 11th at 2 pm Come and hear the plight of Chilean people under fascism and learn what you can do about it.

## Fascism ~ what is it?

Fascism is a most ferocious attack by monopolies on working people. Although Fascists represent themselves as being against big business and for 'the ordinary bloke', their policies are those of open terror and destruction against workers and their organisations. These policies help big business. Fascists represent themselves as being above classes and class conflict and the defenders of the 'whole people' against foreign enemies and their local agents—usually minority groups. But they only serve monopoly capital.

Fascism serves the interests of monopoly capital primarily by destroying all organisations of the people which oppose and restrain the exploitation by the ruling class of monopolists. It destroys these organisations by using the terror and violence of the state and its own para-military forces.

In Italy for example, the use of terror against workers organisations began in 1920. "At the end of 1920 the Fascists began methodically to smash the unions and the co-operative societies by beating, banishing or killing their leaders and destroying their property ... All organisations of workers were singled out for destruction because they were "Bolshevist". The Fascists were provided with arms, ammunition, and means of transportation by the military authorities, and could always count on the passive and frequently active connivance of the police". (1) Soon after this terror began, the Fascists began to set up their own workers organisations which they called Syndicates. In 1926 the Syndicates were made the only legal representative of the workers by the Fascist government.

Photo of Adolf Hitler at a church balcony

It should also be noted that the final suppression of trade unions in favour of the Fascist syndicates was carried out with the cooperation of the social democratic (ie Labour Party) leadership of the trade unions. Principal social democrat trade union leaders including D'Aragona, a former leader of the Italian Socialist Party, passed over to Fascism.

## Syndicates lead to impoverishment

The Fascist Syndicates were no protection from rapidly falling living standards, as the free workers organisations had been. They allowed peoples' livelihood to be lowered even in times of economic prosperity. During the mid 1920's, which were relatively prosperous years for Italy, real wages and consumption declined. Responsible for this decline were the Syndicates.

The Fascist Syndicates consistently negotiated lower rates of pay and poorer conditions of work than the trade unions. For example, the socialist unions pact in 1920 gave day labourers in Ferrara 1.50 to 2.30 Lire an hour. The Fascist pact in 1922 reduced the hourly rate to 0.85 to 1.50 Lire an hour.

"Fascism promised the workers "a fair wage", but it actually brought them an even lower, a pauper standard of living. It promised work for the unemployed, but it has actually brought them even more painful torments of starvation, and compulsory servile labour. It actually converts the workers and unemployed into pariahs of capitalist society stripped of rights, destroys their trade unions; deprives them of the right to strike and to have their working class press, forces them into fascist organisations, plunders their social insurance funds and

transforms the mills and factories into barracks where the unbridled arbitrary rule of capitalists prevails". (2)

## **Fascists and 'profitability'**

The arbitrary rule of monopoly capitalism which is fascism allows the monopoly capitalists to make increasing profits. In Italy, net profits declared by business companies in 1922 were 1.7% of capital. Profits this low are disastrous for capitalism. They had been forced down by increased wages, and other concessions granted to the workers such as annual holidays. Under the Fascist Government, by the time the Trade Unions had been suppressed, and these gains had been taken away, profits recovered. In 1925 profits had recovered to 8% of capital. As has been pointed out above, the main factor in this increase was the destruction of independent trade unions and their replacement with unions run by the state.

The concessions given to Italian workers were the result of the revolutionary upsurge from 1919 to 1921. During this upsurge the workers occupied the factories. The army could not be trusted to act against them as many in the lower ranks supported the workers. Instead of pressing this revolutionary upsurge home to the seizing of state power and the establishment of a Socialist state, the social democratic leadership of the workers used the occupation to gain only economic reforms from the employers.

The revolutionary upsurge in Italy was part of a general movement in Europe following the first World War and the establishment of the Soviet Union. During this period economic gains by workers and consequently economic losses by employers were widespread, They were part of a larger economic crisis brewing in capitalist society, that of overproduction.

## **The Drive towards World War**

Fascism attempted to solve the crisis of overproduction which afflicted capitalism with policies of "autarky" or "national self-reliance", the planned destruction of productive capacity and commodities, and the return to less productive, more manual forms of production. By these means they attempted to reduce unemployment and reserve the domestic market for the production of their own monopoly capitalists. However, in order to compete in international markets, highly productive machinery was maintained in export industries.

With the decline of free trade, and increasing pressure for world markets, those powers without large empires (Italy, Germany and Japan) began casting envious glances at those countries with empires, secure world markets, and sources of supply of raw materials. The policy of autarky thus led inexorably to the next world war.

As Fascism serves the interests of the monopolists, bankers and large landowners, they provide the bulk of the money necessary to finance the movement to power. But although Fascism is financed by big business, the ruling class is not the main source of its recruits. Much of Fascism's mass support is drawn from the petit-bourgeoisie—professionals, self employed people and those who work and also employ others, peasants or small farmers, and intellectuals, But by consolidating the hold of big business over the economy. Fascism places these people in greater insecurity and servility. Big land owners are able to charge their tenants higher rents. The banks charge higher rates of interest to small businessmen. As a result of the the strengthening of big business, there was an increase in bankruptcy in Italy, and increasing numbers of peasants were stripped of their ability to procure their livelihood on their own land.

## **How did fascism come?**

Fascism rules in the interests of the smallest and richest section of the bourgeoisie. It impoverishes the working class and drives greater numbers of the petit-bourgeoisie into servitude and hardship. How is it that such an enemy of the people can come to power—what conditions bring about its victory? there are five main conditions which favour the growth and victory of fascism in any one country.

### **1. Economic Crisis.**

The economic crisis is the basis for intensified struggle between the different classes, particularly workers and bourgeoisie. In the development of fascism the economic crisis and the strength of working class organisations are inseparably linked. If the burden of an economic crisis of capitalism can be loaded onto the backs of working people without resistance from workers organisations, then the crisis for the bourgeoisie is solved. The crisis is reflected in falling profitability; profitability can only be restored in an economic crisis by cutting workers wages. If the working class resist wage cuts, and the rate of profit is not restored, then the economic crisis is intensified for the bourgeoisie. The relative success of the workers struggles against the bourgeoisies' measures strengthens their organisations and so further weakens the position of the bourgeoisie.

In this situation Fascism is the salvation for the bourgeoisie, as it destroys the workers organisations. The rapid rise to power of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany both occurred in the midst of an acute economic depression. During the economic crisis the social democratic trade union leaders in Germany, and the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, supported the economic policies of wage cuts, unemployment, and cuts in Government spending that were carried out. Why, in the name of workers did they do this? "The Leipzig Congress of the German Social Democratic Party in 1931 gave out the watchword: "We must be the physicians of ailing capitalism . . . . And the French Socialist, Montel, had indeed already proclaimed before the (economic) crisis: "The Socialist Party will present itself as the only party capable of saving bourgeois society ". (3)

Rather than support the Communist party which called for a Socialist State, the social democrats accepted economic attacks on workers in order to save capitalism. Growing fascism represented to the Social Democrats the 'lesser of two evils' to the Communist Party and socialism.

## **2. Petty-bourgeoisie, backward workers and lumpen-proletariat under the influence of capitalist ideology**

Photo of a man giving a Nazi salute

The organised working class is the mainspring of opposition to fascism. They are not generally duped into fascist organisations or deceived by fascist propaganda. For example, at Turin in the Fiat Motor Works there was an election in 1925 among 18.0 workers for the Factory Benefit Society Council. 94% voted. Not one of those votes was cast for a Fascist candidate. Where capitalism is less developed, then the working class is less concentrated and less organised. In Germany for example, only 54% of the population lived in towns of 5.0 plus in 1928. Small industries were numerous. Workers in such enterprises are close to the employer and management and are inevitably more influenced by them than workers in large concerns who mix only with their own kind. Where so many small concerns exist, then organising the workers to resist fascism is difficult too.

How do the Fascists get the support of such a large section of society? How do they convince these people that Fascism serves their best interests when in practice Fascism allows them to be exploited and impoverished even more?

The Fascists win support from amongst the ordinary people by the "art" of demagoguery. They use revolutionary sounding slogans, they present themselves as anti-capitalist revolutionaries. They distinguish themselves from Communism by ardent nationalism—hence the name of German fascism. National Socialism.

The fascists woo the workers with promises of a better life. In this way they secure a following amongst the backward workers and unemployed who are not organised to resist the fascists. The Nazis promised German workers higher wages and the unemployed were promised work. Using generous financial aid from the bourgeoisie (several coal barons, for example, gave definite sums of money for every ton of coal mined) the Nazis provided food and clothing for the unemployed. They were able to keep up a constant barrage of propaganda which penetrated every corner, from which there was no escape. Their financial backing was such that the Nazis could carry out these activities on a wide scale and recruit their Storm Troops from the very heart of the non-industrial proletariat and the unemployed.

To all Germans they promised to restore national pride by overturning the Treaty of Versailles. The treaty had deprived Germany of economically important regions and had caused great resentment among the German people. The Nazis organised the destitute and criminals into their para-military organisations. They took people with no hope, dressed them in uniforms, fed them and housed them in barracks, and gave a purpose in life. Their purpose was to be the bully boys for the fascists and carry out the work of terrorism that was essential to the Nazi victory. During the March 5, 1932 elections, the Storm Troopers stood constant guard at the ballot boxes; they personally knew the revolutionary workers in their districts, and when they came to vote, the fascists seized them, dragged them off to their barracks, brutally beat them up or even killed them. The Fascists were demagogic in their propaganda in Italy—proclaiming themselves to be revolutionaries. "Italian Fascism systematically applauded the occupation of factories by workers, food riots, strikes, peasant land seizures etc. and called for the hanging of speculators from lamp-posts and similar measures". (P209)

Why did the Fascists use such demagoguery? They adopted a revolutionary sounding programme to attract the disgruntled members of the petty-bourgeoisie, peasantry and backward workers. These classes became disillusioned with the Social-Democrats and, instead of turning towards Communism like the organised workers, they fell for the revolutionary phrases Fascism. Such was the prestige of socialism amongst even the most politically backward that the Fascists were compelled to preach "socialism" in order to appeal to the masses, create a mass movement, and come to power.

### 3. Failure to fight fascism at its beginnings

"Before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments normally pass through a number of preliminary stages and institute a number of reactionary measures, which directly facilitate the accession to power of fascism. Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preliminary stages is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary, facilitates that victory". (5) In Italy for example, the Fascist terror began towards the end of 1920. Instead of meeting the Fascist violence with counter-violence, the Socialist Party placed their faith in the electoral process to defeat the Fascists. In May of 1921 they announced after the election that: "The Italian proletariat has submerged the Fascist reaction under an avalanche of red votes". (P134). But in reality the civil war continued and votes could do nothing to defeat the Fascists. By refusing to carry the fight to the Fascists, the Social-democrats in both Germany and Italy ensured the Fascist victory.

### 4. Disillusionment with Parliament and Social Democracy

Where the organised working class has been predominantly under the leadership of social democrats, (Labour Party) then the policies of the social democrats have been crucial in the struggle against fascism. It is the social democrats' role as splitters and saboteurs of struggle that brings about fascism more than any other single factor in political life.

The reformist policies of the social democrats in times of economic crisis attack the conditions of the people. The people are alienated by such policies. As the people desert the social democrats, and become disillusioned with parliament, they are intercepted by the fascists in the interests of big business. The fascists impress with their irreconcilable attitude towards the social democrats and old bourgeois parties, and their demagoguery.

The Social Democrats are but one device for splitting the working class in the interests of maintaining bourgeois rule. The other is fascism. Social democrats preach socialism by peaceful means, [unclear: ie] by winning a majority [unclear: in] parliament, in reality they attacked the workers as viciously as any bourgeois Government. They strengthened the centralised state. They preached national interests as opposed to the international solidarity of all workers against all employers. In these ways they are no different to the fascists—indeed the beginning of fascism can be found in social democracy.

The role of social democrats in carrying out anti-people and anti-working class policies and splitting and sabotaging the struggle against fascism and the reactionary measures of the bourgeois governments which preceded the fascists are best illustrated in Germany.

Each step towards fascism was taken with the help of German Social Democratic Party. Instead of opposing the first world war and the butchery of workers on the fronts, the German Social Democrats called on workers to support the war and accordingly they voted for war credits in the German parliament. In 1919 the Social Democrats saved German capitalism again when they shot German workers who had overthrown the Kaiser and who wanted to overthrow wage slavery as well.

Also, in 1923-4 under the Presidency of Ebert, when the whole German financial system had crashed, they bludgeoned and shot workers who wanted to bring an end to capitalism.

The other arm of the bourgeoisie for splitting the workers was fascism. When the Social Democrats carried out their anti-working class anti-people policies in support of big business, increasingly people became disillusioned with them. Organised workers passed over to Communism. The others were intercepted by Nazism.

Did big business really see the Nazis and the Social Democrats as two different forces that were to be used to split the working class and ensure the maintenance of bourgeois rule? The answer lies in the 'Deutsche Führerbriefe' (a confidential circular to the heads of large German corporations which was organised by the Federation of German Industry)

"The parallelism is really striking. The then Social Democracy (from 1918/1930) and the present day National Socialism both perform similar functions in that they were both the gravediggers of the previous system (the monarchy and the Weimar Republic respectively), and then, instead of leading the masses to revolution proclaimed by them, led them to the new formation of bourgeois rule. The comparison which has often been drawn between Ebert and Hitler is also valid in this respect. Both appeal to the anticapitalist yearning for emancipation; both promise a new "social" or "national" commonwealth. The parallelism itself shows that National Socialism has taken over from Social Democracy the task of providing mass support for the rule of the bourgeoisie in Germany". (P 173—4)

As the economic and political crisis developed in Germany the Social Democrats supported the

anti-working class measures of the Government. They consistently refused to join in a United Front with the Communist Party and other anti-Fascist forces. The Social Democrats were saying in effect that the Nazis were the lesser evil to Communism. On that basis the Social Democrats in effect supported the Nazis up to the time they took power, and even after that event.

The result of the Social Democrats support for wage cutting and repressive laws, their refusal to a general strike when Hitler came to power (because he had power legally and had not gone beyond the framework of the Weimar Constitution) was that the Nazis were able to consolidate their position. The anti-people policies of the reactionary governments, and the support of the Social Democrats for these policies, meant that the people became disillusioned with the Social Democrats and the other bourgeois parties which made up parliament. While many of the class conscious workers turned to the Communist Party, the majority of the non-industrial proletariat and the peasantry and petit-bourgeoisie turned to fascism.

## **5. Lack of independent leadership of the working class**

The working class is the mainspring of opposition to fascism. They are the largest class in society, they are the decisive class in production, and they are easily organised because they are geographically concentrated and have nothing to lose. Where the main body of the working class is led by the Social Democrats, then the effectiveness of those fighting fascism is impaired by the Social Democrats belief in reformism and their belief that parliamentary power is the key aspect of state power. Struggle independent of Parliament by a united working class requires independent class conscious leadership—leadership which realises that the state is an instrument for coercing the working class in the interests of capital.

When the oppressed classes are united, particularly the entire working class, to defeat fascism, then fascism is bound to be defeated. Such a united front is difficult to form when the working class is split. The peasantry and the petit-bourgeoisie will follow behind a united working class. But they may desert to the bourgeoisie if the working class is split.

A successful united front was formed in France in 1934 to check the fascist offensive in that country. On the 6th of February 1934 fascist rioting began. The groundwork for a fascist victory in France had been laid in much the same way as in other countries. The demonstrations were to help bring fascism to power. Consequently the fascist rioters met little resistance from the police and the armed forces. On February 9th a Communist demonstration took place—a demonstration banned by the Government and suppressed by the armed forces and police. This demonstration was successful in stemming the first fascist offensive. A General Strike was held on February 12th. This strike which was called by the Communist Party gained such wide mass support that even the unions led by the social democrats (the French Socialist Party) were compelled to support the call. These struggles point the way to the defeat of fascism. The strike and the accompanying united front demonstrations won overwhelming support throughout the country.

It is these conditions that bring about the victory of fascism. In the long run there are only two choices open to modern capitalist society, fascism or communism. Fascism is the path of war, destruction, poverty for the masses, and the reversion of society to the dark ages. Communism is the path of peace, of unrestricted science in the service of society, of the creation of plenty for all working people.

Photo of Adolf Hitler wearing shorts

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## **The Middle East Question ~ Two Views ~**

### **British Mandate 1922-1948**

1922

668,000 Arabs owning 98% of the land. 84,0 Jews owning 2% of the land.

1946

1,237,000 Arabs owning 92% of the land. 608,000 Jews (two-thirds immigrants) owning less than 8% of the land.

### **UN Partition Plan 1947**

57% of the total area of Palestine including the most fertile lands.

42% of the total area of Palestine, mostly hilly and unproductive.

## 1948 War

760,000 Jews now in control of three-quarters of Palestine. 1,350,000 Palestinian Arabs dispersed:

- 120,000 under alien rule in Israel
- 450,000 in their own homes under Arab rule
- 380,000 refugees in Gaza and the West Bank
- 400,000 refugees in exile outside Palestine.

## 1967 War

2,365,000 Jews now in control of the whole of Palestine (as well as parts of Egypt and Syria). 2,525,000 Palestinian Arabs dispersed:

- 313,000 under alien rule in Israel
- 640,000 in their homes under Israeli occupation
- 540,000 refugees under Israeli occupation
- 1,032,000 refugees in exile.

Usually when the issue of the Middle East (Palestine-Israel) is discussed in New Zealand it is accompanied by a great deal of heat and emotion and very little rationality and light. We hope that students and others reading this broadsheet will investigate all the material thoroughly, giving credence only to rational, sensible arguments and statements, and avoiding emotional material that tends to cloud the issue at hand.

While the history of the Palestine area has been interpreted in various ways, there is no doubt that the basic problem is the claims by two distinct peoples to the same area.

On the one hand the Zionist movement (incorporating many, but not all, Jewish people; as well as others) maintains that they have the right to occupy Palestine for historical reasons based on their biblical traditions.

On the other hand the Palestinian Arab people claim they have the right, along with the Jewish and Christian people who have inhabited the area for the last few centuries, to occupy Palestine, the land where they were born.

The following motion was passed at NZUSA's August 1977 Council and is, therefore, NZUSA policy on the Middle East.

"That NZUSA recognises that the Israeli Government and Arab governments deny the rights of the Palestinian people, and believes that a free, democratic and secular Palestinian state should be created."

Obviously, when two groups lay claim to the same area, the solution can be only one of three things in the long run: either the Palestinian arabs or the Zionist Jews can control the area, or they can both live in the same area and have their government based on serving the mutual needs of the inhabitants rather than one or other ethnic grouping.

At the moment, one of the first two choices has been effected; The Zionist Jewish movement control the area known as Palestine—they call it by their biblical name for it (Israel)—and this control is at the expense of the Palestinian arabs. People should consider which of these choices would be the fairest outcome for all concerned.

In the short run, the NZUSA policy in favour of a democratic and secular (non-religious) state—the third choice - may not be realisable. Clearly, the Zionist leaders of Israel have military control over Palestine. However, more and more people; Jewish, Palestinian and others are seeing that an equitable solution for all parties must be found to the problem if the Middle East is ever to achieve a just and lasting peace.

It is NZUSA's hope that its members, both Jewish and non-Jewish will see that everyone's rights in Palestine must be respected and will therefore help all moves that promote that end.

NZUSA 1.9.77

This Broadsheet has been produced by NZUSA in the interests of promoting a rational, balanced debate on a topic that is usually controversial and is certainly of considerable interest to a large number of New Zealand students. While NZUSA has policy opposing the actions of the State of Israel in the Middle East, we have nevertheless gone out of our way to secure an article from the Israeli Ambassador to New Zealand, whose views on the subject are diametrically opposed to ours.

In obtaining the Ambassador's article, an officer of NZUSA was forced to suffer the indignity of a 5-6 minute body search by an armed embassy official. Our officer also had to remove his coat, all objects from his

pockets and undo his belt, as well as submit to a metal-detector examination. All this occurred in a small locked room with closed-circuit television trained on this 'performance'. In addition the Ambassador demanded that our officer sign a declaration agreeing to alter nothing in his article including his heading. Although this was clearly in contravention of normal editorial freedom, the agreement was made, again in the interests of presenting a balanced publication.

# Palestine or Israel?

—David Merritt

NZUSA International Vice President

## ***Damage caused by Israeli air attack on arab city.***

The history of the Palestinian people is a sad and chequered one. In 1922 668,000 Arabs owned and lived on 98% of the land of Palestine. Today their entire country is controlled by the Jewish state of Israel and the Palestinians are scattered throughout the Arab countries. While international negotiators wrangle over talks to discuss the Palestine question and Israel creates new settlements on the occupied territories of the West Bank, a whole generation of young Palestinians who have never seen their homeland is growing up in squalid refugee camps.

One of the greatest myths surrounding any consideration of the Palestine question is the purported "historical rights" of Jew's in Palestine. Despite the fact that the founders of the Zionist movement considered several sites, including Argentina and and Uganda, for the Jewish "homeland", many people believe that Jews have "historical rights" to live in Palestine. Actually the Palestine arabs of today are mainly descendants of the early native population of the area - Philistines, Canaanites, Hittites etc., and were long established there when the Hebrews invaded the land in about 1500 BC. They not only survived this occupation but retained possession of most of the country through-out the Israeli period. They remained in the land after the Hebrew dispersion and were intermingled with the arab conquerors, then the crusaders, and continued to occupy the land until the Zionist invasion of 1948.

So if this history and their brief residence in Palestine is sufficient to give the Jews claims on Palestine, why don't the arabs have claims on Spain or Sicily which were once integral parts of the Islamic empire?

## **Balfour Declaration**

In any debate of the Palestinian question a large number of declarations and letters are usually cited by each side as proof that the group they support has 'historical rights' to Palestine. For instance, Zionist claims to Palestine rest heavily on the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917 in which the then British Secretary of Foreign Affairs pledged British support for the "establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." This is a fine example of the completely opportunist role the British have played in the region. Before the Declaration the British Government had made several promises to the Arabs of support for their independence (including Palestine) in return for Arab help in the war against the Turks. Moreover the original Balfour Declaration pledged to protect the rights of non-Jews in Palestine, yet on August 11, 1919 Balfour wrote:

"In Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country.." as control of the Suez canal, and later oil interests, assumed greater importance, British pledges to the Palestinians were conveniently forgotten and the coincidence of the interests of Zionism and British imperialism led to British support for the Zionist cause.

So how did Israel come into existence? After World War One, the League of Nations granted Britain a mandate over Palestine, against the wishes of the Palestinian people. This mandate lasted from 1922 until the "State of Israel" was declared in 1948. Throughout this period Jewish immigration to Israel continued apace. - 1922, 83,794 Jews. 1931 174,610 Jews, 1944 554,000 Jews The Jewish Settlers attempted to purchase large amounts of land but met with strong resistance from the Palestinians. Most of the 100,000 acres they did succeed in buying (mainly from absentee owners) became the property of the Jewish National Fund. This land was then regarded as the inalienable property of the Jewish people and the leaseholder was forbidden to employ 'non-Jewish. labour.'

Meanwhile the Palestinians stepped up strikes and armed struggle against the British administration, and the increasing Jewish colonisation continued. The Zionists formed terrorist organisations (including the Irgun, of which current Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin was leader). These well-armed organisations used

violence as part of the Zionist moves to seize Palestine.

The largest single such act of violence occurred on 22 July 1946 when a wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, housing the Government secretariat and part of the military headquarters was blown up, causing the death of about 100 people (including many Jewish and Palestinian civilians).

In 1947 the British Government announced that the mandate had proved unworkable and rejecting arab proposals for independence (which included guarantees for Jewish minority rights) it placed the Palestine question before the United Nations.

## Partition

A General Assembly Special Committee drew up a resolution (the 'partition resolution.') which divided Palestine into 6 principal parts. 3 of these parts (56% total area and most fertile land) were reserved for a Jewish state, the other 3 (43%) for an Arab state, with Jerusalem to be an international zone.

The Arabs (2/3 majority of country) rejected the partition on the grounds that it violated the provisions of the UN charter which gives a people the right to decide its own destiny. Zionists placed enormous pressures on member states opposed to partition. For instance, a Liberian delegate reported to the US State Department that the manner in which he had been approached to support partition amounted to "attempted intimidation."

On November 29, 1947 the General Assembly adopted the plan of partition (33 - 13, 10 abstentions), and violent demonstrations broke out throughout Palestine. The UN met to consider suspending the partition plan and the Zionists decided to take the law into their own hands. Violence increased and the Irgun led by Begin, attacked the village of Deir Yassin; 254 men, women and children were massacred. In six months the Zionists drove 400,000 Palestinian arabs from their homes. Refugees poured across the borders into adjacent arab countries and to protect the Palestinian Arabs, arab armies entered Palestine.

In May 1948 the 'State of Israel' was declared; by the time armistices were concluded in early 1949 Israel controlled  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the total land area of Palestine. As Moshe Dayan has said (Maariv 16-2-73)"to have a Jewish state one sovereignty must take the place of another, and Jews must take the place of arabs." The Zionists took the unusual step of not declaring the boundaries of the state and David Ben Gurion, the 1st Prime Minister of Israel, later stated that they extended "from the Nile to the Euphrates". It was obvious Israel's expansionism was not at an end.

The period from the signing of the armistice agreements in 1948-49 until the June war of 1967 was characterised by bloody incidents across the armistice demarcation lines - Israeli occupation of demilitarized zones, disregard by Israel of UN resolutions relating to the refugees and to Jerusalem and the 1956 attack on the Suez canal by Israel and her allies.

In 1956 David Ben Gurion declared "The Armistice with Egypt is dead, as are the armistice lines and no wizards or magicians can resurrect these lines." Israel's leaders continued to state their expansionist aims, foreign 'aid' poured into Israel and the growth of her military continued apace.

## 1967 War

In April 1967 it was believed by Soviet intelligence Israel was planning to attack Syria the following month. Moscow warned Egypt of this and, with Soviet encouragement, Egypt mobilized and concentrated it's troops on the Sinai border with Israel.

Then, without consulting Moscow, Nasser (then President of Egypt) proclaimed a blockade of the Straits of Tiran, i.e. Israeli ships could no longer pass these straits. The Israelis played up the blockade as a mortal danger to their economy (which it wasn't) and replied by mobilising their forces and moving them to the frontiers. However, in response to a Soviet warning that Egypt must not be the first to open fire, she took no precautions against the possibility of an Israeli attack. Thus, on June 5, Israel struck the pre-emptive blow and demolished the entire Egyptian air force on the ground, and the famous 6 day war began. Day by day the Israeli tanks moved westward into the Sinai peninsula, eastward into Jordan and finally into the Golan Heights in Syria and within 6 days Israel had destroyed the combined military might of these three arab nations.

Despite the fact that the UN Security Council Resolution (242) of 22 November 1967, called on Israel to withdraw from the newly occupied territories (Gaza Strip, West Bank and the Sinai) it refused, claiming they were needed for "strategic purposes". The state of Israel as we now know it includes these territories and Prime Minister Menahem Begin has stated categorically that they will never be relinquished. Today Israel actively pursues a policy of establishing new settlements there. Recent attempts to obtain a settlement of the Palestine question have concentrated on these territories and rest on Israel's giving up some or all of them, this land then being used to create a separate Palestinian state. If Israel did give up these territories that would be an important gain for the Palestinian people. But to look upon that as the ultimate solution to their problem is to overlook the

fact that all of Israel is occupied territory which has been taken by force from the Palestinian people. It is not a question of Israel giving up some of her war gains. It is a question of an end to expansionism and of self-determination for all Palestinian people - Jewish, Muslim and Christian alike.

## Israel's Discriminatory Laws

There is no law in Israel which prevents discrimination against non-Jews. All such discrimination is completely legal. It is legal for a person to refuse to let a flat to an arab for instance. Insidious discrimination against non-Jews, such as this condoned by the law, is an everyday fact of living for Palestine arabs living in Israel.

As well as this unwritten discrimination, many of the actual laws of Israel are essentially anti-non-Jew. Some of these were passed soon after the 'State of Israel' was declared in 1948 and have never been repealed.

The Law of Return (1950) allows any Jew from anywhere in the world to immigrate to Israel and to reside there, yet Palestinian refugees do not have this right. Any Jew arriving in Israel automatically gains Israeli Nationality (Nationality Law 1952) yet a Palestinian arab must be 'naturalised' and fulfill stringent conditions to gain citizenship.

A series of land laws passed between 1945 and 1950 enabled vast areas of land belonging to Palestinian arabs to be confiscated. For example The Emergency Land Requisition (Regulation) Law, 1949 allowed government-appointed "competent authorities to requisition land or buildings needed for a number of purposes, including state defence, public security and the absorption of immigrants. Defence (Emergency) Regulations, 1945, article 125 granted military Governors the power to declare specific areas closed. Palestinian arabs were thus forbidden to enter those areas to cultivate their land. These "uncultivated" lands could then be confiscated by the Minister of Agriculture under Emergency Regulations (Cultivation of Waste (Uncultivated) Lands) 1949. Then, under Land Acquisition (Validation of Acts and Compensation) Law, 1953, ownership of this confiscated land could be transferred to the State of Israel.

Palestinian arabs living in Israel are struggling against the oppression under which they suffer. Frequently reports of strikes, demonstrations and land violence leak out. But these arabs are not struggling alone. There are many non-Zionist Jews within Israel who support the concept of a democratic and secular Palestine in which Muslims, Christians and Jews would share equal rights. One such 'dissident' Youssef Wuksman, summed up the situation when he said, "We have to reach a state whereby we struggle, side by side with the oppressed arabs against the regime.... We are against any settlement which entails robbing the population." (Maariv, 11-4-72).

The Israeli Government is making every attempt to suppress such dissidence. For instance, Mrs Felicia Langer, a Jewish Civil Rights lawyer who was defending Israeli soldiers (some of whom had refused to take part in repressive measures in occupied arab territories) has been deprived of her licence to represent Israeli military personnel in Israeli military courts.

Despite the government's actions, the resistance struggle continues within Israel, and the Palestine National Council meeting held in March this year sent a message of greetings to "those Israelis fighting for democracy" and emphasised the necessity of forging links with democratic forces in Israel.

## Powerful Foreign Friends

Israeli propaganda often tries to paint a picture of Israel as a weak unarmed country fighting alone. This is not true. The basis of the state of Israel is aggression. It is supported with arms, ammunition and funds by the USA, West Germany, Great Britain and France. In fact it is the watchdog of these countries in the Middle East and in 1968 Israel received about 10% of all aid given to under-developed countries. In 1972 there was an estimated \$US760 million given to Israel in gifts, \$US950 million in loans and US\$12 million in investments. Only 3% of this flow of capital into Israel is in a form which calls for a return outflow of dividends interest or capital. In short, Israel is a client state of imperialism.

Israel is the principal military power in the Middle East. In periods of full mobilisation it can field as many soldiers as its three principal bordering states. It has more tank specialists and pilots than all the arab countries put together. Furthermore Israel possesses nuclear reactors and has produced plutonium stocks estimated at enough for 20 bombs. Although consistently cagey on the question of its nuclear capability a delegation of 13 US Senators were recently refused permission to visit one of Israel's nuclear research reactors at Dimana in the Negev, a move which is seen as putting Israel's "peaceful" nuclear intentions in doubt.

## Anti-Semitism?

Unfortunately many people are uneasy about supporting the Palestinians in their struggle for self-determination because they feel that in doing so they are some way being anti-Jewish and supporting the

actions of Hitler. But Israel was not born of the Nazi persecutions. The foundations of Israel were laid during the late 19th Century (the first wave of immigrants disembarked in 1882). There is no way Palestine could ever have absorbed the 6 million Jews exterminated by the Nazi regime. Jews living in Palestine were saved from genocide not because they were living in the 'Holy Land' but, like NZ Jews, because Hitler did not conquer the Middle East. It is the western "democracies" who would not open their borders to refugees from Nazi Germany who must really take responsibility. Further it is important to draw the distinction between anti-semitism and anti-Zionism. To be anti-semite is to be racist, and must be fought by attacking the roots of racism in society. To be anti-Zionist is the struggle against the Zionist movement - this movement projects the gathering of the Jews in Palestine to establish a monocultural Jewish state there at the expense of the native Palestinian population. Thus the struggle against the policies and structures of the Zionist state of Israel is an anti-colonialist struggle to restore to the Palestinians their national rights in their country.

## **The PLO**

The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) is the umbrella organisation comprised of a number of Palestinian groups, which represents the Palestinian people and has been recognised as their sole representative by the UN and by a range of countries including Finland, Malaysia and China.

The main aim of the PLO is the creation of a democratic secular state of Palestine, in which Muslims, Christians and Jews would share equal rights. It would not, as is commonly thought, mean Jews would be 'thrown into the sea, but, as the Palestinian National Council reiterated in March this year "All Israeli Jews who rejected the sectarian and discriminatory basis of Zionism would be free to remain as citizens of the new state".

## **Conclusion**

In recent years the Palestine question has been increasingly in the news, and more and more people are aware of the sad plight of the Palestinian people. - a whole people either under occupation or uprooted from their homes. The justice of their struggle for self-determination is being realised. Even US President Jimmy Carter has mentioned the need for a Palestinian homeland. It seems that at last we are removing from the Palestinians the stigma of a forgotten people and from ourselves the shame of having forgotten them.

# **Official View of the State of Israeli**

## **The Middle East Mythology of the Fascist Left**

by Yaakov Morris

Ambassador of Israel to New Zealand.

### ***Menahem Begin; current Israeli Prime Minister.***

In his article "Ideology Threat to the University", former "New Statesman" editor Paul Johnson writes: "A great deal of contemporary sociology is the offspring of the marriage between the pseudo-science of Marxism and the pseudo-science of Freudianism which produced the writings of Herbert Marcuse: and it was only natural, therefore that Marcuse became the tutelary deity of the student fascist left." Certain pro-Arab lecturers, not to mention Trotskyites, Maoists and other brands of right and left wing infantilism, have indeed been busy in New Zealand. Three out of seven of its university student groups, or at least minorities exploiting their political indifference, have recently resolved that Israel should be "dismantled."

There can be little worth while to discuss with these "cadres." As Johnson notes: It (the university) has a multitude of eager enemies, anxious to appropriate it and pervert its powers for their own sordid and immoral purposes." He has also an apt thought about certain faculty members: "...unfortunately, as in the past, those who run universities itch for a wider role. Pedagogues tend to indulge in a recurrent fantasy in which they not only instruct the young but rule the world; inside most dons a benevolent despot is struggling to get out."

The original "big lie" of the fascist left in all discussions about the Israel-Arab issue is that Palestine was, or is, the historic patrimony of the Arabs and it is not that of the Jews who "usurped" it. The myth is essential to the rest of the "logic" that the PLO and its supporters are fighting the "revolutionary" and "just" cause to redress this "wrong." And such redress, of course, includes no less than the "dismantling" of Israel. Despite the fact that

Israelis will fight to the death against being "dismantled", the word sounds better than genocide.

To accept this "big lie" requires a high degree of ignorance about Palestine and its Jewish and Arab peoples. The Arabs and the fascist left, however, are in "good" fascist right company. In the letter column of the daily "The Dominion" of 26 August 1977 is repeated the intellectual gibberish of Saudi Arabia's UN Permanent Representative

Arabia's UN Permanent Representative Borody whose claim is that the Jews are really descended from the Russian Khazars of 720 AD and not at all from the people of the Bible. The intent of course is to prove that the Arabs, who have no written or any other sort of evidence of having existed in the Middle East before the 7th Century, are the rightful claimants to Palestine while the Jews are not. The letter from K. Bolton of the New Zealand National Front did not quote all of Borody who, in his frequent abuse of UN time, additionally claims that the Palestinian Arabs are the only legitimate Jews who have survived from Biblical times. They were merely forced to convert to Islam and become Arabs, he says, during the country's conquest by the Arab Empire.

Be this nonsense as it may, the 4,000 year survival of the Jewish people has not merely confounded the anti-Semitic Boltons, Borodys and Marxists. All have gone to imbecilic lengths to "prove" Jewish nonexistence as a people. And when this has not been enough, they have tried to bring it about. Since Hitler, the genocidal mantle has been assumed by the Arab leaders who were his allies and admirers during World War Two, and by their successors who presently head the theocratic military or monarchial juntas of the Arab States. Even the reactionary pro-Nazi leader of the Palestinian feudal class, the Mufti Jamal el Husseini, has his legacy in the form of Yasir Arafat and his PLO. Moreover, the pogromist Czarist "black hundreds", left Russian anti-Semitism not only to Stalin but also to traditional communist ideology that First attempted to force Jews to end national existence by assimilation, and when this failed by the deprivation of national rights and persecution.

Both anti-Semitic traditions are wedded not only by the printing presses of the Soviet Ukraine (Ivanov and others don't restrict themselves to anti-Zionism and anti-Israel) and of the PLO in the Arab capitals; they blend in their political support of the Arabs against Israel, of the PLO and its "Palestine Covenant" blueprinting Israel's destruction. The echoing but sterile pseudo-sciences of the fascist left in New Zealand's and other Western universities today deceitfully conceal the PLO's genocidal aims behind the mask of left-wing phraseology and such slogans as "the dismantling of Israel" and the "Palestine Democratic State" - as if Arafat, the Marxists and themselves have any interest in democracy or in the Jews or Arabs! All can be reduced to the underlying proposition: "The national 'liberation' of one people (the Palestinians) requires the destruction of another (the Israeli Jews)."

By its refusal to change its Palestine Covenant we know at least what the PLO is talking about; all the rest is but tactics, the willingness to "amend" Resolution 242, to "recognise" Israel in exchange for a West Bank "State", the proposed PR mask of "moderation" even of its "Rejection Front." As if every Israeli child did not know that the difference behind the mask between Arafat and Habash is less than that of Al Capone and Dutch Shultz; or that the slogan of a West Bank "State" means nothing but to drive Israel back to nine miles from the Mediterranean and that its civilian army, if forced to retreat to the 1967 lines, would again face, as in 1973, an encircling standing Arab army of 800,000 men and 6,000 tanks from more vulnerable positions.

All of these hard and bitter facts are no less true when denied by mechanical UN majorities of Arabs, Moslems, Communists and the OAU, not to mention those Western delegates who submit to oil blackmail or the lure of petro-dollar markets. Nor has the use to which Syria put the PLO in Jordan in 1970, and in Lebanon since 1972, been lost to Israelis. By turning a political struggle between Moslems and Christians into a bloody civil war the PLO cost Lebanon its democracy, independence, 60,000 dead, hundreds of thousands of wounded and a million refugees. So much for its "democratic multi-religious Palestine State" - Lebanon was self-exposure and a warning as to what the PLO would do to the West Bank Arabs if it could get its hands on them.

Now to the "big lie." Between 70 and 1919 AD Palestine was never an Arab country. It changes hands 14 times in 13 centuries but was ruled from without as a conquered province. In all that time, only the Jews claimed it as their historic patrimony. Nor did the Arab delegation headed by Emir Feisal at, the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 where the Arabs, Jews and the victorious Allied Powers of World War One agreed unanimously that Palestine (defined as the areas now known as Jordan, Israel, the West Bank and Gaza Strip) was to be for Jewish national independence. Feisal "welcomed the Jewish people home"; the area allotted by the Conference to the Arabs was 5½ million square miles, larger than the United States, upon which has since arisen 20 Arab States; the Palestine defined in 1919 for the Jews was but 45,000 square miles.

Nor is this all of the relevant truth. Ignored are the subsequent historic thefts from the Jewish area by the imperialist powers seeking Arab favour (the history of power and oil pre-dates 1973). First, the uppermost part of Galilee was lobbed off and added to southern Lebanon (Sykes-Picot Agreement); then, three quarters of what

remained of Palestine became the Kingdom of Jordan - an invention "over a morning cup of coffee" as recorded by its inventor Winston Churchill. Thus the 10,000 square mile quarter that remained to the Jews by 1923 for settlement and independence included the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Even this did not satisfy Arab rapacity or its appeasement by the West, all of which was in violation of the 1923 League of Nations Mandate. Between 1923 and 1948, the Mandatory Power, with classical "even-handedness", restricted Jewish immigration and settlement but opened the doors wide to Arab entry from surrounding countries, thus counterbalancing upon what was to be the Jewish territory two conflicting peoples. The conflict was not only "national"; it was between a society of Jewish social-democracy and a reactionary clerical Arab feudal one.

From Hitler onwards, the Arabs were able to extort, at Jewish expense, concessions from an appeasing Chamberlain Government, using as a threat support for the Axis Powers - a threat they carried out, despite the appeasement during World War Two. This 1939 White Paper policy which slammed the door on hundreds of thousands of Jews incinerated by Hitler was retained during the 1940's, resulting in the Israel War of Independence against a retreating Mandatory Power in collusion with the Arabs. Nor should this chapter of 1948 be forgotten for it was in defiance of the 1947 UN Partition decision that the Mufti-led Palestinian Arab States launched their war to destroy Israel at birth and during it Jordan captured and annexed the West Bank while Egypt over-ran the Gaza Strip. By their conquest, and its acceptance by the Palestinians then, no Palestinian Arab State outside Jordan was to be established, "linked in economic union" with Israel as proposed by the UN resolution. Jordan and Egypt - and not Israel - thus destroyed the UN resolution beyond resurrection. And between 1948 and 1967, although nothing could have stopped them, neither attempted to establish a West Bank and Gaza "state", nor did the inhabitants of these areas ever demand it.

The PLO was never created by the Palestinians, but by Egypt and particularly Syria after 1967 when Jordan and Egypt were driven out of the West Bank and Gaza by Israel. Its purpose was to serve as a new instrument of warfare against Israel and for the dynastic interests of the Arab States, and not those of Palestinians, who had no conception of themselves on 2,000 square miles as a separate "state" or "nation" - possessing no such ethnic, political, economic or other such viability. As late as 31 March 1977 PLO spokesman Zohair Mohsein hastened to explain: "Only for political reasons do we carefully underline our Palestinian identity. For it is of national interest for the Arabs to encourage the existence of the Palestinians against Zionism. The establishment of a Palestinian State is a new expedient to continue the fight against Zionism and for Arab unity." And to indicate why the existing Palestinian Arab State of Jordan should not be the base for the struggle, or why it should not be referred to as anything but Jordan, and its Palestinians as Jordanians, Mohsein continued: "Jordan is a state with specific boundaries. For instance it cannot claim Haifa or Jaffa..."

So here we have it, the effort of 20 Arab States to destroy Israel by inventing a fictitious "21st" as a springboard from which to take Haifa and Jaffa and the rest of Israel. It was a technique to be used in Jordan by the PLO who, with the support of Syrian armour from the north, used the Palestinian refugee camps there as a "state" in their uprising in 1970. That was defeated by the Palestinian Arabs of Jordan's army. Syria and the PLO, however, have used the technique more successfully in Lebanon since 1972 when again, using the Palestinian camps there as a "state" the PLO transformed a political conflict into a bloody civil war for Syrian takeover. Syrian ambitions to take over the West Bank, Gaza, Israel and Jordan by the same PLO technique still flourish.

The Israelis have other ideas, notwithstanding Arab and fascist left propaganda about "dispossession" of the Palestinians by the Jews. As "proof of this dispossession are presented two main arguments - the refugee and land problems. But the refugee problem was not merely of the 537,000 Palestinians who left Israel's territory in 1948 but also of the 700,000 Jews who left Arab territories as a consequence of the same Arab war of aggression against Israel. The Jews absorbed their refugees at their own expense; the Arabs charged their's to UNWRA, too useful as a cynical propaganda weapon to absorb. Resettlement, within the context of a peace agreement, including abandoned property versus abandoned property; and based on the fact that none of the Jews wish to return to Arab territory, will have to be reached. The refugees of both peoples were "dispossessed". If the slogan, however, refers to the period between 1919 and 1948, then it is nonsense. Between those dates the number of Palestinian arabs in the 10,000 sq miles increased, mainly by immigration, from 250,000 settled and 250,000 seasonal nomads to 1,350,000 settled. Instead of displacement by the Jews, the Arabs of Western Palestine almost tripled in number.

Finally, an essential part of the "displacement" myth, used recently in a debate in Wellington, was the lie about land ownership. It is a lie by omission. This one-sided and biased "academic" deliberately forgot to tell the audience that when Zionist settlement began, forty years before the Balfour Declaration, over 70% of Palestine was neither owned nor settled by anyone. And of the remaining 30% most was owned by absentee feudal Arab landlords who sold it at exorbitant prices as malarial swampland and barren hills to the Jews. Such "ownership" was no criteria for national claims, as Feisal recognized in 1919. The Jewish claim, however, was based not only upon history but also upon the pre-pardness to transform this mostly barren land into a country

worth living in. It was only after the Jews did so that the Arabs - in Bedouin not Marxist style - began their "national" claims as it was now worth looting.

The point is that "colonialism", the slogan of the Arabs and the fascist left against Israel, does not apply to the settlement of an almost empty land upon which no nation exists, nor can it be made retroactively. If so, then Australia and Canada would have to be "dismantled". And like "colonialism", the slogan of "racism" against Zionism has as much validity. Legitimate nationhood on a home-land is "racist" for the Jews, but not for the Arabs or others. Only a paranoid right or left can decide about whose nationhood can or should exist, and not the nation itself. In any case, the Jews made their decision a long time ago and merely renewed it by establishing modern Israel. Nor will the 2,000 square miles of the West Bank be employed to destroy it, whatever fanciful semantics are employed by the PLO, the New Zealand National Front, New Zealand university students or others of the fascist left. Israel has not laboured so well and with so much love in its own vineyard to be "dismantled" by friend or foe.

## **Palestinians Support P.L.O.**

*Israeli tanks roll into occupied territory during 1967 War.*

Photo of army tanks

Supporters of the Palestine Liberation Organization won a sweeping victory in the municipal elections held in the occupied West Bank on April 12, 1976. The traditional leadership of the region, which had generally cooperated with the Israeli occupation, was virtually thrown out of office and replaced by nationalists.

The most dramatic change came about in Hebron, where the mayor for the last 40 years, Sheikh Mohammed Ali Jaabri, was replaced by a young nationalist, Fahd Kawasma, an agronomist. Jaabri epitomizes collaboration with the Israeli occupation and with the rule of the Jordanian monarchy for the 19 years which preceded it. Jaabri led the notables who provided a facade of legitimacy for the imposition of East Jordanian King Abdullah's rule on the West Bank in the wake of the conquest of most of Palestine by the Zionists in 1948. When the Israeli army entered Hebron in June 1967, Jaabri greeted the conquerors with feasts of freshly slaughtered sheep.

During the militant demonstrations against occupation which recently shook Hebron and the rest of the West Bank, the aging mayor apparently sensed that the political tides had turned against him. Rather than accept the humiliation of defeat, he refused to stand for re-election, a tactic also followed by the Haj Mazuz al Masri, then Mayor of Nablus. Although the Israeli occupation officials extended the deadline for registration of candidates to permit al Masri and Jaabri to reconsider, not even the personal intercession of the Israeli Minister of Defense availed to persuade the two realists to enter the race.

Fahd Kawasma became the new mayor of Hebron at the head of a National Bloc slate, after the expulsion of Jaabri's front-running opponent, a leftist who headed the Hebron Hospital. The Israelis deported the Hebron candidate along with a dentist from al Bireh, who was a candidate for office there. The deportations were punishment for involvement in the national movement.

In Ramallah the incumbent mayor Karim Khalf, an outspoken advocate of the PLO, was re-elected despite the actions of Israeli soldiers who ripped down or painted over his campaign posters because they carried the red, white, green and black of the Palestinian flag. His counterpart in Tulkarm, the pro-PLO incumbent Hilmi Hannoun, was also re-elected as mayor. Nationalists won as well in Beit Jala, Beit Sahus, Jericho, al Bireh, Bir Zeit and other towns.

In Jenin, the conservative traditionalist Mayor Ahmad Kamal Sa'adi was returned to office, but half of the municipal council seats went to the nationalists. Only in the town of Bethlehem did the election clearly go against the nationalists; there the incumbent Mayor Elias Freij won and his conservative slate gained 6 of the 11 seats on the municipal council. But even there one council post was taken by a member of the Communist Party and two more by other nationalists.

The newly elected officials have two salient characteristics. First, they are nationalists, some of them militantly so: one of those elected is currently in an Israeli prison on political grounds, and five other new officials have served time in jail for their resistance to occupation. Second, they tend to be drawn from a different sector of the population than the old leadership, which came from the "notable" families of prominent feudalists, some of whom had commercial interests as well. These politicians had generally cooperated with the military government since 1967, and with the Jordanian monarchy for the preceding 19 years.

The repudiation of feudalists at the polls can be traced to two factors: one, the PLO, whose great success in agitation and organisation on the West Bank has exposed the politics of collaboration, and second, the Israeli occupation itself. The explicit economic policy of the occupation has been to channel the labour force of the West Bank into the bottom sectors of the Israeli proletariat, and half of the labour force of the

occupied areas now crosses the "green line" into Israel proper each day for work. Many of these new members of the proletariat are peasants forced off the land in the West Bank by the pressures of the colonial economy. The process of erosion of the feudal economy has clearly had its political effects.

Another indication of the new political atmosphere on the West Bank was the participation of women in the voting for the first time. Israeli officials liberalised the Jordanian election laws to allow women to vote. The heavy turnout of women—68 percent of eligible women voted, as compared with 72 percent for the entire electorate—may be a sign of the success of the PLO's women's organisation. The women's unions have been among the most enduring and active nationalist formations under the occupation.

The success of the nationalist forces was a serious blow to the Israeli strategy of "self-administration" for the West Bank. This strategy was developed after the PLO's victory at the Rabat Arab Summit Conference, where the Arab heads of state confirmed that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This resolution dashed King Hussein's claims to represent the Palestinians, and simultaneously set back the Israelis, who would have preferred to deal with the pliant Hussein if they were forced to negotiate the status of the West Bank. The post-Rabat strategy of the Israeli government was to nurture a class of collaborators on the West Bank, whom they could present as an "alternative" to the PLO. The intent of the Israeli government in calling the elections was to have this class of collaborators annointed by a victory at the polls.

Although the Israeli government did what it could to have the traditional politicians re-elected, the strategy backfired dramatically. Dr Ghazaleh, a newly-elected municipal council member in Nablus, said that the new officials would foil any Israeli attempt at "legitimizing the occupation in the West Bank or at promoting any type of home rule in the territory." Mayor Khalaf of Ramallah told the Jerusalem Post that the new nationalist mayors have agreed to confine themselves to municipal matters and opposition to Israeli moves in the West Bank, especially settlement. They will avoid "political deliberations," he said, for the people of the West Bank are part of the Palestinian people "whose political representative is the PLO, not us."

## One Year After

*by Terry Auld*

Photo of Mao Tsetung

With the death of Mao Tsetung on September 9 last year, the international revolutionary movement lost its most experienced leader. Mao Tsetung was the greatest Marxist of his time. Throughout his life as revolutionary. Chairman Mao Tsetung made indelible contributions to Marxism-Leninism. People the world over mourn him deeply.

Mao Tse tung's deep learning embraced diverse fields such as economics, politics, philosophy, art and culture and military affairs. All aspects of Marxism were enriched by his thinking. When the Khrushchov clique seized power in the Soviet Union, Mao Tsetung led the struggle against it. When Krushchov's successors turned the Soviet Union onto an imperialist course, Mao Tsetung once again rallied the world's people to struggle against it. (1)

This article will deal with two aspects of Mao Tsetung's theoretical work which have great practical relevance today: the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the theory of the three worlds.

## Crushing the "gang of four"

Events in China since Mao Tsetung's death have confirmed the great vitality of his theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat—his greatest contribution to Marxism.

The crushing of the Gang of Four has left some people in the West disorientated. Taken in by "leftist" and anarchistic phrasemongering, they have not recognised the Gang of Four as a cabal of ultra-rightists who hid under the "radical label. The Gang of Four opposed the modernisation of the Chinese economy, army, science and technology. But they did so under the guise that the argument was about how modernisation was to be achieved. They sabotaged production under the slogan: "Don't produce for the erroneous line" They attacked veteran and other cadres, some of who had made mistakes of line, as "counter-revolutionaries" in order to overthrow them and seize power. They attacked intellectuals in a thoroughly un-Marxist way. They propagated a line in art and culture which concentrated on great heroes, and the past achievements of bourgeois art and culture were negated by them without any consideration of the historical conditions in which they were created. They worked to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. They plotted an armed coup.

## The struggles go on

But how can people such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the Gang of Four appear in socialist China?—it is this question which puzzles people and disorients them when explosions occur in China.

The answer lies in Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat which I will now try to outline.

Summing up the historical experience of building socialism in China and the Soviet Union, Mao Tsetung concluded that socialist society covers a very long historical period. Throughout 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 remains. By itself the socialisation of the means of production is insufficient and cannot be consolidated without a thorough going revolution in the political, ideological, educational cultural and military fields.

The sources of capitalist restoration are complex, The activities of the overthrown bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes in the economic, political, ideological and cultural fields; the existence of spontaneous capitalist tendencies amongst the peasantry, the result of remnants of private economy; the existence of bourgeois right (particularly in pay differentials) relative inequalities amongst the people (e.g. the difference between mental and manual labour), the force of habit reactionary ideas in the minds of the people the pressure of foreign imperialism—all these lead to the regeneration of new bourgeois elements in socialist society. The combination of new and old bourgeois elements with other old exploiting classes forms the social basis for capitalist restoration.

## How capitalism is restored

Class struggle is the motive force in socialist society and centres on state power with the principal contradiction being between bourgeoisie and proletariat. The policy of grasping class struggle as the key link, advanced by Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua, reflects this. During the complicated process of class struggle there develops within the party, government and state organs a bourgeois headquarters which, if conditions are ripe, could seize power and restore capitalism. This is a gradual process of development which makes it difficult to distinguish between those who make errors of line but who remain proletarian revolutionaries and those who are developing into counter-revolutionaries. But at some point the headquarters is consolidated and requires vigorous measures for its eradication.

The appearance and development of such bourgeois headquarters is not accidental or the result of inadequate democracy or inadequate ideological education—it is rooted in the very nature of socialist society. Socialist society is a society in transition from capitalism to Communism and contains elements of both societies. The contradictions of socialist society can only be resolved by developing the productive forces (modernisation), by gradually eliminating the differences between workers and peasants, between mental and manual labour and between town and country, by carrying out sweeping mass movements to educate the people to Marxism and to continuously extend democracy for the people while exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and other old exploiting classes.

In short, new struggles against counter-revolutionaries like the Gang of Four will occur again in China and other socialist countries. They are not to be feared, but should be seen as one more round in the struggle to go down the socialist road.

## The three worlds

Great changes have occurred in the world situation in the past decade and more. The Third World countries are intensifying their struggle for genuine economic and political independence from foreign imperialism. West European countries and Japan are increasingly challenging the United States in the world capitalist market. The United States has been decisively defeated in Indochina. Since the mid-sixties the Soviet Union has taken a course of global expansionism backed by growing military power. The United States is now in strategic decline, and Soviet social-imperialism is on the strategic offensive. The strategic focus of the intensifying contention between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, is in Europe. Soviet moves in the Middle East and Africa, particularly in Angola, Zaire and the Horn of Africa, are aimed at outflanking Europe.

The global rivalry of the two superpowers is driving the world forward to a new world war. There is no detente in the world. Of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union constitutes the greater danger to world peace: it is the younger rising imperialism whose nature is not yet comprehended clearly by the world's peoples and which is challenging the US in every corner of the world.

With the factors for both revolution and world war developing simultaneously, revolutionaries throughout the world are faced with a dual task; on the one hand, they must promote the great historical current of our

times—countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution; on the other hand, they must make use of inter-imperialist contradictions in an attempt to slowdown the rate at which the strategic balance of power moves in favour of Soviet social-imperialism—the faster it moves towards the Soviet Union, the sooner will the world war come.

It was Mao Tsetung who solved the problem of this dual task. Analysing what actually exists, rather than what progressive people would like to exist, Mao Tsetung advanced his strategic concept of the three worlds.

The world is now divided as follows:

**The First World.** The two superpowers. A super power is an imperialist country which everywhere subjects other countries to its aggression, interference, control, subversion or plunder and strives for world domination.

**The Second World.** Developed capitalist countries and certain revisionist countries such as Britain, New Zealand, West Germany, East Germany, Australia, Japan and so on.

**The Third World.** Countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia which have a common heritage of problems arising out of past or present semi-colonial colonial or neo-colonial control. Amongst them are included socialist countries, newly independent countries and countries which are still nationally oppressed. The strategic concept of the three words provides the broadest possible international united front against the two superpowers. It brings out the decisive role of the Third World countries in combatting the two superpowers.

Drawing of a fist squashing heads

The Third World countries bear the main brunt of superpower policies of exploitation, oppression, aggression and war. The Third World is the main force in combatting the two superpowers—its drive for economic and political independence is breaking up the world system of imperialism and social-imperialism.

The Second World countries often oppress and exploit other countries, particularly those in the Third World, but they themselves are subject to the interference and bullying of the two superpower. Increasingly they are finding common ground with the Third World countries in opposing superpower hegmonism.

Important examples are the Lome convention and the support given by some West European countries for the common fund for the stabilisation of commodity prices. Under the Lome convention certain countries in Africa, the Carribean and the Pacific have been given free entry into the EEC for their industrial products and almost all their agricultural exports are eligible for duty-free or quota-free entry. The Third World countries in return agree that imports from EEC countries are accorded no less favourable treatment than imports from other countries.

## **Carter and Mao**

The trilateral foreign policy pursued by the Carter administration gives proof of the accuracy of Mao Tsetung's analysis. Looking at the world as reactionaries, the trilateralists are working to unite West Europe and Japan under US leadership to confront the Third World and the Soviet Union. Their policy is to unite with the leading second world countries.

How does New Zealand fit into this analysis? New Zealand has fully developed capitalist relations of production in both town and countryside. It is an agrarian and light manufacturing country. New Zealand is strongly linked with foreign imperialism, particularly US, British and Japanese imperialism. Soviet social-imperialism is now taking an interest in penetrating New Zealand, a process taking place side by side with an increasing political and ideological campaign to increase Soviet influence, an instance of which was the International Convention for Peace Action earlier this year. New Zealand is linked economically with foreign imperialism through trading patterns, direct foreign investments, overseas loans, ties between individual domestic monopoly capitalist and foreign capital, and international agencies such as the IMF, the World Bank and GATT. Important political ties are made through the American alliance, embodied in ANZUS, and the Five Power Defence Arrangement.

But New Zealand has certain similarities with Third World countries. Its main exports are primary products (wool, meat and dairy produce) to the developed capitalist countries, and its main emports are raw materials, machinery, fuel and so on from sources controlled by foreign imperialism. Even the Monetary and Economic Council has noted these characteristics.

The protracted economic crisis in which we are enmeshed and the growth of internal reactionary policies are integrally linked with New Zealand's distorted economic development and dependence on foreign imperialism. The economic policies pursued by both the Third Labour Government and the Muldoon Government, essentially identical despite the shadow-boxing in Parliament, have increased our dependence.

Whatever fake "lefts" may say, defence of the vital interests of the ordinary people of New Zealand require us to break the grip of foreign imperialism on New Zealand, other wise New Zealand will sink ever deeper into economic stagnation. Even Hugh Templeton has raised the spectre of New Zealand taking the road of Argentina.

New Zealand's best interest lie with the Third World countries, not with the two superpowers, the biggest international oppressors and exploiters. Some policies which help defend and extend New Zealand's independence are: support for the New Economic Order and better trading relations between rich arid poor countries; stop the sell-out of New Zealand's natural resources to foreign imperialism; an independent, non-aligned foreign policy for New Zealand; US out [unclear: !] USSR stay out!; a nuclear weapon-free peace zone in the South Pacific.

## Conclusion

Chairman Mao Tsetung died last year but his revolutionary theory and example remain with us. As with Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Mao Tsetung: life and work will continue to inspire the mass movements for independence, national liberation and socialist revolution in every country in the world in the centuries to come.

Footnotes:

- Salient, September 1976, has an article on Mao Tsetung's contribution to Marxism.
- The Dominion, April 27, 1977. Article by Nigel Wade.
- Salient, April 26, 1977 p8.

## Ginseng tea for three...

## Arts Festival at VIC

We're against an established order, having leaders and all that, but when it comes to like conducting a concert they're the sort of people we need. That's why our concert up here really failed. We were all there, we had this situation—700 people—and we're just about to play and Zero (our lead singer) says to the sound guy, "Have you got my fucking mike working yet?" And he walks off, says, "I'm not taking that from anybody", you know.

There was just a complete misunderstanding . . . because there was no-one there to tell him what to do, to say, "You do this or else", the situation just got out of hand. There was no-one there to take him by the scruff of the neck and get things happening. Instead of being really positive and saying, "We're just not going on because we haven't got a sound man, we had to do a sound balance in front of 700 people.

A sound balance consists of just going through about half a song, with everyone just playing, and then we juggle with the knobs and that. We started a song, then stopped, and people think, this is it . . . We realized the whole thing was a mistake. The whole thing is the initial impact, bamm, like that, but all they saw of us was us setting up the gear and playing a few songs, which didn't go very well because we didn't have a sound balance, we couldn't hear each other.

And then the sound man came back, and . . . um, pulled the plug out a few times. In the middle of the songs. It happened about four times. The sound's gone and that's the end of the songs. The whole thing was, you know, in terms of a rock concert, it wasn't. But in terms of a whole situation, it was really good, I really enjoyed it.

(Buster Stiggs)

### IT'S A MIRACLE

The punk rockers weren't the only people with organizational problems. Purely from the point of view of work done. Arts Festival was an amazing administrative feat. The whole thing—from initial conception to standing on the door—was run by only about a dozen people.

Inevitably there were snags and disappointments. There was also a lot that was excellent, and a lot more which suggested interesting and or significant development, and which would never, but for Arts Festival, have got an audience.

There are a few unfortunate statistics. The cost to be underwritten is in five figures—not a loss but a subsidy, as the organizers describe it. Which is fair enough. Only 1,500 - 1,600 of the expected 2,500 people registered. That meant \$10,000 less because all of a sudden 36,000 students had better things to do. And it is extremely difficult for performing arts groups to make money without assistance anyway, especially where travel is involved.

Photo of dancers

## Problems

The following is part of an interview with Festival Controller Paul Davis and Festival Manager Dave

Jenkins:

Salient: The festival went to the city but the city didn't really open its arms to the festival. What sort of liaison did you have with the City Council?

Jenkins: We went to see the Town Clerk quite early in the piece, and were met with a friendly response, though not exactly with open arms. More sort of—reactive. And we did have some liaison with various other portions of the City Council.

Salient: Was there any way of getting large-scale banner advertising into the streets, so that people could see and know there was a festival on?

Jenkins: That probably could have been done, has there been large banners and a lot of paint. . .

Davis: The thing about the city, was that we had the same problem there as we had with the universities. That was convincing them, when you've never had a festival like this before, that it's worthwhile to put their support behind . . . Vic. especially . . .

Salient: You had a lot of trouble with Vic?

Davis: The problem was in several areas really. If the festival is ever held again, I think the most important thing is that it has to be run by a campus, not by the national body. Because the big problem we had to overcome was that it was Vic's festival, not just an organisation lining the building for a week and putting something on. And that was what we really had to fight to try and get—

Jenkins: Which we never altogether overcame. Davis: Even with Dave up there four hours a day, on campus, at an office up there, we still couldn't get it across to people that it was their festival, it was up to them to make it all happen.

Salient: What sort of liaison was there with the Press? Why wasn't there day-by-day feature coverage?

Davis: Well, the feature coverage wasn't too bad actually. The Evening Post carried articles and photographs almost every day of the festival. Some days there were six things—I counted them up. The trouble is, you know, the same sort of problem. You've down there telling them the festival is enormous, it's big, it's going to happen. And they don't really believe it. If it happened again, they'd be right in behind. One thing with the Press was that we sort of overwhelmed them a bit . . .

Salient: There were workshops in dance, street-theatre, and jazz, all of which must have spawned communication. Could, or should there have been an organized attempt to get participants in the other fields together to discuss aims, problems, etc.?

Jenkins: Probably there should have been; likewise there could have been, had it been organized. Though all the clubs on the various campuses were circularized—the photography clubs and all the drama clubs, and everything—very early in the piece, very early this year. And the response was extremely slow.

Salient: At Vic. we have an Architectural School and a Drama Studies Department. What sort of role would you have liked these internal institution alized bodies to play?

Jenkins: It could well have been the Drama Studies' role to organize a conference or meeting place for people from the other universities.

SKUNK ROCKER (cant'elp it can I??)

Salient: Drama House wasn't used, was it?

Jenkins: No. We did actually approach the person in charge at one stage and weren't met with the most friendly reception.

Davis: You were saying about arts groups meeting each other. That's really something that harks back to this thing about Vic. feeling that its their festival. It's their responsibility, like Drama Studies, to put something on . . . this sort of thing didn't eventuate.

Salient: A lot of advertising money was spent on the big-name conventional shows—Boesman and Lena, Elric Hooper's Measure for Measure, Bert Jansch and John Martyn—and considerably less on the more unusual festival events. Why?

Davis: The reason was money basically. We saw these as having the potential to pull in large audiences. And in the budget for the festival we had to offset expenditure against money from public income. So we selected out a few events to push to the public so we'd generate door sales.

Salient: A phenomenon of Short Duration was badly advertised, at least in the Press. Why was that?

Davis: I don't really think that was badly advertised. It was advertised more than any other sort of—fringe theatre in the festival. It got quite a big push . . . This harks back to the same problem, you know. We had so many things to advertise, it was impossible to push them all really hard.

Salient: What is an Arts Festival, and why have one?

Davis: (laughter) Well, we actually spent hours working out what an Arts Festival is, to put in introductions to our little blurbs in the brochures and that. It's really difficult for us to describe it . . . With a festival everything's concentrated. Under the one common framework you've got a whole range of events, and the people come to you rather than you taking things round to people.

And then, within the festival you've got the potential there, within that common framework, for that exchange to take place. You know, for people to see a whole range of things in a week, and for a sharing of experience and technique. The dance festival would be the best demonstration of what a festival is. Everyone comes together and they can see what everyone else is doing at that particular time, in the country.

Jenkins: And also people who attend have an opportunity, where they've got a free moment and they'll go and see a form of art that normally they wouldn't consider going out of their way for. They can get a much better idea of the whole breadth of things that are happening.

Salient: It's not just for people to go and see things which they normally wouldn't go and see. It's also a time for various groups who don't have the finance, commercial support, tradition, or security of mainstream activity to perform or exhibit. A chance for audiences to understand, as you say, and a chance for artists to experiment. Knocking out the preciousness to look at the processes. Do you think the festival came to terms with that experimental function?

Davis: I think it did, because we established no criterion as to whether or not you could do your thing at the festival. The only restraint was finance.

Salient: That's why I asked about the mainstream activities. Pushing them was pushing the sorts of things we see anyway. Whereas there were a lot of other things in the festival which people don't see. I couldn't help thinking those were the sorts of things that should have been pushed.

Jenkins: Yeah, that's all very well. But there's only so much we can do when, if we're not totally involved in the particular activity then we can very easily catch the wrong angle. When we have not got a clear exposition on what that event is about and how the audience is supposed to relate, then we're treading on fairly difficult ground if we go and try and bill it as one thing. And you know, that is a problem we did come up against. Particularly with Phenomenon of Short Duration and Decomposition.

Davis: People weren't prepared to take an adventure or take anything for chance. Before they left Christchurch they wanted to know exactly what was on. And that's a complete change from what it was in past years where—the word Arts Festival you went along anyway.

## **NZSAC and Vic**

Vic popped out in a lot of ways. Registration, administrative assistance from students, offers of billets were all well under the anticipated marks. By no means was it just the people in Christchurch waiting to see exactly what was being done for them before they decided to come.

The question of communication is important, and difficult. Davis says organized discussion didn't eventuate, but in a week that full, such things are difficult to organize on the spot. Going right back to the Dealer 1, Arts Festival was implicitly defined as a spectacle of events, with the overseas attractions taking priority. The whole thing was initiated from outside Vic. In these ways little was done to push the university into an organizational role. Maybe the jubilation of the early publicity implied things were already under control.

Photo of dancers

For Arts Festival to be an ongoing concern, it must be a valuable meeting place for participants to discuss their activities, and must be established as such right from the start. If this does happen, the impetus for continuation will come, as is proper, from those directly involved.

The dance festival was significant in this respect. It would not be surprising if an annual festival of comparable scale were to emerge. Yet without the workshops, which crossed the boundaries of segmented group performances and involved a great range and number of people, dance would not have become the major success it was. If similar things had happened in music, drama, etc., there would probably be an Arts Festival next year no matter what.

Communication, in terms of planning, analysis and working together, is the vital issue. With NZSAC and Vic Standing at each end of the count, neither they nor we seemed to acknowledge that this was the ball with which to play the game.

## **Real Successes**

The festival displayed a lot of under-established talent. It also opened doors for experimentation, in the search for unique identity and progressive styles of work. The real successes of the festival came when all these elements coincided.

The dance group Limbs from Auckland were immensely popular. In the midst of plaster-pretty pirouetting from the NZ Ballet Company and a measure of aimless, arm-floating wandering from some other groups. Limbs triumphed in the conscious search for their own style. Like Impulse, they know the value of humour, but

are better at maintaining close links with the audience. Watching them, one felt appreciated, which is not always the case with a medium so dependent on technical prowess.

Limbs utilized the basic dancer's costumes - leotard, tights and legwarmers - to great effect. Bright colours and a simple concept overran the need for a different get-up each dance; with the occasional use of masks their appearance was complete.

The company functions onstage as a collective. The lack of stars and the shared vigour are an integral part of their audience relationship. Above all, Limbs do not rely on obvious formulae. They function within their particular attributes. Movement is always purposeful and never lapses into repetitive gesture. And on that simplest of levels in dance. Limbs really do enjoy themselves.

For my money, a Phenomenon of Short Duration was the triumph of the festival. The show was an experiment in dance, mime and music. Garth Frost's design concepts were pared down to two muslin shapes far upstage, apparently floating between flies and floor. The musicians sat to one side, so that virtually the whole stage was bare.

Enter Nancy Buttenheim in silk top and tiedyed purple tights, moving slowly, gracefully across the stage in a composed, enigmatic Tai Ching derived dance. Quiet suspense Suddenly Ian Prior and Helen Oldfield appear, running large circles which are the beginnings of their dance. Buttenheim disappears; the energy level is high concentration intense, and both will be maintained throughout.

There are four main acts: the dance, doll mime, a mime with reptile-like creatures, and a musicians/actors/dancers improvisation. Themes emerge: memories of childhood, fear of the unknown, the fall of man. These themes are mere pegs for the performances, providing a loose sort of coherence and leading to the real subject of the show: the energy and composition of an aesthetic. This is apparent in the combination of elements, in the diversity of the acts, in Buttenheim's dance, and most of all in the culminating improvisation.

It works through sheer talent and a sense of humour. Together they ensure the show is never out of its depth, never ponderous or pretentious. Humour is generated by the obvious enjoyment of the participants, which we are invited to share.

Jonathan Besser wheels his piano out to almost centre downstage. Two oboists carry their instruments like insects, acting as well as playing a delight ful duo. Prior does a frantic leaping dance with a chair. Costumed, masked figures from the earlier acts make further appearances. It could be a shambles, but the close harmony of the performers makes it a valuable moment of expressive communication, amongst themselves and with us.

Drawing og Elvis and punk rockers

Oppenheim appears between acts, raising the mimes on to abstract levels, their meanings hinting subtly at her own. Clearly her dance tells a story but communicates only in the telling not the tale.

Her relative stillness (most of the movement is in arms and hands) provides a springboard for the outward directed playing of the others. Her enigmatic presence serves as a fluid centre from which the various acts can radiate. By the end, the thematic presence of death is balanced with the real presence of creation; because of the contribution of all concerned, her last simple dance becomes a powerful metaphor of it.

Phenomenon was evolved specifically for the Opera House. Doing something new with that space, and working within organizational restrictions were essential features of the show. It's like has not been seen before in Wellington and there will probably have to be another Arts Festival for that combination of ability and experimentation to happen again.

## Punk

Obviously the biggest claim to the title Interesting and Significant Developments was made by punk rock. Interesting it was and should still be. Yet it ended up about as significant as a packet of Maggi soup. Punk should have been a provocation, a challenge. It should have funtioned on a conceptual and/or emotive level impossible to ignore. Working on the premise that they were different from everybody else and had something to teach us, the punk rockers should have made us think they could take over the festival. They didn't even try .

But perhaps I am being too hard. One punk did get beaten up by a pack of marauding vigilantes, another by the bouncers at a social: there were a few people running scared. And apart from that, NZ punk can be amusing. The following is taken from an interview with Buster Stiggs, drummer and songwriter for the Suburban Roptiles:

Why did you come to the Festival?

Well we thought basically, we wanted to use the festival as just a vehicle for the band you know, just to get exposure in Wellington via the festival. We thought we'd do other things as well as the festival. The first weekend we were down we did this thing at Ziggy's. Most of the audience left. It was just too new for them, too much of what they don't expect.

Does that worry you?

No. That's always the initial reaction. A week later the Scavengers were playing and there was all these Wellington punks turned up. About ten people. It's quite a big sort of thing—its changed ten people's whole life ... I was really appalled with the audiences at the varsity. Most of them were still back at Woodstock . . .

We were quite frustrated because we came down here—it was partly the manager's fault, he told the festival organisers, "We're not all that interested in the money, we just want the exposure," you know. It's sort of the wrong sort of tack really, you know. He should have presented us more professionally. But he failed to do that so when we got down here they just thought we were a pack of students—which half of us are.

Half of you or all of you?

Ah ... all but one

Why punk rock?

Because its the only thing that has, un—I've been writing for about 2 years—its the only thing I can devote my whole sort of thing to. I was writing songs with Neil Finn, who's now in Split Enz; you sort of touch a lot of things, but I wasn't totally absorbed in it. You have to be totally absorbed in the whole movement. You're on the line all the time.

What is punk to you?

Its quite hard to be objective about it. Punk's probably anything that you don't expect.

Punk music is like rowing upstream, going against the grain. Its a really big challenge because you're going against everything that's gone before.

70s Dada?

Yeah, there's an assimilation of Dada.

We had the play *Travesties* here a few months ago ago, which has Tristan Tzara in it, and the play basically rips shit out of Dada. It was done at Downstage, and they did a late-night Dada programme. Everyone was going round talking Dada for a while. You know, this thing is 50 years, 60 years old. It was pathetic it really was. But they loved it, you know, There was this big Dada craze. Then punk rock comes along, which is a contemporary version—

Yeah, I've never read much about Dada.

Its the same idea, its totally against the gram.

Yeah, against the established order.

I think a lot of people have been saying that the punk phenomenon in England is a social phenomenon, an economic phenomenon—

It is for us. It is for us too, really. Like just being a varsity student is really fucking hard work. . .

It struck me at the beginning of the week that you guys had it intellectually worked out.

Yeah. The punks in England, you know, why bother to compare them? They're not dumb. I've heard interviews with Johnny Rotten, who's a really sensible sort of guy . . . People just expect, that's another thing about punk, you sort of go against people's expectations. They expect you to have a lower class accent, and spew and vomit and everything.

What was the essence of that newspaper article on spewing and vomiting?

Photo of people dancing wearing caps

## ***Dance photos by Trevor Ulyatt.***

We didn't say that.

## ***Punch and Judy with Sef Townsend.***

You didn't? Where did it come from?

They just dreamt it up.

Yeah, I couldn't picture it.

I spat at a bouncer at a university dance.

The papers printed you as saying university students are really secure—

Secure in their thinking. We've found that, we've found students are really conservative. Conservative like 10 years ago. They go to varsity and grow their hair and that. It still happens, it really does.

And Arts Festival brings them out of the wood work.

Yeah. Its crazy.

Is the going against the grain deliberately to try and invoke some sort of change?

Yeah. We're trying to be realists basically. We're not providing answers. We're just pointing out the way things are, basically. . . The lyrics and that, they're really sort of relevant. The way we feel, and that. We're not

talking about when I boogie with my baby and all that. We're more sort of political, we want to have a lot of relevance to what's going on right now. It's really hard care sort of stuff.

## Participation

Sitting in an electronic music concert, watching a man on the other side of the room operating a tape-recorder is a strange experience. With a quadrophonic system aimed at the centre of the room why were chairs set up along one side as if for a live performance? That aside, the music, from student compositions to Jack Body and Dennis Smalley's award-winning pieces was well worthwhile.

(While on the subject, Salient lacks the staff to undertake criticism of the classical music in the festival—likewise the visual arts. If anyone is interested in these field their contributions will be welcome.)

The video store was a good idea, even if it was largely controlled by Auckland so-called experts. There are several people in Wellington proficient in the field who were not invited to participate. The aura of Elam, etc. Video is an extremely flexible medium with many exciting possibilities. It is also very simple to operate, although in this sense seems to conform to a law that more things can go wrong.

### Photo of Punch and Judy

Bad video holds little interest for the spectator. This problem didn't exist with that other wonderful toy, the electronic sculpture. A splendid example of getting people to work things out for themselves, and full of surprises at every move. I've never had so much fun twiddling knobs.

One clear feature of the festival was the desire of everyone to become involved. Comedy went down well, while serious drama often seemed to be appreciated for its humourous elements. Bouncing up and down in the seats seemed to become the ideal compromise between rigid delineation and full audience participation. Decomposition, probably the most ill-defined event, didn't take long to turn into a dance/jam session.

Although there are probably few people who suddenly want to put themselves on display, the lack of some sort of active role in most of the activities may be partly responsible for the still apparent just-a-week-of-rock-music view. This while the rock music itself didn't exactly shine. Cl early the participatory aspect of Arts Festival needs to be examined.

On the other hand, Blancmange, meant to involve people, didn't get off the ground (or on to it). I dare say the Arch students will be looking for other ways to express their ingenuity. Kite Day and a few less hardy souls were washed out. Pity about all that rain, especially when the sun rudely deemed to show itself again the day after the festival finished.

Market Day was an extraordinary occasion. People packed like sardines carried steadily round the Town Hall in the search for goodies. Chameleon clowns right on form, supported by other painted personages. Something for everybody to be sure, but where was the cheap chutney? Where was the cheap anything? I overheard two stall-keepers late in the day deciding that people didn't want to pay shop prices. Surprise surprise.

There were other things beyond anyone's control. Trans-Wurop Express arrived with no numbering on the reels and most of them not rewind. In the resulting kerfuffle one reel was missed out altogether. Both *The Harder They Come* and *Away with Words* were found to be financially prohibitive and will be commercially released in the near future.

## Politics

Boesman and Lena was powerful theatre. Seldom has Wellington seen performers who know how to work so well with each other, and seldom has there appeared to be such dedication to the play. Appearances are a part of professionalism, I suppose, for in their subsequent press statements actors Wheeler and Bodill have revealed some surprising things.

Boesman and Lena shows us the degraded existence of coloured people in South Africa. The couple are not just economically repressed but have had their concept of life so restricted that even they have come to think in apartheid terms. Boesman abuses the old black man as he has been abused by the Whites; even the sympathetic Lena displays apartheid traits when unnerved. Racism has been established for them as the only means of survival.

Treatment of this theme is the play's great strength. It centres on apartheid thought as the omnipresent evil in South African society. Nothing can be separated from it. Not sport, certainly not art. How the people embodying this can turn around and contradict it is beyond me.

Political repression was also confronted in Sef Townsend's *The Third America*. This show dealt with the plight of the South American Indian, especially in Chile, and was one of the few events to firmly steer us clear of the cocoon of idle amusement an arts festival can spin.

The Third America worked through its humour. Townsend as lecturer about to take his class (we in the audience) on a trip to South America had us laughing honestly, at him, at ourselves, at the South American situation. Then, as an Indian, he undercuts the whole thing. Again, as lecturer, he has us laughing, and again he cuts it.

As the show progresses, our ability to laugh honestly is counterposed by the seriousness of the political situation, the former lending much strength to the latter.

Townsend himself is a first-rate performer who really is dedicated to his work. The Third America sketches N.Z.'s involvement in Chile, in everything from diplomacy to tourism. It shows us the brutality which is Chile's norm. Unlike most satire, it does not attack its audience but asks something of us - quite simply that we do not turn our heads.

## ***Olive Bodill in Boesman and Lena.***

### **The future**

The written word was represented in Arts Festival by *Hasard*, a magazine which came out of Vic and runs the cultural gamut from poetry through Red Mole song lyrics to ripping the shit out of the elitist glossy *Art New Zealand*. Sales were not as hoped: for some reason students have been reluctant to spend a buck on this side of the arts. *Hasard* will continue if supported. Copies are available at Studass and bookshops.

On Saturday a Film Seminar involving many of the country's leading filmmakers was held. An article on this will follow at a later date.

Arts Festival had a hell of a lot to offer. It was an immensely valuable cultural experience, in what we learned about arts festivals and in what we gained from the arts themselves. On the last Saturday night the *Evening Post* came out with a glowing editorial—too late to drum up support but a useful weapon for planning the next.

N.Z. universities are suffering from rampant parochialism. Arts Council has been served with notices of withdrawal from nearly every member body: Vic intends to pull out in March next year (more on this soon). Arts Festival is one of the few occasions students have to share experiences on a national basis.

If we are to survive outside our books we need cultural interchange, we need to be able to create and recognise [*unclear*: our] own identity. We need Arts Council [*unclear*: because] alone can maintain channels of communication. The festival organisers are to be congratulated on their dedication. We must match it.

A final question: who did come?

Paul Davis: There were no Jesus Freaks, no Hare Krishna people, no Kikies trying to get into it, and there was little if any Polynesian involvement at all. It was essentially a middle class student festival. A shame really. . . oh, we had three hippies.

Salient: How did you count the three?

Davis: Well, they were brewing up their own Ginseng tea in the cafe. . .

—Simon Wilson

### **Study Methods Workshop**

If you have study problems, or coping with essays etc., then The Student Counselling Service will be holding a study group with the Counsellors Mike Capper and Ruth Swatland on three consecutive Thursdays (September 8, 15, 22), 5.30 to 7 pm in the Smoking Room. If you are interested then send the form below into the Student Counselling Service, the Studass office or at the Library Counter. There is a limit of 30 people.

Name:.....

Address:.....

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Telephone No.: Day.....

Evening.....

Degree:.....

Major Subject (s).....

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## **Rock**

## Heavy Weather Weather Report

Ever since the release of "Mysterious Traveller" in 1974, Weather Report have been acknowledged at the brilliant masters of fusion music in the seventies jazz scene. Led by pianist Joe Zawinul and saxophonist Wayne Shorter, they tastefully combine acoustic and electric sounds without paying any overt dues to commercialism.

Their latest release, "Heavy Weather", is nothing short of excellent. Zawinul is principally responsible for the band's overall sound, being the producer, composer of three of the eight tracks, and performer on the acoustic and electric pianos, the Oberheim Polyphonic and Arp 2600 synthesizers. But what makes this recording stand above previous attempts is the presence of Jaco Pastorius on bass guitar. His is one of the strongest young talents to emerge on the scene recently, being an excellent technician on the bass as well as a forceful improviser and composer. He adds another fine solo voice to Zawinul's and Shorter's long standing pair, giving Weather Report the extra power they have been looking for. His playing and his tone blend perfectly with the strong rhythms of the Alex Acuna/Malono Badrena percussive unit.

"Birdland" is a very melodic, catchy tune, a surprise hit single in the States; immediately likeable without being disco ridden. "A Remark You Made" matches a pretty-sweet ballad line with a genuinely emotive tenor saxophone. "Teen Town", a Pastorius number, has crazy breakneck bass lines with impressively exact double stops, coupled with an almost parodie chorus - a highly original and successful piece of writing. "Harlequin" by Shorter is a concise example of the overall togetherness and musicianship of the band. "Rumba Mama" is a straight South American percussive chant culled from a live concert. "Palladium" is a similarly extroverted, joyful piece to "Birdland". "The Juggler combines mechanical melodies with a martial snare pattern, but somehow just misses out. "Havona", also by Pastorius is a gutsy showcase for the solo abilities of Zawinul, Shorter and Pastorius, whose bass break is particularly lyrical and stunning. It ends with insistent cymbal crashes from Acuna. "Heavy Weather" is consummately realized with a gorgeous attentiveness to detail. If you have failed to listen to Weather Report before, it is an absolute must. And so apt for Wellington's feculent climate.

—Tim Nees.

(Record supplied by Colin Morris Records, 54 The Terrace.)

## Showtime By Cooder

Ry Cooder is something of an oddity in today's music world. He first came to prominence as a session man in the late sixties, becoming a legendary figure in the guitar world for his bottleneck playing, and worked with Taj Mahal, Captain Beefheart, Randy Newman and the Stones among others.

Ry then embarked on a solo recording and performing career, turning his back on the rock mainstream to pursue his own interests in ethnic forms, which he has combined to create in own unique style, while maintaining the integrity of the original music. Without becoming a self-conscious anachronism like Leon Redbone, he keeps alive what was good in the past and gives it relevance for today—his revival of Guthrie's depression songs gives them added depth for the second time around.

Add to this Cooder's concern for the working man, for ignored and exploited racial and social groups, and it's not hard to figure out why the man doesn't enjoy widespread acclaim. Apart from occasional freaks such as having a hit record in Holland, Cooder's tales are minimal—he told the New Musical Express that critical acclaim was all that kept him in business.

"Showtime" is By Cooder's sixth album and his first live one. Recorded in San Francisco during a two month American tour at the end of last it features Chicken Skin Revue, Cooder's current recording and touring ensemble. The line up is bass, drums, bajo sexto (a Mexican version of the twelve string guitar), alto sax, the accordion of Tex-Mex star Flaco Jumenez, a vocal trio consisting of Eldridge King, Terry Evans and Bobby King, and the man himself on guitar and vocals.

The music could best be described as a blend of Tex-Mex and R&B, but has an energy and enthusiasm which renders classification meaningless.

The opening track "School is Out" is a studio job, but from there on in it's all live. Chicken Skin Revue, most of them totally unknown musicians play with a zest which puts to shame the jaded performances of the rock world's superstars. Side one of the album it devoted to blues: "Alimony", "Jesus on the Mainline" and "Dark End of the Street" are all off earlier albums. Cooder takes up hit acoustic guitar for "Jesus on the Mainline" and demonstrates hit amazing bottleneck technique, accompanied only by the vocal trio—who add a lot of the vocals throughout the album, filling in behind Ry's pleasant but not always adequate croak.

"Dark End of the Street" is my favourite track on the album. Originally recorded as an instrumental on an earlier album, it is given an emotional vocal rendition by the three vocalists, and Cooder plays a brilliant solo.

Side Two moves away from the blues and into Tex-Mex territory. A fast and furious version of Woody Guthrie's "Do Re Mi" featuring Flaco Jimenez on accordion is followed by "Volver Volver", sung in Spanish. Then its another Depression song. Alfred Reed's "How Can a Poor Man Stand Such Times and Live", beginning with gentle guitar and plaintive vocal by Ry, and including another fine slide solo.

Tex-Mex (or Tejano, as it is known to its devotees) takes a little getting used to, consisting as it does here of accordion and saxophone playing in unison over a romping polka beat. But the crowd certainly loves it, and it does blend surprisingly well with Cooder's own singular style.

Finally its back to R&B with an old Ray Charles song "Smack Dab in the Middle", Cooder introduces his band one by one, tells the audience goodnight and its all over.

"Showtime" captures the reality of a live performance, with all the near-mistakes and looseness, but also with ail the energy, audience interaction and moments of sheer ecstasy that don't happen in the studio. Ry Cooder's love and respect for the music and its original exponents, and his ability to tie up all the loose ends into a cohesive whole, make him the most important American folk musician recording today. Forget the Eagles, this is the real thing.

—Andrew Delahunty.

## Baroque Guitar Julian Bream

On this disc, which is a re-release of a recording made 11 years ago, Julian Bream plays a selection of guitar and lute music composed during the Baroque period, when the guitar became increasingly popular. This was due in part to the decline of contrapuntal music which occurred during that time.

The record begins with two dances by Gaspar Sanz (1629-1710). The first of which, "Pavanas", is a slow plaintive number. The second 'Canario', is a short lively variant of the gigue. This is followed by a skilful arrangement of Bach's "Prelude in D Minor" and "Fugue in A Minor", being the only music on the record not written especially for the guitar.

The final work on side one is by Fernando Sor (1778 - 1839), one of the most influential guitarists of the 19th century and once described as "the Beethoven of the Guitar", - a description I would be inclined to agree with. The particular pieces performed here, "Fantasy" and "Minuet" are not very representative of the powerful and assertive structure that he often produced, being more decorative in nature. Nevertheless they demonstrate his quest to explore and improve the instrument's tonal resources.

The final composer on this record is Robert de Vissee (1650 - 1725 approx.). The example of his work here is 11 minutes worth of his delicate but tuneful "Suite in D Minor".

As with all music written for a solo instrument the performer's interpretation is just as important as the composition itself so that the renditions of any piece are very much determined by the performers own technique and imagination. Julian Bream's playing is absorbingly expressive and colourful so even if you've heard the above pieces before try Julian Bream's versions - I can guarantee you'll enjoy it.

Geoff Churchman.

## *Julian Bream.*

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A new type of life assurance has been introduced that pays out in full if through permanent illness or through accident you are no longer able to pursue your career.

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Photo of Chris MacKay

For further information Consult

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let me help you make a little money go a whole lot further If you need a little help and advice on how to make your money go further while you're at varsity see Richard Starke at the Wellington Branch of the BNZ Richard knows the sort of money problems you're going to be involved with as a student and he'll be pleased to give you all the assistance and advice that's possible Apart from the BNZ services like cheque and savings accounts free automatic savings facility the Nationwide Account travellers cheques and so on there are two particular BNZ services that a lot of students have found very useful BNZ Educational Loans The great thing about these is their flexibility You can take one out for a few days, to tide you over a rough spot till the end of term or you can borrow on the long term and plan things out over the years you're at varsity BNZ Consulting Service Free, helpful advice on practically any financial matter from people who understand money and how it works And Just by the way there's another good reason for banking with the Bank of New Zealand, it's the only trading bank wholly owned by the people of New Zealand Call at the BNZ on campus office and fix up a time for a chat with Richard Starke or phone him direct at the BNZ Wellington Branch, Cnr Lambton and Customhouse Quays Phone 725 099 ext 702 BANK OF NEW ZEALAND Wholly owned by the people of New Zealand

S.R.C. Union Hall 12 noon Wednesday

## Health Service

### First Aid Treatment of Burns and Scalds

Burns that may be due to thermal, radioactive, friction or chemical agents cause tissue damage direct contact with the external heat and also by conduction of heat from the damaged tissue to underlying tissues. Therefore the aim of first aid treatment is to produce rapid cooling of the burnt area using flowing cold water or a hand or foot can be immersed in a basin of cold water—crushed ice can be added.

For minor (1st degree) burns where there is reddening of the skin, immerse affected area in cold water for 20 minutes or until pain is relieved. Disprin can be taken also if necessary.

Burns where blistering occurs (2nd degree), again use cold water and Disprin but a dry clean wrapping over the area is advised. Never prick a blister, and if unsure call in and see us at the Health Service.

Major (3rd degree) burns, where there is skin destruction, are less painful as there is nerve damage. Fluid loss occurs. Where there is an extensive 3rd degree burn, shock will always be present and fluid loss starts rapidly—the person will need prompt attention at the Student Health Service or hospitalization. Do not attempt to remove burned clothing.

Remember—No ointments, oils milk or other home remedies.

Immerse burns in cold water only.

## Jim's Gym

### The Gym is Alive and Well

After that stunning piece of news I hope that your body whether supine, seated, sedentary or still, or sparkling, sprightly, springing or shaking (most unlikely at this time of year) will meander along to the Gym, find out in what state your body has been left in after an attack of Augustus Vacationitis. You may of course be

in fine fettle as is one Jim Spong who hurtled into my office the other day with an attack of instant nervous tension. (Mondays 10 - 12) Confounded by the vast selection of exercycles now available in the gym, Jim found himself in conflict over which one was best. So to avoid Jim's tensions either, ask a Gym Staff member which one to use and for how long, or if tense or worried about which one to use or about anything in particular, then come and try some of our relaxation sessions.

(By appointment).

## **New Classes ....**

Start Now to Avoid Disappointment.

Fitness programmes, fitness analysis and relaxation by appointment.

## **New Basketball Competition ....**

Next week on Thursday 12-1.30 pm will see the start of a new' six week Basketball competition for social/casual/pretend basketballers. Any four man/woman teams are eligible. Ladies score double in mixed competition. Get your four-man-teams entered now to Hugh Lawrence at the Gym Now.

A couple of Jim's mates the other day found that they could not shoot baskets to save their lives or earn a pint, so they tested their eyesight on the new Gym see-it-yourself eyetest charts . . Two pairs of spectacles later the two lads are still trying to shoot the baskets and they got one the other day. The eyetest charts are in the Gym foyer viewed from the red line.

MSA AGM—Election 1977

10 September, 2 pm, E 006

All nominations and motions requested to be handed in to the Secretary Tel: 848 792.

## **President**

Recently a fair bit of criticism has been levelled at NZUSA (not another word for the ANZUS alliance, but the abbreviation for the New Zealand University Students Association). With the announcement of the intended withdrawal of Canterbury Students Association from NZUSA, both constituent student associations and National officers have had to take a good look at the organization.

One of the main problems is the chasm that exists between NZUSA nationally and its student members. Last week's forum on NZUSA highlighted this problem when two teams of "average" students tried to identify the national officers—with little success. While most people could agree on the problems, few people posed solutions.

Perhaps the most pertinent point was made by NZUSA s research officer—Peter Franks who stressed the importance of a National union of university students to represent and fight for students' interests, but also pointed to the need to involve more students.

NZUSA is not functioning properly—partly the fault of National officers and partly constituent executives—but if it is to protect student interests, it is vital that it reaches students in the future.

Most people when they justify NZUSA's existence concentrate on the commercial services NZUSA provides i.e. travel concessions. But the political wing is equally necessary and important. New Zealand is increasingly seeing attacks on minority groups such as solo mothers, and cuts to general living standards. Obviously students will not be exempt from these, and if we cannot resist them, then instead of a \$2 rise (meagre that it was) we may see a \$5 cut in our bursary.

The question is not whether we need a National Union of University students but rather how we can improve it. A number of pertinent points were raised at the meeting—the lack of knowledge as to what NZUSA is doing, the failure of national office to keep pace with what students were thinking, and the failure of national officers to organize and meet students at a campus level. We must overcome these problems so that NZUSA can both: a) provide a good service to students and b) be an effective pressure group fighting on issues which students express concern about.

—Lindy Cassidy

## **Colin Morris Records Caption Contest**

# ***My other hand is holding down the workers***

## **—Peter**

Photo of a woman leaning over a man

Entries to the Caption Contest should be witty and topical. Entries may be put in the Salient basket in the Studass Office, or in the box just inside the Salient door. Entries close on Thursday noon. Judging will be by the Salient staff and therefore no staff member may enter. The prize is an L.P. of your choice from Colin Morris Records.

## **News sheet**

## **News sheet**

Monday 5th September 11 am - 2 pm Labour Party Club will be enrolling students on the electoral roll for the local body elections. 12-2 pm Election forum: Executive candidates. Union Hall. Tuesday 6th 11 am - 2 pm Enroll for the local body elections. Main foyer. 12 noon Class Reps meeting. Boardroom. 12 noon Young Socialists literature table. Main foyer. 1 pm Womens Choice Club Meeting. Lounge. 5 - 7 pm Scottish Country dancing. Union Hall. 7 pm Fiji Club get together—meet your FSSA Soccer team. Tennis pavilion. 7.30 pm Radio Active Organization meeting in the studio. If you are interested in joining the staff as a programmer or announcer, come along. Wednesday 7th All day Executive elections. 12 noon SRC. Union Hall. Thursday 8th All day Executive elections. 5-7 pm Young Socialists Meeting. Lounge. Saturday 10th 9.30 am - 7 pm Workshop on Lecturer training and evaluation. Smoking Room and Lounge.

## **After Hours Library Book Return**

The Library now has an after hours book return slot. The slot will operate at any time when the Library is closed. It is located at the fire doors at the North End of the Rankine Brown Courtyard.

## **Meals!**

## **Meals!**

## **Meals!**

VUWSA proudly announces the provision of evening meals for all hungry and exam weary students. These are on sale at the middle floor restaurant and prices range from \$1.20 to \$2.50. Serving from 4.30 pm to 6.30 pm.

## **Films**

Run by SRC International and Environmental Affairs. Screening in Memorial Theatre. 6 September (Tues) at 1 2.30. "Fire under the sea"(Volcanic fireworks of Hawaii)

"River Kwai Expedition"

"The Great sand - dune show".

.....and every Monday till the end of term.

Saturday 10 September Victoria University workshop on University Teacher Training and evaluation. Speakers include: Dr A. Johns. Chairman UGC Dr J.D. McKenzie. President, Association of University Teachers. Lisa Saksen. President NZUSA. Mike Shaskey, Education Vice President NZUSA. All welcome. 9.30 start.

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STUDENTS CONCESSIONS John Reid's SQUASH CENTRE SQUASH: 50c per half hour per person Normally \$1.25 RACKETS: 40c GEAR HIRE: 30c per item CONCESSION HOURS 9-12 and 2-5 WEEKDAYS

## Letters

Letters header

### Ustashi and the Pope

(An answer and a challenge to the Catholic Chaplain).

Dear Sir,

In reply to the letter of Fr. O'Sullivan, (Salient, 1st August, I must point out that he has examined only the Catholic-expurgated version, and while it may be suitable for the Tablet it is not good enough for a university newspaper. I wish to fill in some of the more blatant omissions in paragraphs 3 to 11 inclusive.

Paragraph 3. When war broke out in September 1939, Yugoslavia was neutral, but Italy's invasion of Greece, in the south, in October 1940, and German political pressure resulted in Yugoslavia's alignment with the Axis powers. On March 25 1941, Prime Minister Cvetkovic entered Yugoslavia in the Axis Tripartite Pact of 1940 which included Germany, Italy and Japan. On the next day, demonstrations occurred throughout the country with the slogan "Better war than the pact, better death than slavery" and German property was attacked. Two days later a group of officers led a military coup which unsaddled the Cvetkovic government, and an air force General, Simovic, became Prime Minister in a government of national unity. Hitler was insulted by the coup and determined to smash the nation as quickly as possible, particularly as he had to postpone Operation Barbarossa, the attack against the Soviet Union, while he dealt with Yugoslavia. On April 6, without a declaration of war, the German air force attacked the undefended city of Belgrade while the army poured across the frontier. On April 17, the Yugoslav army surrendered to the Germans. The Simovic government fled the country. They reached London in June and set up a government in exile which pledged itself to continue the struggle. The Axis established Ante Pavelic, the founder and leader of the Ustashi, as ruler (Poglavnik) of an independent state of Croatia.

Paragraph 4. On April 10 1941, the German army entered Zagreb, the Capital of Croatia. The Independent State of Croatia was proclaimed by Slavko Kvaternik (Secretary of State, and Zagreb Head of Police) who had entered with the German army. Following this proclamation. Archbishop Stepinac, on behalf of his clergy congratulated Kvaternik on the victory. Instructions on collaboration with the Germans were issued over the radio and people who were in any doubt as to what to do were told to contact the Catholic Parish Office in their district. A proclamation from Macek, the leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, was also broadcast over Radio Zagreb and printed in the newspapers (e.g. Hrvatski Narod, April 10 1941) in which he called on the Croatian people to submit to the new government and for the members of the Croatian Peasant party to support the new government.

When Ante Pavelic arrived in Zagreb on April 13, dressed in Italian Blackshirt uniform and accompanied by an Italian Tank escort and Ustasha bodyguards, he went straight to German army headquarters, where he received his orders signed by Marshall Von Keitel on behalf of Hitler. The next day Archbishop Stepinac congratulated Pavelic for his efforts and that night he gave Pavelic and his followers a grand banquet. The newspapers published photographs of the occasion, showing Catholic ecclesiastical robes mingled with Nazi, Fascist and Ustasha uniforms, celebrating the conquest of Yugoslavia and the independence of Croatia.

Paragraph 5. Resistance to the Axis occupiers was quickly organised. Colonel Mihailovic, a staunch

Serbiarr patriot, organised bands of Chetnik (cetnici) guerillas. In January 1942, the government in exile named him Minister of War and Commander in Chief of the royal armies in Yugoslavia. After the German attack on the USSR in June 1941, a second resistance movement developed under the direction of the illegal Yugoslav Communist Party. Its Secretary General, a Croat named Josip Broz (Tito) directed the operations of irregular units called Partisans against the invaders. Fighting under the slogan "Death to Fascism, liberty to the people" the Partisans welcomed all Yugoslav nationalities (Serbs, Croats, Slovenes) to its ranks and pursued a policy of maximum resistance to the Axis. Mihailovic and Tito met several times in late 1941 but they failed to agree on common operations against the occupiers. In November 1941, sporadic fighting broke out between the two resistance movements. Tito's forces grew rapidly and peoples councils (odborni) were set up in liberated territory. In November 1942, an anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) was established under Communist leadership. Until 1943, the Allied powers recognised Mihailovic as head of the Yugoslav resistance, however when reports were received that Mihailovic's subordinates had aligned themselves with the Italian Fascists the Allies shifted their support to Tito. In November 1943, AVNOJ established a Yugoslav provisional government headed by Tito. At the Teheran Conference (Nov 28—Dec 1, 1943) it was decided to provide major material aid to Tito's movement. In 1944 German rule began to crumble. Belgrade was liberated on October 20 by the Soviet army and the Partisans. Tito's Communists established themselves in political and military control of the country.

The last sentence in paragraph 5 in his letter tells us more about Fr. O'Sullivan than about Croatia. It is interesting—although hardly surprising—that Fr. O'Sullivan (like his superiors in the Vatican) supports the Ustashi cause. He says "The Croatian government in self defence was obliged to resist these forces (Chetniks and Partisans) which were supported from without by Soviet arms and also by the Western powers". In other words Fr. O'Sullivan has sympathies for the Catholic Ustashi regime but none for the State of Yugoslavia or putting it more bluntly. Catholic interests first and state interests second. The same common denominator links the IRA, the ASIO and our own SIS.

Paragraph 6. The force of circumstance referred to by Fr. O'Sullivan put Yugoslavia, rather than Croatia, on the side of the Axis. In August 1939, an autonomous province (Banovina) of Croatia was established, with its own parliament (Sabor). The governor of Croatia was Subasic, who was a follower of Macek. Recall that Macek, the leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, appealed for collaboration with the Germans on April 10 1941. Furthermore, in the years before the war, Pavelic sent Ustashi propagandists into Yugoslavia to spread the Ustashi message, and after the German invasion in April 1941, many of the Ustashis who had infiltrated the civil and military administration came out into the open as key figures, sabotaging the Yugoslav war effort and collaborating with the Germans. In other words. Croatia's alignment with the Axis was planned and was not the result of pressure as in the case of the Yugoslav government.

Paragraph 7. After the German and Italian carve-up of Yugoslavia, the new Independent State of Croatia was enlarged to include the former province of Croatia together with the former province of Bosnia-Herzegovina which contained over two million Serbs. The population of the new state was approximately 6,700,000, consisting of 3,300,000 Croats, over 2,000,000 Serbs, 700,000 Moslems, 45,000 Jews and other sundry minorities. The area of the new state was about the same as that of the North Island of New Zealand.

The statistics used by Fr. O'Sullivan cover the seventeen year period from 1931 to 1948, and tend to conceal the figures that we are concerned with, namely the deaths between 1941 and 1945. The figure of 940,000 Serbs murdered is the highest estimate. The lowest estimate is 600,000 which came from the London government in exile. In addition, about 300,000 Serbs were deported and another 240,000 were converted "without the slightest pressure and with deep seated conviction with regard to the truths of the Catholic faith". About 100,000 Croat workers were sent to Germany, while others were conscripted for service in the Eastern Front. About 30,000 Jews were killed by the Ustashi.

Paragraph 9. There is another side to this story that Fr. O'Sullivan prefers not to disclose. Briefly it is as follows: In early 1945, with the collapse of Croatia fast approaching, Pavelic and Stepinac began to reorganise the Ustashi armies with the aim of (1) preventing the collapse of Ustashi Croatia, and (2) resisting and if possible destroying Tito's Central Yugoslav Government. However there was insufficient time, and as a final desperate move, Pavelic placed the Ustashi government under the control of Stepinac. At the end of April 1945, the Ustashi loot was buried in the Archbishop's Palace in Zagreb. There were cases of gold nuggets, also rings, jewellery, gold watches, gold dentures and fillings wrenched from the jaws of the massacred victims, also cases of silver. The archives of the defunct state, e.g. films, records of Pavelic's speeches, files of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs etc. were also hidden in the Archbishop's Palace.

FIZZ!

The main Ustashi leaders and about 500 priests fled with the retreating German army. Those Ustashi who remained in Yugoslavia, instead of disbanding, became guerillas and their new enemy was Tito's Central

Yugoslav (Communist) government which had replaced the former Yugoslav kingdom. Their new terrorist activities were again cloaked in innocent sounding religious organisations, e.g. the Crusaders, whose aim was to rise and overthrow the government, or in Ustashi language, to "liberate the Croatian people". Their activities included sabotage and the assassination of officials of the new Yugoslav government—carried out with Stepinac's approval. Stepinac established contact with the scattered armed bands of the Ustashi, directing priests and monks to act as liason with them. These holy men-travelled through out the country keeping the illegal Crusader groups in communication with one another. They reported their positions, strength and equipment to Stepinac in Zagreb. He forwarded these reports to the Vatican, which in turn forwarded them to the USA. It was hoped that the USA would start World War III and invade Yugoslavia so that an independent Catholic state of Croatia could once again emerge as in World War II.

The Yugoslav government decided to solve the problem tactfully by removing Stepinac without disturbing the religious hornet's nest, and approach Pope Pius XII requesting the Archbishop's removal from Zagreb. The Pope meanwhile was already preparing for the "cold war" in which religion was to be used to stir up emotional hatred for political ends, and for this process Archbishop Stepinac was to become a pawn. The Vatican ordered Archbishop Stepinac to carry on with the Ustasha guerilla activities. The Yugoslav government waited for four months without receiving any reply. Meanwhile the War Crimes Commission produced its evidence concerning Archbishop Stepinac, and on September 18 1946 he was arrested. In order to avoid religious complications inside and outside Yugoslavia, Stepinac was tried in Zagreb by a jury consisting entirely of Catholics, and on October 11 1946 the court sentenced Archbishop Stepinac to sixteen years imprisonment.

The Vatican uttered a cry of horror which was amplified a thousandfold by the Catholic hierarchies, Catholic organisations and the Catholic press the world over, and the Pope ordered the excommunication of all those Catholics who had taken part in the trial. The Pope also set in motion the vast machinery of Catholic propaganda which flooded the world with falsifications and distortions. Overnight, Stepinac the authoritarian leader, political plotter, politician, promoter of forcible conversions, tolerator and instigator of Ustashi massacres and Ustashi resistance leader, was made to appear as Stepinac the defender of true democracy, the most holy Archbishop, the courageous champion of religious freedom, the persecuted and the martyr. Millions swallowed the Catholic version.

This version was echoed by newspapers, magazines and radio. Religious and political leaders joined in the chorus. Foreign Offices, Heads of States, and whole governments of Catholic and non-Catholic countries protested against the "Communist persecution of religion". Questions were heatedly asked in the British House of Commons, in the French, Italian and Belgian Chambers of Deputies and in the American House of Representatives and Senate. President Truman was subjected to tremendous pressure to intervene in Yugoslavia on behalf of the "martyred Stepinac". Three years later, in 1949, the same process was repeated with Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary. The emotional mass distortion engineered in the Vatican soon yielded its poisonous harvest, not in the religious field but in the political field: the "cold war" of the 1950's became a reality and split the world into two opposing hostile camps. Capitalism and Communism, the former claiming to be Christian and the latter claiming to be Atheistic. This is one of the many illustrations of the methods of the Vatican, namely the promotion of contemporary religious superstition for political purposes.

Paragraph 10. Fr. O'Sullivan's comment that Pavelic was in Rome and not in the Vatican is fair enough. It is worth looking at the methods used in Pavelic's escape because they were also used by many other Catholic criminals. After the Ustashi had been placed in the hands of Stepinac, Pavelic and Artukovic (Ustashi Minister of Internal Affairs) went into hiding in the Convent of St. Gilgin near Salzburg. Pavelic was later arrested near the city of Linz in Austria by the British, but through some mysterious Intervention—political not spiritual—disappeared. He later turned up in Rome dressed as a priest and using the names Fr. Gomez and Fr. Bcnarez, lived in a monastery which had the privelege of extra-territoriality. In November 1948 he embarked on an Italian boat bound for Buenos-Aires (Argentina). His passport was issued by the International Red Cross in Rome 5 July 1948, in the name of Pablo Aranyos. Pavelic obtained this passport with the assistance of Ustasha Colonel Fr. K. Draganovic who was in the Institute of St. Jerome and who had connections in the Pontifical Assistance Commission. Artukovic was captured and interned in a camp for suspected war criminals. He escaped and obtained from the Pontifical Commission a passport in the name of Alois Anic. He fled to Ireland then to Los Angeles. He resisted successfully the attempts to extradite him in 1958 but on the basis of further evidence, immigration officials began another investigation in October 1976.

Paragraph 11. Fr. O'Sullivan denies that Archbishop Stepinac acted with the approval of the Pope, and says of Stepinac, "His superior in Rome was the Pope who did not lend approval to murder' This sort of hogwash has credibility only to the simple minded. In fact the Pope was well aware of what was going on in Croatia. As well as receiving information from the German and Italian representatives to the Vatican, he received continual reports from other reliable sources, namely Archbishop Stepinac, The Papal Legate, Pavelic's envoy to the Vatican and Cardinal Tisserand.

And what of the Holy Father?

On 18 May 1941, Pope Pius XII granted audience to the Ustashi General Staff. On 14 July 1941, Pope Pius received Monsignor Janko Simrak, naming him Bishop of Krizevci. This dedicated assistant on the Committee for Conversion [*unclear: of*] Orthodox Christians was also decorated by [*unclear: vlic*] with the "Grand Cross and Star", which was accompanied by this citation: "For his devoted service among his clergy and flock and for his sincere collaboration with the State authorities in true Ustashi spirit.

On 1 January 1943, the Pope sent a telegram to Pavelic thanking him for his good wishes: "For all that you have expressed to US both in your own name and that of the Croatian Catholics. We thank you and joyfully send the apostolic benediction to you and to the Croatian people ", In March 1943, on the anniversary of the enthronement of Pope Plus XII there was another exchange of good wishes. Then on 5th June 1943.' Pavelic sent the Pope his congratulations, and the Pope Replied cordially. "Praying God for the happiness of the Croatian people". (The serbs and Jews massacred by the Ustashis were obviously not included in these good wishes).

In March 1944, the Pope sent the following telegram to Pavelic: "The wishes which you and the Croatian people have expressed to Us, upon the occasion of the fifth anniversary of Our Pontificate, are very dear to Us, and We pray that God may bless you with His most gracious gifts".

There is enough material here, I think, to show that the Pope was not at all concerned about lending approval to murder—provided it is carried out for the Catholic cause.

Finally I wish to address the Roman Catholic Chaplin. Fr. O'Sullivan. I challenge you to take part in a public debate with me, to take place on the University campus during the third term in which we expand our respective discussions. In other words you can whitewash the issue while I lift the lid off and let Catholic and non-Catholic alike Inhale the stench. You have taken it upon yourself to act as spokesman for the 1000 odd 1 Catholic students at Victoria University, so you are naturally committed to accepting my challenge.

On the other hand, if you submit to Salient, a note from one of your superiors confirming the essential correctness of my discussion, then I am prepared to withdraw my challenge. I await your reply in these columns of Salient.

Donald J. Beswick.

## Zimbabwe

Dear Sir,

The struggle continues for command of our land  
Black people fight—Black  
People die—for the freedom  
Of all non-white people.

So fight they must for a country  
Called Zimbabwe where they can Live.  
Zimbabwe is hope for the millions who  
Should be allowed to live free.

Bow to your knees and pray  
To God for the strength of Zimbabwe to overcome  
The illegal White domination, and be:  
Master of its own destiny.

White racist and Black patriots  
Race for control of our land.

Yours,

Richard Trevors.

## Forum complaint

Dear David,

I would like to congratulate you for the principled way in which you dealt with my Ad. for the NZUSA Forum which I submitted for the last issue of Salient. I know the temptation must have been great for you to run the ad as it was, seeing that I had typeset it and laid it out myself and it required no work at all on your part. However I am pleased to see that you stuck to your guns and did not allow a trivial issue such as the democracy of our national student body to enroach upon the seven pages that you required for your articles on international affairs. In fact the whole affair has made me realise just how foolish I was to expect that a student paper should actually advertise student events and help the Students' Association and NZUSA to keep in touch with its members. After all what student is interested in such trivial issues as bursaries, dentistry, student welfare or workloads? And what student really cares if NZUSA is actually doing anything about them? In fact, as you so correctly pointed out in last week's stunning editorial, most students are more interested in the issues which affect their own welfare such as East Timor, the Middle East and the sup attitude to Elvis. Therefore I am pleased to see that although you submitted to the temptation to actually run my Ad. you wisely allocated it so little space that it had to be mutilated and made nonsensical in order to fit. Keep up the good work.

Yours obsequiously,

Neil Pearce.

## Rejoinder to Leo Durden

Dear David,

I protest at the hypocrisy of this Leo Durden character (if there is such a person) who claims to be President of the Jewish Students Society.

He claims that he is concerned about NZUSA'S ownership of the IATA travel agency because it sells travel to South Africa. Where was this person when the Anti-apartheid campaigners needed him? Probably sipping Sabra with the Israeli Ambassador while reading over the details of the latest arms deal between Israel and South Africa!

Why doesn't 'Leo Durden' come out in the open and tell the world of his real intentions in attacking NZUSA. Why doesn't he say that the real reason he hates NZUSA is because they have a policy supporting the right of the landless Palestinian people to have their own homeland—without being second-class citizens as the few left in Israel are now.

'Leo Durden' is trying to appeal to progressive students by saying how bad it is that NZUSA owns an IATA agency so that they will think he is progressive and will therefore be more inclined to believe what he and his fellow Zionist say on the Middle East question..

In actual fact 'Leo Durden' wholeheartedly supports Israel and its government's policies. These include

considerable trade links with South Africa, not to mention the military tie-up between the two countries. How many people realise that a South African pilot flying an Israeli Jet-fighter was shot down by the Egyptians in the 1973 'Yon Kippur' war? I bet 'Leo Durden knows that—yet have' we heard one skerrick of criticism by him of the Israeli government associations with South Africa?

Of course we haven't. The Reason? Because 'Leo Durden' doesn't mind South Africa and its apartheid policies at all; in fact he rather likes the Israeli method of apartheid as it applies to

Palestinians in their occupied homeland.

Let's get rid of your hypocrisy 'Leo Durden'!

David G. Macpherson.

PS. This letter is strictly my personal view, and has nothing whatsoever to do with my Job.

## MacIntyre not Simpson

Dear David,

I am not impressed with your attempt to change my name as the author of the article on that fascist Israeli Ambassador Morris.

My name is MacIntyre, not Simpson—I am no relation to the academic. Dr Ron MacIntyre who spoke in support of the dispossessed Palestinian people.

Furthermore, I think you should unreservedly apologise for your stupidity—I am not scared of debate with these right-wing Zionists, even if you are!

Up yours with disgust (and offal, too; if you're the freak Up there that's into that sort of thing).

Grant Donald MacIntyre

(Salient hereby apologises for what was a genuine error on the part of our sub-editors—Ed).

## DYF replies

Dear David,

In reply to Jane Connors report in Salient No 21 on the Democratic Youth Front's meeting held at Trades Hall on July 10, I would like to make the following comments.

The invitation for the meeting was extended through an advertisement in the Evening Post to all young and interested people. The fact that some Chilean parents brought their children is not really an issue Ken Douglas and Rob Campbell were invited to speak on Socialism in NZ and the need for a Democratic Youth movement. If Jane Connor was disturbed that questions on the Soviet Union in regard to NZ were not discussed at length, then I must point out that the theme of the meeting was to look at ways of building United action for socialism in NZ. Should Ms Connor consider facilitating such a forum to discuss this particular issue I'm sure there are many people willing to debate on our fishing industry. Rob Campbell in reply to the question of fishing did suggest that he was patriotic enough to hope for a State run fishing industry owned by the NZ people.

The challenge to debate China's position in relation to Chile was not accepted, but to be considered. I'm sure the gentleman concerned would agree with that. I would also point out that the screening of a Soviet film on Corvalan's life up to the time of the fascist coup was aimed to give some educational value; had there been a Chinese or USA film on the same subject we would have been happy to screen it.

Finally because the DYF does not get into a slinging match against the Soviet Union but prefers to work on a broad based United Front towards socialism does not mean we are anti-NZ.

Yours

Bernie O'Brien for DYF.

## Middle East debate continues

Dear Editor,

**SWOOSH!**

I am getting rather sick of reading the glaringly biased articles you allow to be published about the Middle East situation which are completely (and moronically) anti Israel and pro-Palestinian. And last week another one came out entitled "Turning the truth on its head". Well. I must say the writer managed to do that quite adequately.

Quoting from the article: "The Palestinians have always wanted their own state since the British Mandate—It is not for the Israelis to say that they could not have it". The Israelis never said that they could not have it: in fact it is the Palestinians who say that the Jews have no right to a state of their own in Palestine and this is the PLO policy today.

In 1947 the UN decided to divide Palestine, half for the Arabs and half for the Jews. The Jews agreed, the Arabs didn't. Instead, when the state of Israel was declared, on the part of Palestine given to the Jews, the surrounding Arab countries sent in their armies to destroy it. Lucidly they did not succeed. Ever since then the Arabs have repeatedly tried to achieve this goal and still do not recognise that Israel has a right to exist. .

With this quote: "Hitler said that Jews had no right to live in Germany, even though they had been born there! ", the writer implied that Israel considers that Palestinians have no right to live in Palestine. In fact the half million Israeli Arabs have full legal rights just like all other Israeli citizens and live harmoniously together. There are no discriminatory laws against Israeli Arabs..

I think that the writer should go to Israel and see the real facts with his own eyes, before making himself an authority on the subject and trying to convince others of his opinions.

I hope that in the future Salient will be a little more responsible in what it allows to be published.

Ron Avrahami.

## **Talking in the library—a constant source of annoyance.**

Dear David,

This letter is written about a certain group of students who use the 4th floor of the library every day and night. They sit, unfortunately on the same side as me by the city windows, near the black tower toward Cotton. I have no intention of moving because the books I need are on these shelves and telling the librarian won't work. The actual complaint is that they make far too much noise and sometimes they don't even attempt to whisper. If they want to talk they should go either to the cafeteria or to a discussion room on the 5th floor. I know I'm not the only one who has to prepare for terms essays and assignments and it just can't be done in a cafeteria type atmosphere. Please lets keep the library, at least, a silent sanctuary for every one to use.

4th floor student.

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