

## Tour Demonstration:

### 'Won't Listen to any Arguments'

—NZRFU Secretary

*"A matter now of kicking people around—rather than a football."*

That was how Neil Wright, speaking at an anti-tour rally last Friday, described the tour of South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa by the All Blacks.

Most of those who had been at the All Black trials regarded the tour as just a matter of kicking a football around, he said. In fact, it was people who were on the receiving end of the boot.

Mr Wright was one of several who spoke to about 180 Victoria University students who had marched through the city to the Rugby Union headquarters in Post Office Square.

Other speakers included NZUSA President Paul Grocott and a waterside worker.

There was no doubt, said Mr Grocott, that the vast majority of New Zealand students was against the tour.

"I'm here representing not only myself, but 30,000 others;" he said,

Mr Grocott, Victoria President Margaret Bryson and Bill Logan then presented a petition to the Rugby Union Secretary, Mr Morgan. The petition was accepted but Mr Morgan said he would not listen to any arguments, an attitude, Mr Logan later told the gathering, typical of the Rugby Union

### ***Blowing for a cause.***

### 'Too many poor teachers'

New Zealand universities may have more poor teachers than they ought to have, according to Victoria University Council Member and former Wellington Teachers College Principal, Mr Walter Scott.

Speaking at an NZUSA Seminar at Victoria University on May 30, Mr Scott referred to the problem of lecturers and professors who "cannot give a coherent and audible lecture."

Mr Scott argued that the lecture system, buttressed by the atmosphere of the university, protects the poor teacher from the pitiless exposure suffered by his counterparts in the primary and secondary schools, but the failure it helps to concede is equally serious.

"Faced with the obvious fact that some do become good teachers and some don't, the university authorities; still do little to help the lecturer in difficulties.

"So far as I know, no regular system of helping inexperienced members of staff to master the simpler fundamentals of teaching has anywhere been established, though in-service training within departments would be relatively easy to institute."

Mr Scott referred to the 50-minute lecture as the universities standard method of instruction and suggested, that some of the lectures students receive are "dull, sad failures".

A large number of lectures, he suggested, "are reasonably successful expositions of matter already well presented in available textbooks, but are welcomed by many students because the exposition by the lecturer; does give them a clearer understanding of the subject, and they know they are getting a useful amount of examinable material.

Other lectures, Mr Scott noted, though breaking no new ground, are infused with the passion and sincerity of the dedicated scholar; and a few lectures are the utterances of acute and original minds grappling with fundamental principles or elucidating new, difficult ideas,

Because of the preponderance of the expository lecture, Mr Scott argued, it is important "to have competent, effective lecturers to deliver it lecturers with audible, well-produced voices, a confident and compelling manner, their material couched in sentences framed for speaking lecturers able to use every legitimate means to command attention.

"I am sure that an in-service scheme, under which the raw recruit received advice, instruction, and kindly criticism from an expert colleague, and he and his fellows met, with and without an expert, to talk over their

problems, their successes and failures, would, if it were institute effect a great improvement in short time."

## A Costly Stunt

Students involved in a stunt during Capping Week have been 'charged' \$33 by the Executive.

The stunt concerned involved the placing of an old car at the bottom of the Cable Car. The car was subsequently removed by the City Council.

The Executive met to consider the question of a bill for \$51.50 from the Wellington City Council Transport Department for removal of the car. The Executive moved into committee to discuss the matter.

It was resolved that "this Association advise the Wellington City Corporation Traffic Department that it will meet the costs of the capping incident involving the Cable Car but that we accept no liability or responsibility for the incident."

The Executive also agreed "that the persons involved in the Cable Car stunt be charged \$33." The minutes of the meeting record that "Graeme Sutherland presented a cheque for \$33 on behalf of those involved in the stunt."

In attendance at the meeting while it was in committee and given speaking rights were John Mowbray, Graeme Sutherland, Keith Watson, Debbie Wilson, B.W. Edwards, Chris Hamson and G. Shanahan.

Note: We are unable to ascertain why "those involved in the stunt" were "charged" \$33. We regret that this news story does not make the matter very clear. Why this should be so is a question which readers might care to address to the members of the Executive, who have considered this and a number of other questions in committee recently and have made it impossible for us to adequately report matters which-in our opinion-need not have been discussed in secret.

Friday 12.45 p.m.

## More Vocational Guidance Needed?

Students and employers should be better informed about the knowledge, capabilities and potential of graduate in particular subjects, according to Victoria University's Professor of Management Accounting, Professor GJ. Schmitt.

At the Association of University Teachers' Seminar at Auckland in May, Professor Schmitt argued that the country spends hundreds of millions of dollars on education, and spends almost nothing on guiding the use which the community makes of the system.

This situation is analogous to that of a firm making a variety of goods, with frequent changes of quality, design, and end use, which does no advertising and gives no operating instructions to those who buy its products

"At present we rely on a very few vocational guidance officer, careers advisers and liaison officers to aid decisions. But, very largely, young people make up their own minds from limited knowledge of possibilities, haphazardly obtained, and influenced by the out-of-date, incomplete and inevitably biased knowledge and opinions of parents and friends.

"Employers, similarly, have little to guide them as to what are the qualities of the graduates and others that they hire-how frequently we hear complaints of the new graduate's preparation for day-to-day practical work."

Professor Schmitt suggested that the major requirement seems to be a massive and continuing programme of public information.

"Such a programme would have to be based on thorough research and forecasting of future needs, involving sound and imaginative appreciation of changes likely during coming decades in the level and nature of skills and attributes that various vocations will demand," Professor Schmitt said.

### Separate Development

Proposals for desegregation of toilets have been buried.

At an SRC meeting of 2 June, Association President Margaret Bryson, in moving that the policy on desegregation of the Student Union Building's toilets be abandoned, said that the plumbing regulations prohibited the proposal

## Salient

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## Cancel it

Published on this page is the text of submissions made by NZUSA to the Parliamentary Petitions Committee on the proposed All Black Tour of South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa.

We endorse the views expressed in the NZUSA statement without reservation—New Zealand's continued association with South Africa and Rhodesia should be a matter of shame to all of us. Protesters against continued sporting contacts with South Africa and Rhodesia may not be successful this time. But they will be eventually.

## A decent place to live? . . . Man, you aiming for the *moon*.

## Aw Shucks!

"I can't get any sports coverage in Salient."

"There's only one thing open for you to do. We as the Exec can't do anything so what you must do is have an SGM because they passed a motion earlier in the year saying that more consideration must be given to sport."

"Well, last week I couldn't get Miniature Rifles results in."

"Oh well, the only thing is a motion of no confidence in the Editor."

"Ah, but that will put us in the pooh because we haven't got another editor."

"Don't worry about that—we'll get somebody."

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## The Tour: NZUSA'S Case

## Honourable Members:

1. I would like first to emphasise the complete support of the New Zealand University Students Association for the efforts being made by the Halt All Racist Tours organisation (H.A.R.T.) and others to bring about the cancellation of the proposed 1970 All Black Tour. NZUSA is proud to acknowledge its close association with Hart, and since the National Chairman of Hart is now a Vice-President of NZUSA, we hope that this association will become even closer.

2. It is also clear to NZUSA that our total opposition to the Tour is the result of our rejection of all that apartheid entails. We recognise too that our opposition has matured in recent years, to the extent that we now feel no satisfaction whatsoever in the latest concessions granted by the South African Government (namely the agreement to include non-Europeans in the All Black team).

To us the question of the treatment of New Zealanders visiting South Africa is not our priority concern. Rather we are concerned with the treatment of South Africans inside their own country, especially when this treatment varies depending on the race of the person involved. This is the racism which we abhor and vehemently oppose at every opportunity. It is also the racism which we detect in the recent statement made by the South African Consul to New Zealand, Mr Philip, following his meeting with Sir Tuhi Carroll. NZUSA condemns Mr Philip's statement and we deplore his attempts to curry favour from Maori people, particularly some Maori leaders. We urge total condemnation by all New Zealanders, in practice as well as in theory, of the apartheid policies which Mr Philip represents to us in this country.

3. This committee has already heard at length several submissions in support of this petition, and I have no intention of repeating these. Generally NZUSA endorses the supporting comments that have already been made. There are two points, however, I would like to make. The first concerns the situation in South Africa. We would like to say that the weight of the evidence we have received from African students, nationalists, student leaders in South Africa, friends still living there, and (far from least) the South African Government itself, the weight of their evidence indicates the All Black Tour will effect little or no change on the practice of apartheid in South Africa. We disagree entirely that the African people in any of the countries concerned will benefit at all from having an accredited, racially-mixed, All Black team visit their country.

We would like to quote from a letter recently received from a coloured South African:

*We of black and off-white skins here in South Africa are of course in agreement with any demonstration anywhere against the inhuman policy of apartheid practised so energetically, so lovingly by South Africa. Therefore we agree with the recent demonstrations in Britain, and disagree with a tour by your All Blacks, though we love rugby.*

*Blacks, though we love Rugby.*

*The way we reason is this: By not coming you help to at least show your disapproval of apartheid. You help to isolate South Africa in sport (and that does hurt them). From isolation in sport other isolations may "grow", thereby, one day, forcing a change on South Africa. By coming you show an implied approval at least, and a "we don't care" and "blow you Jack, we're alright" attitude which hurts.*

*You also, by coming show you are willing to enjoy the rights of free men the world over—while your black brothers are denied these rights. In the case of Maoris, this is an insult to their intelligence as, in effect, they have only been granted a temporary and superficial "permit", which would be denied them under ordinary conditions. "*

Hence we feel the greatest chance for forcing peaceful change in South Africa is by imposing isolation. "No man is an island". Perhaps when the European South Africans realise that virtually the entire world condemns their political practices, practical politics will bring about a revision of their apartheid policies. At present New Zealand (and rugby) is one of South Africa's few remaining "white hopes". We dare not allow apartheid to survive on that hope.

4. Despite my emphasis on the situation in South Africa, to a certain extent what is happening outside South Africa is even more important. The international implications of New Zealand's sporting contracts with South Africa seem to have been ignored or misunderstood by the present Government. To some people, the pressures which the nations of the Third World are exerting upon those who associate with South Africa are virtual blackmail. To us, blackmail or no, these pressures represent political realities. New Zealand has now to choose between continuing relations of any sort with South Africa, and maintaining any friendship ties at all with the under-developed nations of the Third World. To choose the former is international political suicide. The sooner the New Zealand Government can appreciate this fact, the better. Although New Zealanders may know that the All Black tour is not a sign that we condone apartheid or that the New Zealand Rugby Football Union is racist, in the eyes of the Third World both of these are true if we continue this close association with South Africa.

5. What we are all asking the House of Representatives to do therefore is to make it clear to ourselves, to South Africa and to the world that this tour is not a sign of friendship between South Africa and New Zealand. Where there is injustice there can be no friendship. The New Zealand Government must make it clear to all concerned that New Zealand will have no truck with racism in South Africa. Statements before the United Nations are not enough. In our minds any suggestion that the tour has the Government's support will destroy our credibility in international circles. As our Members of Parliament we are asking you to curtail all official contacts with the tour, to publicly dissociate yourselves and the New Zealand people you represent from it, and even to recommend to the New Zealand Rugby Football Union that to continue with the tour will prejudice

New Zealand's international role for some time to come.

6. To us then the choice is clear: New Zealanders have to choose between contact with South Africa and the principles our Prime Minister proclaims from time to time before the United Nations. To choose both, as we appear to be doing at present, is to compromise our effectiveness as a nation working for the issues that concern us most and should have our priority attention. To remain silent, is to opt for the status quo—a status quo which names us as one of the few friends South Africa has left. For ourselves, we condemn apartheid in politics, apartheid in sport, apartheid wherever it occurs. And we wholeheartedly agree with Bishop Gowing that, "What we think about the Rugby Tour depends on what we think about racism". The issues are clear. We are asking you to take a stand.

P.H. Grocott President: NZUSA

## ***"School dropout, no doubt."***

## **Letter to the Editor**

### **Capping Ball**

Sir,

I note in the last issue of Salient a reference to Mr H.M. Fay having been asked to attend the Executive meeting at which the incidents at the Capping Ball were investigated. Your article mentions that Mike Fay was one of five doormen denied wages after the Heart Beat Ball held last year. As you mention, these wages were denied because the doormen, as a group, were totally unsatisfactory. Certain of the doormen were involved in incidents of drunkenness, glass throwing, assault etc. and, because of the large number of people coming in without tickets it was suggested that some of the doormen may have pocketed funds.

However, I feel that I must, in all fairness, point out that Mr Fay was never connected specifically with any of the incidents mentioned, and there was never any suggestion that he was involved in assault, theft or glass throwing. I must also point out that he was requested to attend the Executive meeting mentioned because he is a member of the Social Committee and was present at the Capping Ball, as were the others listed in Salient, I hope that this clears up any imputation that people may have taken from this article.

Margaret Bryson

(Editor's note: The President, in stating that "there was never any suggestion that he (Mr Fay) was involved in assault, theft or glass throwing", substantially clears Mr Fay of association with the drunkenness, assault, vandalism and suspected theft of which the doormen at the Heart Beat Ball were accused. We should make it clear that Miss Bryson's interpretation of the situation which would appear to run counter to that of the Executive of which she was a member—was not known to us at the time of publication of the last issue of Salient. On the basis of Miss Bryson's letter, we apologise for any inference which readers may have drawn to the effect that Mr. Fay was involved in throwing glasses, in assault or in theft at the Heart Beat Ball last year.)

## **Procesh abolished by SRC**

Procesh has been abolished by the SRC.

In moving a motion "that Procesh be abolished" at an SRC meeting on 28 May, Association President Margaret Bryson said that Procesh was a disgrace and that both students and the public were tired of it.

Miss Bryson said that claims for damage arising from Procesh totalling nearly \$1000 had been received. "We still do not know whether to pay them" she said.

No speakers opposed the motion which was passed by 103 votes to 74.

Commenting on the decision, the Social Controller, John Mowbray, said that it could not be regarded as final, and would have to be made again next year by the SRC or its equivalent. He added that, as he was

misinformed of the position of the motion on the agenda, he did not have an opportunity to speak at the meeting.

Graeme Sutherland, 1970 Process Controller, said that the abolition of Process itself was unjustified but that the SRC was justified in making the move in view of the vandalism after Process. He felt that, because of this damage, the decision was inevitable.

## Titchener's speech 'a lot of eyewash' says O'Brien

*"A lot of eyewash"*

That was the description given by the Pro-Chancellor, K.B O'Brien, of a claim by Professor A.L. Titchener of Auckland University that general Arts degrees should be given more vocational emphasis.

Mr O'Brien's remarks were made at a meeting of the University Council on 25 May. Mr O'Brien moved "That this Council inform Professor Titchener of the University of Auckland that however accurate his reported utterances of 21 May about causes of alleged waste in universities may be in respect of some situation in his own university in which he as a senior academic has presumably been in a position of influence for some years it considers him not competent to speak on these questions about the university system in New Zealand as a whole and furthermore that it repudiates these utterances as far as this university is concerned".

Professor Titchener, speaking at a seminar in Auckland organised by the Association of University Teachers, was reported to have alleged that a sizeable section of the university is wasting the taxpayers money.

"I wish I could say," said Professor Titchener, "with my hand on my heart and looking the Minister of Finance straight in the eye that our universities were fulfilling their role of serving the community to the uppermost limit consistent with their pursuit of knowledge".

Professor Titchener, Professor of Chemical and Material Engineering at Auckland University, said he would like to see universities introduce a range of degree structures solidly grounded in arts and sciences but with clear vocational ends.

"I think the need is overdue," he said, "and I think large numbers of students as well as employers would welcome such a change. Doing this would, moreover, combine the activities, of arts and science departments with those of professional skills", said, "and I think large numbers of students as well as employers would welcome such a change. Doing this would, moreover, combine the activities, of arts and science departments with those of professional skills". Mr O'Brien, expressing annoyance at Professor Titchener's reported statements, claimed that if anything was irrelevant to New Zealand at the moment it was Professor Titchener's remarks. He denied that Victoria University was guilty of a waste of public money.

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Professor I.D. Campbell, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, reported to the Council that he had attended the Seminar at which Professor Titchener had spoken. "Professor Titchener did not at any stage purport to speak for anyone but himself," Professor Campbell said. "It would be unfortunate if this Council should jump in the air over this issue".

Quoting Professor Titchener's comment in his paper that the views he was putting forward were 'personal' ones, Professor Campbell argued that the first thing a University Council should ensure is freedom and frankness of expression. Professor Campbell read out sections of the paper by Professor Titchener which was under discussion and pointed out that newspaper and television coverage had concentrated only on the most outspoken sections.

The Council, after lengthy discussion, resolved that the Vice-Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor should study the information available and issue a press statement later.

Note : The full text of Professor Titchener's speech is published in this issue of Salient, together with a comment by Mr O'Brien.

## ***Escorting from the field?***

## **Are they Yes Men? Like Hell they are**

"No" to the All Black Tour of South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa.

"No" to the raising of Lake Manapouri.

"No" to the legalisation of the controlled use of marijuana.

These are the results of a poll of 3777 Canterbury University students conducted by the Canterbury Students' Association.

The sample represents 56% of the University's student population.

On the Tour issue, the vote was split into 56.6% against and 43.4% for. The difference between the poll for and against was approximately 800 votes

78% of the Canterbury students were opposed to the raising of Lake Manapouri, with 22% in favour of raising the Lake. The difference in the figures for and against was approximately 2000 votes.

Only 39.4% of the Canterbury students polled were in favour of the legalisation of the controlled use of marijuana. 60.6% voted against legalisation. There was a difference of about 800 votes between for and against figures.

## ***Cappicade Conmen***

Some copies of Cappicade were sold to the public for up to 50 cents each.

This charge was made at an Executive meeting on 4 June by students who claimed to have been abused and assaulted by irate members of the public who had paid exorbitant prices for the magazine.

Students who made the complaint to the Executive said that two students had sold copies of Cappicade in the Taranaki district on the day prior to the authorised commencement of out-of-town selling. Copies of the magazine had been sold for up to 50 cents. When other Cappicade sellers arrived in the area on 7 May, they met with a rather hostile reception from the public.

This matter is to be discussed further at a meeting this afternoon.

## ***The Mad Dog Jook, Jug, and Wasbboard Band helping to raise \$35 for the Athletic Park demonstrators.***

## **Invalid Election**

An SRC election to fill a vacancy on the University Council was declared invalid last week.

At the election, held on 2 June, a number of people are believed to have voted more than once.

Candidates in the election were J.D. Barnett, Colin Knox and Denis Phelps. Provisional voting figures were: Barnett-52 votes; Knox-58 votes; and Phelps-57 votes.

A further election for the vacancy on the Council—which arose at the end of the term of office of current representative Denis Phelps was held on Monday. The result of that election were not known when this issue of Salient was sent to the printers. The three candidates for the vacancy who stood in the 2 June-election were all believed to have indicated their willingness to stand for election again.

## **Charity Collection**

Victoria students collected \$1264 for the Kimi Ora Cerebral Palsy School during Capping Week.

A cheque for this amount was presented to Mr Claude Huxford, Chairman of the Committee of the Kimi Ora School.

The money will be used to buy wheelchairs, tricycle trolley cars, books, electric typewriters and other equipment for the school's 25 children. It will also finance a trip to the South Island for the senior class next year. Mr Huxford said that the donation showed that there were two, sides to students "This is a tremendous effort on their part," he said.

The money collected this year exceed last year's total by nearly \$600.

Image of question marks

These questions and possibly others were expected to be put to Victoria students in a questionnaire yesterday. The results should be known within a week.

- Do you think that the All Blacks should tour South Africa and Rhodesia?
- Do you think that bursaries are adequate.
- Have you ever been to an SRC meeting?
- Do you think that the SRC is a worthwhile institution?
- Did you agree with the invasion of Cambodia by US troops?
- Have you ever read Focus?
- Do you think that Focus is a worthwhile magazine which Victoria should continue to support?
- Would you pay 10 cents for a copy of Focus?
- Do you think that the controlled use of marijuana should be legalised ?
- Do you think that Proceh should have been abolished?
- Does NZUSA have any value?

## Victoria to Leave NZUSA?

*Should the Students' Association withdraw from NZUSA?*

*That is the question as far as at least three members of a committee examining Victoria's role in NZUSA are concerned.*

*At a meeting of the Committee on 2 June, Colin Knox, the Chairman, Bob Campbell and Denis Phelps all expressed the view that the question at hand was whether or not Victoria should withdraw from the national student union.*

The Committee was established at the reconvened Annual General Meeting on 8 April. The motion concerned read as follows:

*"That a committee be set up to report to the SRC not later than 30 June 1970 on the Association's membership of and role in NZUSA with particular reference to:*

- *an analysis of the costs and benefits of membership, including a protection of future costs,*
- *the consideration of proposals for the financing of office accommodation for NZUSA; and*
- *the role and financing of Focus."*

The members of the Committee are Colin Knox (Chairman), Margaret Bryson, Leslie Jacobs, Graeme Collins, Denis Phelps, Gary Langford, Rob Campbell and Brian Hansen. (The first six members named are also current members of the Executive). The members of the Committee, Association President Margaret Bryson says, were appointed by the SRC even though no record of this can be found in minutes of the Council.

Lindsay Wright, Education Research Officer of NZUSA, spoke by invitation at a meeting of the Committee on 28 May. He was asked if the money spent on his research last year into the adequacy of student bursaries was justified in view of apparent student apathy on the question.

Mr Wright said that personally he felt it had been, but that he was, neither able to find out, nor was it his duty to find out if this was the case, and that this responsibility lay with the NZUSA Executive. He felt that his research generally tied in with the constitution and objects of NZUSA, but that his job could only be important as long as the student at local level feels that there is something to be gained.

With regard to his project for this year, a research paper entitled 'The Quality of University Learning and Teaching,' Mr Wright said that he thought that the subject was well worthy of a year's research. He explained that during the course of the year, he would write a number of monologues on various aspects of the subject which would be distributed to members of university staff. The first would include a questionnaire on the value of the pamphlets. He admitted however that their success would depend on the use which members of staff made of the suggestions.

In a separate discussion Mr Wright speaking as Distribution Manager of Focus, said that he felt that circulation could not be markedly improved, as all practicable methods of increasing revenue from actual sales had in fact been tried.

The function of NZUSA was also discussed. Mr Wright said in reply to questions that the function of the NZUSA Executive is to see that decisions made at Easter and August Councils are implemented, not to decide policy. Asked if he felt that NZUSA's activities were reaching students who are not closely involved in local or national student bodies, Mr Wright said "No matter how hard you feed information out, you can't force people to swallow it." He agreed that NZUSA would probably do a better job with more full time salaried executives and fewer honorary officers, if this were possible.

The committee met again on 2 June. Alan Jamieson, NZUSA Treasurer, was present, and was questioned on the suggested building for NZUSA. The NZUSA Executive has proposed the building of a 16-story office

block. Capital expenditure is to be recouped by means of rentals. It is hoped that a profit will be made. Mr Jamieson said that, in the long run, the building would improve NZUSA's financial position and, with increased office space, streamline the three major functions of NZUSA, which are the publication of Focus, the Student Travel Bureau and the Student Life Insurance Scheme. Mr Jamieson discussed possible ways and means of raising the money for the project. These ideas include a savings bank for students, with a marginally higher rate of interest than available elsewhere.

Focus was again discussed. Mr Jamieson, who is Business Manager of Focus, was asked by Margaret Bryson if there was any prospect of Focus becoming self-financing in the near future. He replied that he thought no improvement could be made in the financial position of Focus until it "got off the ground". In his view, the magazine has not been properly promoted.

Later in the meeting, Colin Knox proposed that the committee make a recommendation to the SRC that a position of Students' Association Liaison Officer with NZUSA be created. Mr Knox said that he felt that as many of Victoria's quarrels with NZUSA were local, a Liaison Officer would be of considerable value. After discussion, Margaret Bryson moved "that the committee should recommend that the Executive draft constitutional amendments providing that from 1971 there should be an officer of the Executive whose prime responsibility should be liaison with NZUSA, and that these constitutional amendments should be put to the SRC meeting dealing with the report of this committee". The Committee unanimously agreed to table the motion for discussion at the next meeting.

Photo of a woman

During discussion on possible remits to Winter Council, it was drawn to the attention of the Committee by Margaret Bryson that, of the fourteen members of the NZUSA Executive, only four are needed to make a quorum. Because half the members are not Presidents of constituent Associations, decisions could be made without any Presidents being present. The Committee discussed a possible recommendation for a remit raising the quorum to eight, including a fixed number of constituent Presidents. This discussion will continue at the next meeting.

## ***Marijuana Seminar***

A seminar on marijuana is to be held at Victoria tomorrow.

The seminar, which will be held in the Main Common Room and will commence at midday, will take the form of a panel discussion chaired by Jack Shallcrass, Senior Lecturer in Education at Victoria.

Members of the panel will include Dr Blake-Palmer, Deputy-Director-General of Health and Chairman of the Board of Health Committee on Drug Abuse and Drug Dependency in New Zealand; Dr Murphy, Dr Blake-Palmer's assistant; Ray Henwood, a Dsir toxicologist; Dr Erich Geiringer; Gerard Curry, 1969 VUWSA President; and Graeme Nesbitt, VUWSA Cultural Affairs Officer. Each member of the panel will speak for about ten minutes before panel discussion commences. Provision will be made for questions from the floor.

An invitation to attend the discussion has been extended to a representative of the Police but the Commissioner of Police, Mr Urquhart, has advised that a representative will not be present at the seminar.

## **Cappicade No. 2**

Two students apprehended selling Cappicade outside Heretaunga College are not to be disciplined.

At its 4 June meeting, the Executive agreed that no blame could be attached to the two students. They had not been informed that the Upper Hutt City Council had banned the selling of Cappicade outside schools.

A letter is to be sent to the Council apologising for the incident.

## ***South Africa:***

### **150 arrested**

At least 150 students from the University of Witwatersrand, who defied an order banning their protest march against the prolonged detention of 22 Africans under the Terrorism Act were arrested in Johannesburg on 18 May.

The permission granted earlier for a peaceful protest march through the centre of the city to the police headquarters was withdrawn on the authority of the Minister of Justice soon after noon—only two hours before the proposed march. The ban was ordered under the Riotous Assemblies Act by the city's Acting Chief Magistrate, Mr van Heerden.

About one thousand students, walking 12 abreast, defied the order, carrying a huge banner which read: "22 detainees—charge or release". The march, which was silent and orderly, followed a noisy meeting of 2,500 students at the University.

It was the largest student protest ever staged in South Africa, and also the first time a banning order on such a march has been defied. The 22 Africans concerned were arrested a year ago, acquitted by the Supreme Court, and then rearrested as they walked from the court. Under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, a senior police officer may detain a person indefinitely without recourse to the courts.

Asked why they were defying the ban, one of the students replied: This is a spontaneous demonstration. We cannot compromise on principles." Of the possibility of arrest, he said: "I suppose they will just have to come and do it."

Office workers pelted the students with litter and eggs, but there were no struggles even when police began to handcuff the students. When the police stopped the marching column, the students sat down in the street and sang the protest song: "We Shall Overcome." They were still singing as they filed into the charge office.

## Salient to USP

Copies of Salient are to be sent to the University of the South Pacific as part of Victoria's programme of support for the USP.

This was agreed at an Executive meeting on 4 June. The Association President, Margaret Bryson, spoke in favour of the proposal. "It is our duty to support and help develop the USP," she said.

## Salient Interview

*John O'Brien was interviewed by Owen Gager during the Social Credit Political League's Conference in Wellington last month and shortly after Mr O'Brien had been elected leader of the League.'*

Photo of John O'Brien

The Social Credit Political League has had four leaders since it began. Would you think this makes for instability?

No. Those four leaders have all given Social Credit something that it vitally needed. Wilfred Owen gave it creation. Now if it hadn't been for a man like Wilfred Owen, we would never have established the League. He was a very, very strong, a very hard, a very firm man, and fortunately, of course, he was also a man of quite respectable financial means. Wilfred Owen established the League, and this was the contribution he made. The second man who came along was Bruce Matthews. This man was probably, well, to my mind, he is one of the greatest philosophers that I have ever met. He brought the philosophy of Social Credit into full flower. This was his contribution. No party can win on pure philosophy, it's got to be political. Now Vernon Cracknel), he gave Social Credit its first scat, its first taste of politics. Vernon by nature was an extremely conservative man. Having tasted politics Social Credit has got to have, to my mind, strong progressive, and aggressive, leadership. And I don't say this in the nature of one person, because the leadership now is different to what it has ever been. The leadership now is not vested in one man, it is one man leading a team. Call it a cabinet, call it an executive, call it what you like . . . it's not important. But you've got this team of men who are now going to build this image and this team will be your frontline troops, and this is what a reformed party, or any up and coming political party, must have. They're four natural steps in a reformed organisation. We have reached, I think, the last step in our progress to Parliament. It would not be necessary for the League to go through any more steps now to actually achieve political victory. They could find a better man than myself—possibly very easily, actually—and this would only be a question of improving on what they've got, that's all. There would not be any change. But those four men have each brought something which has been vital to our organisation as such.

You have suggested that the League failed in the last election because it didn't pay enough attention to Social Credit principles. Does this mean that you'll lay down other issues besides Social Credit economic philosophy?

No, no, not at all. I've been one of those people who have always insisted that we don't go back to Douglas, that we go forward with Douglas. We go back to our fundamental Social Credit. In other words, we give the people real Social Credit, instead of a sort of a watered-down, or apologetic Social Credit. It doesn't mean that

we'll drop or abandon any other policies. The whole approach to politics, as I see it, must be broad and aggressive in every field. Our attack will actually be widened, it will be widened to cover more fields, and in all these fields well be precise. Now this is where we've fallen down badly in the past. We've become almost famous for the fact that we speak in vague terms, and this is no way for a reformed party to go places; it's got to be precise.

Mr O'Brien, I believe that you have spoken of Social Credit's economic policy as resembling that of West Germany and Japan . . .

No, I haven't spoken of Social Credit resembling West Germany and Japan. I've spoken of West Germany, or more particularly Japan, in terms of what I have called neo-social credit. The principle is the same; that is, that they make financially possible what is physically possible. Within the functioning of that system, of course, there are things which are very, very foreign to Social Credit. But the principle is right, that they make financially possible what is physically possible, and if one looks at Japan's fantastic growth rate, and Germany's fantastic growth' rate, since the war, one must see that they're doing something financially and economically which is "cry different from the rest of the world. And this is what we should be starting. And if we look closely at Japan, we'll find that the Japanese nation is using money as a means rather than let that money become the master of the nation.

Would you agree that a lot of people vote Social Credit in spite of, not because of, the economic policy?

I'm prepared to accept that the majority of our votes are protest votes, if this is what you mean. I think that one would be naive indeed to believe that most people who voted for Social Credit were Social Credit adherents, in the sense that they completely understood Social Credit.

What will you do to tie these protest voters closely to the League?

Well, the thing is that we're not going to tie any voters to Social Credit, unless we can give them leadership, and this is the key to it really. You can take any political organisation you like, except those that are motivated by an extreme philosophy, such as you would see in Communism . . . We have a philosophy, sure, and this is terribly important, but our way of life doesn't lend itself quite so much to the dramatic use of these philosophies, if you like to put it this way. Therefore, what we have to do, is to instil confidence in the people by showing that we can give them leadership, building confidence in them that we can do the job, we are going to do the job. Now, you're going to get protest voters anyway, until you become the majority party, then someone else becomes the receptacle for protest votes. I don't really mind why people vote for us. I'm just hoping that well get enough people to vote for us.

People have suggested, Mr O'Brien, that your image of Social Credit is as a radical party. Is this correct?

Only partly. Only partly. It's radical inasmuch as it's a reform party anyway. Yes, but not radical, in a generally accepted sense, I wouldn't be inclined to think so. I think it must use a radical approach, but I don't see that it is strictly what you'd call a radical party. It's radical in the sense that it's a reform party.

Other people have said that yours are radical right-wing views ...

No. I wouldn't be inclined to think so. Throughout the whole world there's this tendency towards more and more of what you might call a socialised state. Even in countries such as America—which is what you might call the home of capitalism—we see more and more tendency towards state control, state administration, state domination. Social Credit is, fundamentally, based on a private enterprise structure, and I don't mean this in a monopoly sense, either, because we're opposed to monopolies, so that in itself eliminates the right-wing. We're concerned primarily with individual people having the right to own and work as much as possible for themselves. And this incorporates the principle of the industrial co-operative.

Well if Social Credit is not a radical party, and not an extreme right-wing party, it must be a centre party. Would that be a correct analysis?

Well, you'd have to tell me we're the centre of what.

Well, you stand between the left and right.

An extreme left and extreme right?

Yes.

I would say that Social Credit takes the best of both, and adds more. It does incorporate. Take for example, the productive system; there is no question that the capitalist system of production is the finest in the world. Now the purpose of production, or the purpose of industry, is to produce. And this is its function, the sole reason for it. So we believe, we constantly point out, give industry its head, now this tends to, say, perhaps, lean to the right. On the other side, the capitalist system as it is known today makes no provision whatsoever for consumption. It lives by the axiom that if you don't work you don't eat. Now this of course is completely contrary to Social Credit. We say that it is the function of government to ensure and to assist and to make the necessary provision for people to consume what has been produced. This tends, I think, to leave in most peoples' minds the idea of the benevolent sort of state, which, if you like to put it in that context, would tend to swing towards the left wing. So that we draw the best from the left, the best from the right, and we add our own

philosophy in the middle that the individual right of the person to own, to work for himself, to share in the ownership of industry and so on and so forth.

How would this affect policy on other issues? In foreign policy, for example, do you support a policy of non-alignment?

I think that this would be very consistent with our policy, certainly very consistent with our philosophy, this policy of non-alignment. Take for example, the Vietnamese issue, well, we have been involved, I believe, purely for the sake of the American market. We have been involved in a military situation to which there is no military answer because it is not a military problem. All that we're doing is killing off an awful lot of people who are not really responsible for the whole situation anyway. And we're not making friends for ourselves in South-East Asia. We're not making friends for ourselves anywhere in the world except the armament makers and the money-lenders.

What do you have to say about the Rhodesian question?

As far as the Rhodesian issue is concerned, our first responsibility is to put our own house in order. We hear a lot from one side, we hear a lot from another side, and I don't think that Rhodesia is any of our business, until we've settled our own problems here, and a lot of these are racial too.

What sort of race-relations policy would you advocate?

A policy of non-hypocrisy, starting right here in New Zealand and its dependent territories.

Would you advocate a change in immigration policy?

Our immigration setup actually is something that must be sort of looked at. Immigration has been used for various means. It's been used to sort of, in some respects, assist industry. There are tremendous numbers of injustices in the way that we see immigration used. I think myself that you must come back to a pretty basic sort of concept on immigration. What is the purpose of immigration? Do you want to have more people in your country? Do you want to have more people here to work, or are you trying to assist a country by relieving their population load? If you have a specific reason for bringing in people, and it's associated with one of these things, well, all right, fair enough, you select them. But if you're immigrating for the sole reason that you believe New Zealand should have more people generally, it needs more people, the basis must surely be the maintenance of your ethnic balance. This gives justice to all your people, be they Islanders, Europeans, Asiatics—it doesn't make any difference. On top of this of course, you may have to bring in specialised immigrants for specialised things but on a broad, just increasing population, basis I think that the adherence to the maintenance of an ethnic balance is just.

Photo of John O'Brien

I notice at your Conference there's a suggestion that at the last election Social Credit policy on State aid to private schools was unwise. Would you agree with this?

No, I wouldn't agree with this at all. Unfortunately this question is taken in isolation, and it should not be so. This tends to create a division between State and private schools and playing up what they call State aid to private schools tends to convey the impression that the private school is going to be assisted where the State schools' problems are not going to be solved. Now this is unfair. You cannot take them in isolation—they're part of a whole, and we've constantly pointed out that any contribution which we make into the private school sector would not be at the expense of the other, but would be proportionate. Both would move together; justice would be given to the State system as well. The current phrase I think is very adequate: we need more State aid for State schools.

Briefly, why do you think Social Credit lost the last election?

Because it didn't win the confidence of the people.

Do you see any particular reason for the result in Hobson?

No. This was just one facet of it. It was generally nationwide that the League did not as a political body—as a political vehicle, if you like to put it this way—give the people sufficient confidence, and unfortunately of course, our leader, Mr Cracknell, had to carry the weight of this, and it was felt mostly, I believe, in his own electorate. Vern has said himself that he was caught in the squeeze there, in Hobson. This may or not be. It could well be correct. I'm not really in a position to comment because I just don't know.

Since the election there's been quite a lot of controversy about rising prices. One would have thought this would have been grist to Social Credit's mill but Social Credit doesn't seem to have been very involved in the protests. Does it intend to be in the future?

Very, very much so. Following the election, of course, people in positions of comment, if you like to put it that way, dismissed Social Credit and said that it was dead and dying. Well, I made up my mind that people were not going to be given this impression at all. And I had commented myself and made quite a number of press statements on this question of rising prices. We'll be doing a great deal more on this one—but at the present point of time our policy has been vague, and this has been one of our problems. Our policy is far too vague and this is one of the things that I will be asking this Conference to attend to: to give us more precise

policies. I hope that we'll get them over this weekend so that we can go straight into this question of rising prices and rising costs and hammer specific points that should be done, call on the Government to do it, call on the opposition to support me, and in other words, throw the ball into their court and force them to play it one way or the other if we possibly can. In regard to industrial disputes, again here we plan that we'll bring forward specific policies. We'll take them to the Federation of Labour, we'll take them to employer organisations, we'll take them to the Government, we'll take them to the opposition, we'll take them, of course, to all forms of news media. And this is going to be the line that we're going to follow. There'll be no more putting a press release out and leaving it at that. We're going to hammer our policies, and do it the hard way, and we're going to hawk them.

Now on youth policy, how far do you think Social Credit will take its policy of lowering the voting age to 18?

I don't think that this is really important, myself. Our policy has been of course, that we would lower the age to 18, but we can't of course do anything about it until we do become the Government. I don't see that it's of any advantage to us to be constantly hammering this one. I think the problems that young people face are far greater than whether or not they're going to get a vote at the next election or at the following election. And I think that these are the problems that we should be dealing with. Attract young people to Social Credit for what Social Credit is, rather than for the fact that when we do become the Government they're going to get a vote at 18. Well they won't be 18 then anyway.

You've described one youth organisation—The Progressive Youth Movement—as "a fascist organisation". Would you care to elaborate on that?

I think the word "fascist" here was incorrectly used. I regard the PYM as merely an outwards expression of what is felt inside so many other people. I've talked to a lot of people about this and I've said to them "All right, you don't agree with what the PYM do, but you must agree that on a thousand occasions you've felt like doing what they were doing, and but for the lack of courage you would have joined them." And in most cases people will smile and say, "Well, yes, that is right." So I think that we've got to look at it from another point of view, and if you ask yourself the right question of course, you'll always get the right answer. Why this external expression? Why this opposition to the establishment? It's only a reflection of the simple fact that people, and particularly young people, have little or no confidence in the establishment—of government, of authority—because they see the sheer hypocrisy and dishonesty that exists in the whole system. We can't blame them. This comes back to a point that you mentioned earlier about this question of fascism. And let's face it—we're educating these young people growing up. We're teaching them to think for themselves. We can't blame them if they look at our institution of government and they say this thing is dishonest, the Members of Parliament are not honest people. Now what other means do they have in a western country but take to the streets with placards? Perhaps in some of the less fortunate countries they'd take to the jungle with machine guns. We thank our lucky stars that the PYM only arm themselves with placards.

Would you have any specific policy on university affairs?

This is one that we've got to have a complete look at. I do honestly believe that we must now, at this point of time, because of this new technological age that we've moved into, have a complete re-look, if you like, at our whole university structure. Personally, I think that we must start off by asking ourselves the important question "Have universities, as they exist, fulfilled their functions in the course of time?" We have a tremendous number of people going through university who leave there equipped to do—and I would say, "what?" And this tremendous sense of frustration that exists in these people, it's bad, it's bad in a person. So we must look at the whole of education again and start off with the person. What does a person want to be as a person? What sort of education must we provide to bring this person to this state, rather than adding to an education system, that I think is probably in drastic need of overhaul from top to bottom.

Bank Bnz The All-Services Bank Bank Of New Zealand.

Couple in bed cartoon

Victoria University Of Wellington - Halls Of Residence Foundation, Inc. Everton Hall - Helen Lowry Hall - Newman Hall - Trinity College - Victoria House Halls Of Residence Appeal Acknowledgement Of Donations The Victoria University Of Wellington Halls Of Residence Foundation, Inc., Gratefully Acknowledges The Generosity Of The Under-Mentioned Business Houses And Organisations Who Have Contributed So Generously To The Appeal Launched In 1967 For The Bunding Of Halls Of Residence For Students Of This University. This List Does Not Include The Many Hundreds Of Former Students, Parents, Charitable Organisations And Trusts And Members Of The Public Who Have Given So Freely To The Fund And Whose Gifts Have Been Privately Acknowledged. (Sgd.) L. R. Arnold, Chairman Of The Foundation. Banks Bank Of New Zealand Chemicals & Toiletry Manufacturers Unilever N.Z. Limited Construction & Allied Services C.P.D. Limited Golden Bay Cement Co. Ltd. Safeway Scaffolding Ltd. Winstone Limited Data Processing Services I.B.M. World Trade Corpn. Electrical Supplies Arnold & Wright Limited Licensed Trade New

Zealand Breweries Ltd. Manufacturers Fisher & Paykel Limited Manufacturers & Distr. Bing, Harris & Co. Ltd. Merchants Steel & Tube Co. Of N.Z. Ltd. Mercantile &, Stock & Station Agents Wright Stephenson & Co. Ltd. - Retailers Woolworths N.Z. Ltd. Tobacco Distributors Godfrey Phillips N.Z. Ltd. Transport The Union Steam Ship Co. Of Nz Ltd. B'.M.Oil Bros. Ltd. Bonds Hosiery Mills Nz Ltd. Bowring, C. T. & Burgess Ltd. Bryant, May & Bell & Co. Ltd. Christian, A. R. Ltd. Daysh Renouf & Co Denhard Bakeries Ltd. D.I.C. Limited Dickinson. John & Co. N.Z Ltd Electrolux Ltd. Fletcher Holdings Ltd. Ford Motor Co. Of Nz Ltd. Gadsden, J. & Co. Ltd. General Finance Ltd. Hogg, Young, Cathie & Co. Kirkcaldie & Stains Ltd. Lime & Marble Ltd. Mckenzie Nz Limited N.Z. Motor Bodies Ltd. Paterson, A. S. & Co. Ltd. Pilkington Bros. (Nz) Ltd. Royal Insurance Co. Ltd. Salmond & Spraggon Ltd. Satterthwalte. A. M. & Co. Ltd Self Help Co-Op. Ltd. Smith, James Limited The Dominion Motors Ltd. Union Carbide N.Z. Pty. Ltd. Watkins-Dow, Ivon Limited Wellington Gas Co. Ltd. Wellington Publishing Co. Ltd. Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd. Williams Construction Co. Ltd. Wills. W. D. & H. O. Nz Ltd. Wright, J. Inglis Limited Young, T. & W. Ltd.

Fings ain't wot they us'ter be They're getting better all the time Birds are chirpier. Pubs are brighter, (carry a tie in your pocket), and Brown is mighty

*Gallery's Brian Edwards 'interviewing' Colin Ansell, leader of the Nazi Party. Edwards, like the Nz Herald and the Evening Post, seemed more anxious to pillory Ansell than to ask him questions. And it didn 't stop there. "The Hotel Association of New Zealand, " said the assistant manager of the Eastbourne Hotel, "has taken steps to minimise Mr King-Ansell's chances of getting a job in any New Zealand hotel."*

Photo of an interview on tv

May 20, 1970

Office of the President Victoria University Wellington, New Zealand

Dear Students of Victoria University:

Your expression of sympathy and concern regarding recent tragic events at Kent State University was deeply appreciated. Knowing that others share the burden of our loss has helped us through these difficult days.

In such circumstances, thoughtful expressions such as yours are especially meaningful. Thank you again ever so much.

Sincerely,

Robert I. White

President

RIW/nJ

Image of Kent State University letter

Grand Folk Concert Featuring Phil Garland, Tamburlaine And Other Folk Stars Friday 12 June, 8Pm Main Common Room

## ***Culinary Segregation in S.A. Soon***

Cartoon of probably a clam

The Cape Argus, a South African daily newspaper, reports that the Separate Foods Bill will probably pass the South African Parliament without amendment.

The Bill would prohibit sale of Caucasian foods such as white bread, white eggs and white sugar to coloureds. Coloured foods (brown bread, brown eggs, brown sugar and so on) will not be permitted to be sold to non-whites.

Companies will be permitted to continue to manufacture white and non-white foods on the same premises provided that apartheid is satisfactorily maintained throughout production (white hens must not be permitted to cohabit with coloured hens and so on). A special section of the Bill dealing with confectionery provides *inter alia* that white licorice must be freely available for sale to white citizens and the sale of 'black balls' is to be barred altogether.

Firms which contravene the provisions of the Bill are to be placed on a special government white list. Although the measure has the support of the majority of Members of Parliament, one member of Dr Herzpig's extreme right-wing faction referred to the Bill as a "whiteguardly action" because he felt that it did not go far enough.

The concession to liberal forces in Parliament that was particularly objectionable to hard-line segregationists

was the Government's rejection of an amendment which would have prohibited the inclusion of black jelly beans in packages of that confection. Mrs Helen Suzman, South Africa's leading liberal politician and sole Parliamentary representative of the tiny Progressive Party, hailed the jelly bean decision as a major victory for the critics of apartheid.

In New Zealand, the South African Consul General, Mr P.H. Philip, said that he does not expect that the Bill will lead to restrictions on importations of wool and meat from New Zealand. He said that Australia and New Zealand were fortunate in having very few black sheep. "Your black sheep are far better behaved than ours," Mr Philip said, "and their wool will be treated as if it were white."

Mr Philip said that the South African Government was most anxious to maintain its friendly relations with New Zealand. "South Africa," he said, "is most appreciative of the many gestures of friendship which New Zealand has made." Mr Philip cited last year's Chinese gooseberry controversy—in which the New Zealand Government told fruitgrowers that export licences would be withdrawn unless that fruit were to be exported to South Africa as Kiwi Fruit—as an example of the way in which New Zealanders have refused to allow politics to interfere with food.

The President of the NZRFU (New Zealand Retail Fruiterers' Union) said he was not available for comment on Mr Philip's statement.

Image of Council election results

Nearly 33,000 CappicadeS have been sold.

The Cappicade Distribution Manager, Con Anastasiou, reports that money has been received for 32,735 copies and that approximately 3000 copies are still outstanding and return of copies or money is still awaited in the case of these copies.

## Just Not Enough Books

Victoria University simply does not have enough books says the Librarian, Mr J.P. Sage.

In a report on refresher leave tabled at the May meeting of the University Council, Mr Sage outlined his impressions of American and European university libraries.

Mr Sage reported that he had encountered a number of variations in approach to the problem of providing for undergraduates in large institutions.

"The most interesting are undoubtedly the growing number of separate undergraduate libraries developed as a necessary support for research collections of several million volumes in which a student may easily be lost, in more senses than one".

"It is unlikely," Mr Sage continued, "that any New Zealand university library will in the immediate future achieve the size which would justify a separate undergraduate collection".

Mr Sage suggested that New Zealand universities could learn something from the heavy emphasis in American universities on providing multiple copies of books that students need for course use.

Comparing New Zealand library collections with those of the principal American and British libraries, Mr Sage said that though the Victoria University Library has substantial pockets of research material it does not have research collections of a kind that would be thought adequate for postgraduate studies elsewhere.

## Friday 3 pm.

Cultural Club Grants a meeting of all cultural clubs which applied for grants this year will be held tomorrow (Thursday 11 June) 7p.m. 7p.m. 7p.m. men's common room each club may send up to two representatives, Graeme Nesbitt cultural affairs' officer

## A mere service station for the economy—Phelps Warns of Danger

"Students may come to feel that the University is a mere annex of business."

This warning was given to the University Council by Students' Association representative Denis Phelps on 25 May. The Council was considering a proposal for the establishment of an Advisory Committee on Business Studies.

The proposal, which was adopted, was for the creation of a committee to encourage co-operation between

the Faculty of Commerce and Administration and the business community.

The Committee, to be chaired by Pro-Chancellor O'Brien, was first suggested by Professor Sidebotham as a means of improving mutual understanding between the Faculty and the wider community.

Mr Phelps said he thought the time may be coming when a much harder approach must be taken towards anything that carries the university further along the road of becoming a mere service station for the economy.

"Students may come to feel that the university is identified with, or is considered a mere annex of, business."

"With the strongly anti-business and anti-industrial bias of many of the young of today, this suggestion of the university being closely linked with "the establishment" can only increase the growing antipathy and reflectively anti-authoritarian attitudes of some students to the university."

Mr Phelps warned of the danger if the university becomes excessively responsive to the demands of business and of the economy.

"The job of the university remains, in my opinion, to produce the whole man and not to become a tertiary technical training institute."

## Rumours...

that there'll be a vacancy on the Executive within a week  
that an attempt will be made to abolish the SRC at an SGM this term that Russell Gault, Editor of Truth, has 'resigned' following his vile ravings about students  
that the President of this Association in 1971 will be neither a law or arts student  
. . . that we just have to tell you before we go crazy

## Publications Board Nominees

Simon Arnold and Bob Dykes have been nominated for the position of Executive appointee on the Publications Board.

Mr Arnold is a past member of the Board and was Editor of this year's Handbook. Mr Dykes was a member of the Board until his recent resignation as Salient Advertising Manager.

The appointment will be made at the next Executive meeting.

## Thought for the Week:

"Without the girls, there wouldn't be any Contest."

(Mr A.D. Dick, MP for Oamaru, while presenting the prizes in the Miss New Zealand Contest.)

Cartoon of Securicash

## 1970 Social Credit Conference

Report by Owen Gager

The Social Credit Political League's Conference—tweedy, pipe-smoking and toothbrush-moustached—has now gone home. It opened, warned by political scientists and by the media that the League faced extinction as a political force. The Conference responded to this warning by electing as leader the senior Social Creditor who has consistently polled a lower vote than any other Party leader. No other positive step was taken. The factional infighting that preceded O'Brien's coup ("I will never let anyone in Party do what I did" he laid after his election) spilled over into the Conference. Mr Dempsey, the President elected on the O'Brien ticket, clearly owed his position to his ability to publicly savage the Cracknells. He kept up the savaging unnecessarily long after the Cracknells had crept back to Palmerston North to lick their wounds. And he possessed no other qualification for chairing a Conference—as the chaos of proceedings showed. O'Brien opened the box of factionalism, and he couldn't close it again. The League's three most competent bureaucrats, its Managing Secretary, Public Relations Officer and Research Officer all resigned—their reports to Conference were jeremiads about schism. Even if Cracknell does not form an alternative

Social Credit League, Social Credit could still disintegrate into two sectarian Douglas-quoting quarrelling halves.

The future of Social Credit lies solely in its new leader. He impresses journalists and television commenters, he initially possessed the support of fully three-quarters of the 1970 Social Credit Conference. But he has destroyed the existing organisation of the League and pulled away the props which kept the League's offices and newspaper as going concerns. He inherits a club of devotees to a dogma, who cannot satisfactorily define what they believe in, and continually dispute alternative definitions. He is pledged to procure for Social Credit a parliamentary balance of power in 1972, though he does not fully understand, on his own admission, the reasons why his Party lost Hobson. He has built into his Party a division between a 'political executive' and a 'national council' which can only accentuate tendencies to schism. As he told me in his Salient interview, he believes that simply by 'leadership' he can win the 1972 election. Only an honest neo-fascist could say this and mean it; O'Brien is not even an honest neo-fascist. Although his basic instincts are right wing and he is on record as stating the world is a tool of International Communism, he tries to give the League a mild left wing veneer for the sake of its 'image'. The result is yet another middle of the road politics—slightly more middle than most.

Social Credit, if it could escape from its economic theories, could be a viable party. But it shows no signs of abandoning its love affair with Major Douglas—even the Party's modernists have to quote Douglas in order to dismiss him—and this is not surprising considering the history and structure of the Party. It simply takes Labour's idea that economics are a dirty word to its logical conclusion: economics should be abolished. This is the view, in one form or another, of most members of the lower middle class. But it is impossible to displace the existing economic system except by a reactionary counter-revolution, and for this more is needed than lower middle class discontent. The Social Credit Conference demonstrated all too clearly that the lower middle class is incapable of any role of political leadership. The class, like the Social Credit Political League, is incapable of defining its distinctive economic objectives, and therefore incapable of defining distinctive political objectives. It borrows ideas indiscriminately from left and right, according to a Conception of bourgeois political expediency which parodies the real sense of the bourgeoisie. But its inclinations are to follow the group to which it attributes most strength: the right wing of the National Party. With the collapse of the League, which should be indisputable by 1972, its members should move, if the prejudices of its leader are any guide, to supporting the too conventional economics of Muldoon.

*Let us realise that the rugged individualism of Social Crediters is more effective if it is welded into team action. To achieve our aim we must maintain unity of policy and effort because we have no choice but to fight the system on its own ground.*

We regret that in the article-by Owen Gager on the Labour Party Conference published in our last issue, we omitted a paragraph which made it clear that the article took the form of a draft speech for the Deputy-Leader of the Labour Party. Sir Watt. As a result, Mr Gager appeared to be endorsing opinions which might have been those of Hugh Watt had he used the speech notes drafted for him by Mr Gager.

Follow Hobson's success—join the swing to Social Credit

## 1990 and All that...

My Dear Grandson,

I'm so glad your lesson-cassettes have arrived and that you have now officially started school. You at least don't have to get out of bed—a far cry from the satchel and tears of my day. As you're only pushing 3½, I'm not sure it's really wise to ask you on your first day to write an essay in Chinese about life in the dark '60's. But there, I'm so out of touch. You ask me what recollections I have of these pre-revolutionary times, so here goes.

For me, perhaps, the most vivid memory is of a substance called '*Food*'. You won't find this word in your State Dictionary. You'll have to look in that old dictionary, the one your grandmother rescued from the flames of the Great Book Purge of '77. (To Chief of Einsatzkommandos, Wellington: If this letter falls into your hands I know my wife's act was that of a lickspittle reactionary, and I readily agree 'to and will sign anything stating that she is an old fool etc.etc.) Somewhere you may have read of cheese and eggs: well, I must be one of the few people left alive who can remember when eggs eventually went bad and stale cheese became hard.

Anyway, '*Food*': once upon a time it had '*taste*'. You'll have to look this up in the old dictionary, too. During the years that I was a young man. Generous Wise Experts began adding 'things' so that food would taste even better and vegetables would grow even bigger. Some actually said at the time that people were making money from all this, but I don't believe it. Gradually people began 'to get things wrong with them', and as our Marvellous leaders were not excluded they decided that if they did away with taste altogether then we could

live quite well on those little coloured pills, one of which I'm sure you're sucking now for breakfast.

Other strange words you can look up and which might help you are '*animals*' (don't be frightened if one's illustrated, they're quite extinct), '*trees*' (hold mummy's hand if the description is too much), '*please*' and '*thank you*' (useless Anglo mumblings, wisely never encouraged here in Kwang-NZ).

Now turn to your State Dictionary and look up the word '*Freedom*'. Here you will see that it is defined as "where every individual is quite free to keep his mouth shut, and to be exploited by whomsoever he may choose from the Approved List". You would be wise to keep to this definition: there are some things you are not quite old enough to understand. '*Vote*' is another word you could look up, but again you'd be advised to disregard the old definition. Better Stick to "Pioneered by Russia; a right exercised by every registered person just as long as it makes no difference". And you'll find '*Protest*' is given similar treatment, the definition I have before me as being "Objection, tolerated if ineffectual." Another interesting word is '*anarchism*'. Back in very ancient times, before Uncle Ho-Holyoake even, it was felt by Leaders that the adherents of this strange-ism had tumbled them, so they organized the media to change the meaning of the word completely. It was already grossly distorted when I was young, and as you can see it now means "bloody lawlessness, rampaging, pillaging, chaos, mob-rule, total disregard for organized government, contrary to the sacred wishes of right-thinking people." The Greeks had a word for it, too. '*Anarchos*', I think it was.

As I write, many personal memories flood back. Most clear is the memory of your grandmother in her native dress of black tights, mop slippers, a fag in one corner of her mouth, and curlers. I can remember that terrible day, here in Kwang-NZ, when suppliers of services had to go half-way to meeting the needs of the customer. Old Kiwis who had known happier times covered their eyes and wept, burly tradesmen knelt and lit candles, and beer-guts burst. A terrible sight.

Yes, I can remember many strange things you won't find in dictionaries; things which were fast disappearing when I was young. They're probably not even in that old dictionary, but but of interest look up '*humility*' and '*kindness*' but try hard not to laugh at those silly old definitions. I can remember when tin monsters roamed the earth and nearly wiped us all out, and whole masses took part in weird rituals known as Kennedy Worship.

Burn this, or better still eat it; it has 'taste'. As always, if you never hear from me again remember I love you, even though you don't know what this means. How lucky I was to be too old for the De-Love Operation! Must close and get this posted; I hear boots approaching.

W. Keith

10 June, 1990

## The Maori Council

There is no doubt that the New Zealand Maori Council's decision to support the All Black Tour placed a powerful weapon in the hands of Pro-Tour groups to beat the Anti-Tour protest with. Maoris, it seems, are for the Tour.

But what is the NZ Maori Council and who does it represent? If you don't know then you share something in common with most Maoris. Briefly the Council's structure is as follows:

Local Maori Committees elected by Maoris triennially (the last elections were in April).

Executive Committees representing up to 5 committees—2 members per local committee on the executive.

District Councils—2 members from each executive sit on these councils (of which there are 8 in New Zealand).

The Maori Council—2 or 3 members from each District Council sit on the New Zealand Maori Council itself and comprise the national executive.

This structure and its undemocratic indirect nature barely compares favourably with the form of government in South Africa's first Bantustan in the Transkei. Fortunately, (unlike the Transkei) it can be changed and there will probably be changes in the near future.

The Councils difficulties are only partly due to its cumbersome structure. If reasonable activity was maintained at all levels it would not be so bad, for the last 3 years and in previous years this has not been so. The following examples illustrate the situation:

Executive members representing defunct committees.

Some District Councils representing committees of which 50 percent or more are defunct.

Defunct executives.

Executive with 2, 1 or even no local committees

District and Maori Council Members representing paper committees.

Power struggles at District level for representation on the Maori Council.

Furthermore the Council is rurally oriented and urban Maoris are as yet sparsely represented. Ignorance of the Council and its many affiliated (dead?) bodies is widespread among urban Maoris. They are utterly confused by the structure and aims of the organization.

The Council cannot, as yet, confidently claim to represent Maori opinion but many pakehas think it does. Nothing short of a compulsory referendum would reveal what the majority Maori opinion is, but the Maori Advisory Board of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union and others are adamant that the Maori Council speaks for the majority.

It is interesting to note by contrast that the more widely represented and more democratic Maori Women's Welfare League opposes the Tour.

The composition of the Council is very intriguing, Maori National Party candidates get a triennial hiding at general elections, but they emerge triumphant through the labyrinth of the Council's structure. It is their consolation prize. Such members include Mr Henry Ngata, Mr Graham La Turner, "the Chairman, Sir Turi Carrol, and Mr Pei Jones.

It is a generalization to describe the members of the Council as conservative Maori 'oldies'. There are a few young members and (in November 1969) one woman. Neither is the Council entirely inflexible in its opinions nor unanimous in its support of the Tour. On the Tour issue (unlike most pro-Tour groups) it has reserved the right to change its mind should future events and circumstances warrant this and what was once a unanimous decision has become less popular (by November 1969). The sole woman member of the Council opposes the Tour and 5 or 6 others abstained from supporting it.

One humorous aspect of the Council's decision is the fact that it has been greatly influenced by a non-white South African. He is described in the Council's magazine *Te Maori*, as a great Christian, South African and World leader. But for some strange reason he does not have anything as mundane as a name.

Cartoon of man vs animal

The fact that the Council can not represent majority Maori opinion effectively is not entirely its own fault. Pro-Tour groups and others such as the Maori Advisory Board of the NZRFU and Maree Wehipeihana of the Dominion-Sunday Times) should not attribute to it a political wizardry which it does not possess.

Atihana Jones

Man Demonstrating His Superiority Over Animals.

## America in Crisis

The symptoms of manic depressiveness in the US are ominous. There is plenty to suggest that by the next Presidential election in 1972 the American nation will be in a state of nervous collapse—somewhat like the French in May 1968 but with the illness more deep-seated and with no enthroned great white father to re-establish sanity. Heaven knows what then becomes of our western civilisation. Half the syndrome, at least, is shared by all the West; what is peculiar to the US is the volatility of the American nation; the volatility and the power. Americans are people about whom one can generalise; and Americans over-react.

In the US the extremes of Right and Left are now gathering emotional force like polar opposites. The pace is a little terrifying. The New Left, however, cannot win, beyond a brief blaze of anarchy: they can never command the money, never capture the massive organisational machine or the forces of order. The Right can win.

In the middle lies the depressiveness; the mania floods in from the extremes. In the lumpen middle there is no longer any conviction, courage, hope; no strength or direction at all. What is left of these things in the US belongs to the extremes.

Today there is no noticeable leadership for the masses in the middle. The Kennedys came nearest to providing it—Jack, and brother Bobby. Whoever was responsible for the two murders, and that of the moderate Negro leader Martin Luther King, has brought powerful allure to the dark alleys of political extremism.

The big Party protagonists in November's Presidential election seemed a pair of political corpses—Humphrey with his dyed hair and verbal gas; Nixon, whose voice and personality still have that synthetic quality of a man reconstructed out of the parts of others. The witty columnist Art Buchwald was advising his readers to "Vote No for President". To the mass of Americans, vaguely conscious of impending crisis, the choice appeared bewilderingly dismal.

If George Wallace did not receive the votes many expected in 'the '68 election, it was because that bitter and insubstantial figure was not—when the moment of choice arrived—a credible President. Yet even that sixth of the electorate that voted for Wallace was enough to expose the yearning among millions of Americans for a

leader who could personify their own frustrated patriotism, their alarm at the riots and declamations of violence from the Negro militants, midst dismay at the identification of the college students with these militants, their innate assumption of Negro inferiority, their disquiet at the obscenity and imbecility of the university population, their unease at the fashionable prevalence of a third sex on the campus, their scorn of groping intellectualism, their resentment at the intellectuals' flagrant scorn of them (Americans find intellectual snobbery irresistible) and their exasperation at climbing taxes spent on loosely-controlled welfare programmes for the apparently indolent at home or the ungrateful abroad. Wallace always gives a simple answer to what the lumpen middle consider their simple questions. Wallace, or the Wallace prototype, will surely remain on the national scene.

Many who voted for Wallace would have voted for Bobby Kennedy had he lived to be the Democratic choice. Kennedy, they said, gave them a sense that he was speaking for them, understood them, and meant what he said. So does Wallace.

Richard Nixon is not of the stuff to rally the dispirited centre. In the next year or two the people of America, the greatest nation on earth, the leader of the Free World, most rich, honourable, democratic, envied and beloved among mankind, will find that they have lost a protracted war in which they have sacrificed more of their young men than in any war in their history, the first war they ever lost, and against a piddling, coloured, Communist enemy of negligible wealth and technology.

In the midst of this trauma they will be witnessing their own youth at home exhibiting classic symptoms of decadence. People have a instinct for recognising the decadent, and an amount of permissive argument fools the collective instinct. The message is there today every publication, button, poster an pronouncement of the New Left pleading [unclear: fc] escapism through ever more desperate sexuality mindless violence against authority, Negr militancy, student power and contempt for country.

The young are searching away from the high for identity and purpose, and this search will grow more frenzied as their predicament grow worse. This predicament is the virtually total elusiveness of concrete challenge. They all have, enough money—unlike their parents who grew up in the Depression. Physical challenges are not longer available—the frontier has gone and Alaska; is a cold, grim dump; most demanding sports in for the professionals. It is the sub-college youth and the Negro who get drafted; and because Vietnam is being lost it is a discredited cause.

There is no international crusade to participate in like the World War of their fathers They no longer have any moral barricades to storm. Darwin's theory of evolution is still a banned subject in Mississippi, and in six States ; woman may still be awarded a divorce if her husband makes love to her in any other than the missionary position; but, by and large promiscuity, drugs, long hair, pornography, obscene language in print or from the platform, and freedom from soap are all accepted with a shrug or applause. If there is any tyranny left it is a tyranny of the crutch. In 1959 58 percent of undergraduates listed Mad as their favourite magazine: today's favourite, Free Press, all drugs and orgasm, shows no intellectual advance, but a deeper opting-out of reality.

The luckless modern youth cannot go hungry; he cannot—outside the discredited conflict in Vietnam—see a way of testing his courage in an honourable cause; he cannot even shock anybody any more. And so he must push his behaviour before him into infinite licence and disorder. Only when he meets the batons of the ludicrous police, who like to play at storm-troopers and carry their presumption of hostility to the point of inciting it, does he at last, with deep relief, meet an obstacle—something palpable to run up against and hate. But even Chicago was not a Budapest or Amritsar.

Tom Stacey's article on this page [unclear: ome] questions which will be discussed at greater length in [unclear: lement] on America to be published in the next issue of [unclear: SA]

In the depravity and vulgarity of the New Left, the strain of genuine idealism, the search for the right to suffer, becomes totally lost. Glancing through the "Hippies" and "Yippies" (Youth Independence Party) and Black Power's widely circulated newspaper, you will find an advertisement for the sale of pro-Dubcek posters in the midst of advertisements from importuning homosexuals. At the election rallies of George Wallace, the young protesters waved the flag of the Viet Cong. They tout for donors of blood for an enemy in a war which, however misguided or futile, the masses sense to have been unquestionably moral in its original motives. Or they pack the rallies of Negro firebrands declaiming hatred and drawn from organisations like the Black Panthers or Ram (The Revolutionary Action Movement) whose literature is printed in Peking. Many of the protestors are college drop-outs—wasters of taxes paid in part by millions who never got near a college.

I do not write of the excitable fringe of university life. A recent poll taken at Harvard found that 40 per cent would rather (so they said) go to prison or into exile than submit to being drafted for military service, and over 50 per cent had taken drugs.

That the dilemma of intelligent American youth is the dilemma of the entire civilisation makes it no less acute: a faceless establishment) unaware of its own power; a mechanisation that is not just dominating the

individual but enslaving him; an economic technique that has all but removed man's ability to make choices and decisions that mean anything; a manner of life for the big organisation office-worker (which most young men must become) that is stealthily

#### Drawing of a man

[unclear: finising] the male; a surfeit of quantity and a It in obsolescence of quality that induces a petual sense of loss and incompleteness; a [unclear: Itkal] system which, by means of spurious and advertised freedoms such as the four-yearly sidential vote, becomes an "instrument for olving servitude"—in the words of the cadable guru of San Diego, Marcuse, whose gnosis is accurate but remedies indecipherable. Then that vast conservative swathe of the adult [unclear: sulation] alert enough to expect significance in can perceive that significance diminishing. [unclear: The] computer is taking over more and more of is tasks. A factory hand released by technology into ever greater leisure may be [unclear: itsnt] to watch the "boob toob" (TV) or go [unclear: ling;] man educated towards an expectation of attributing, whose existence is made [unclear: crfluous] by cybernetics, is looking to a tyny of enforced leisure with tremors of teria.

[unclear: It] is a blind man's buff; reality perpetually live, dodging the touch. The New Left, indering for challenge, identifies itself with violence that belongs to the restive, employed Negro, The deprived Negro, in his [unclear: nmy] ghetto, who protests his lot by violent or action, becomes an heroic figure to the significant, white because here at last in their marshmallow. I will beat him to death with a marshmallow, 'cause he's a punk ... All or my hostility, all of the hatred that I have in my heart, all the bitterness I have in my heart—and I have it—is for the pigs and the power structure, the machinery of oppression, and that we have to deal with for ourselves and for posterity whether they like it or not."

So it continued for 50 minutes. Then he led his audience in six "Fuck Ronald Reagan" cheers, in which virtually all the students and faculty in the hall delightedly joined. Around him were posters of his party, the Black Panthers, bearing the quotation—"The racist dog policemen must withdraw immediately from our communities, cease their wanton murder and brutality and torture of black people, or face the wrath of the armed people." The central policy of the black Panthers is to arm the Negro.

The striking fact is that not only the students-eager to advertise their discovery of the sex act and excited by the idea that anyone should have the daring to publicly advocate shooting back at the police as a political right-but also the faculty and indeed much of the radical intelligentsia reacted to the stopping of Cleaver's lectures by threatened strikes and boycotts, by earnest declarations that the State educational system was in the hands of Fascists, and that Cleaver was an heroic victim of racism and tyranny. What are their criteria of judgement? At one dinner with members of the teaching staff of California University, at which these opinions were being voiced, I discovered that none of my fellow guests had heard of Solzhenitsin, Daniel, Sinyavsky, Tartu or Bukovsky; none of them had heard of the five years' hard labour passed upon Pavel Litvinoff and Larissa Daniel for unfolding, in Red Square, a little notice demanding "Hands Off Czechoslovakia". Nor were they particularly interested. The brave new surge of American radicalism would throw up barricades at home willy-nilly.

Against this background of fashionable violence in political protest, plain crime has been proliferating wildly.

Now, the patient, unaroused and leaderless middle of the American electorate knows in its bones that the Left can never achieve power on its own voting strength or ability to disrupt. The bulk of the Trade Union vote is already anti-Left and anti-radial. By even the most generous count, not more than 12 per cent, of the population is Negro; students come and students go; the drop-outs and the hippies are a rabble. Such an agglomeration, even under a single leader of stature like F.ugcne McCarthy, makes no appreciable political substance. They feel themselves today to be the pacemakers in American society, the morning stars of the coming revolution. Their survival depends on the tolerance of the great majority in the middle.

Over the next few years this same majority, that has come to lack all conviction, will see all their dismays running together—the fever swamps of the New Left, a Negro minority close to open rebellion; violence, robbery and rape in the streets; the ignominious disaster of Vietnam; and, at the back of it all, a suspicion that their very existence is futile. I do not believe that it is Mr Nixon who will give them the inspiration they need. The end of Vietnam could so easily lead them into an economic recession in which their hire-purchase payments will bite like a yoke but their taxes will not be eased. Already the vote for Wallace, which far outstripped any "third party" challenge since Theodore Roosevelt's breakaway Progressive Party in 1912, suggests an attraction for the simplistic responses of the Far Right. It need not take much more for the lumpen middle at last to grow exasperated and to chuck power to the right, changing the shape of America and our world.

"And what rough beast, its hour  
come round at last,  
Slouches towards Bethlehem,  
to be bom?"

midst is someone with a whole range of [unclear: uifest] grievances reacting with a virile inter-challenge to the whole system.

It is in part to satisfy their own psychological ds that white liberals have obliged the nerly passive Negro to exercise his right to equal. Since before the death of Martin her King, the non-violent methods of Negro assertion had become discredited: today the te New Left finds vicarious satisfaction as the [unclear: ro] militants gather all the support. Violence political ends is not just condoned by the Left, but advocated. There is a fast-growing lines for violence. And in Vietnam, a quarter he combat troops are Negro, men trained in [unclear: pons] soon to be returning disillusioned to

[unclear: their] restive kinsfolk searching for jobs. Already in eight. New York negroes is on relief. Yet where does "legitimate" political protest crime or psychopathic violence begin? In the [unclear: lem] demonstration, following the murder of tin Luther King, the New York police were not to intervene by the progressive Mayor, Lindsay, unless trouble spread beyond a ain point; the Negroes must be allowed a [unclear: oal] release for the shock they had endured, [unclear: ing] those days New Yorkers watched on their vision screens gangs of Negroes breaking rough the shop-windows of the Jewish stores in em and staggering off with washing machines television sets while the white police stood with their hands clasped ostentatiously behind r backs.

Lindsay's order was a brave one and very ably saved New York from the devastation [unclear: ch] reactions to King's murder wrought in [unclear: er] American cities with large Negro ulations. Yet to the ordinary citizen it [unclear: cked] of the prevailing liberal uncertainty and [unclear: aed] likely to lead the protesting rabble into king that they had the established "power [unclear: cture]" (in the current pejorative phrase) on run.

On the West Coast, the self-regarding llectual elite evidently does believe it is [unclear: ing] the side with it. The universities have a in a ferment since the autumn when the [unclear: ro] militant, Eldridge Cleaver, a convicted st proud of his confessed crime, and the [unclear: ed] and Freedom Party's former candidate for Presidency of the USA, had his course of ares on Afro-American studies to the students he University of California stopped by the e educational authorities. In his last address 7,000 students of the University, Cleaver thus: "I say Ronald Reagan (the elected [unclear: ernor] of California) is a punk, a sissy and a [unclear: ard]. I challenge him to a duel to the death t now. He can choose his own weapons. He choose a baseball bat, a knife, a gun or a

Drawing of Martin Luther King

## the role of the university...

The university is a very old feature of western society. In Athens in the 4th century B.C. there grew out of the introduction of compulsory military training the institution sometimes called the University of Athens. The 'Museum' at Alexandria was founded in the 3rd century B.C. There are thought to have been at one time 14,000 students at this ancient centre of learning. The geometer, Euclid, worked there, and Eratosthenes, the astronomer. After the fall of the Roman Empire the Greek traditions of learning were carried on at Byzantium where a state-subsidized university was founded in 425 A.D. The Moslems, as they over-ran the Middle East during the Dark Ages, spread their learning as well as their faith. About 970 A.D. they founded a university at Cairo, the University of Al Azhar, which still flourishes.

In Western Europe, from the 9th to the 12th century, places of learning sprang up in various towns in Italy and France. These were the *universitates magistrorum et scholarium*, 'the whole bodies or guilds of masters and scholars, whose purpose was the study of theology, philosophy, civil and canon law, and medicine. They were the forerunners of modern universities as we know them, and by the end of the 12th century two of them, Bologna and Paris, could properly be called universities. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge began somewhat later than those of Italy and France. Oxford was founded in the latter part of the 12th century and Cambridge some 30 years later—Cambridge, I recently read, by some students and teachers who did not like the way Oxford shopkeepers were taking them for a price ride.

At Bologna the students controlled (heir own affairs. At Paris the government of the university was in the

hands of its teaching members. Present-day universities thus have an administrative structure that is descended directly from the early Paris system. (A university teacher of modern times must naturally ask what relation the demise of Bologna and the survival of Paris until the present day bear to the form of government that evolved in each.)

This is the text of a speech delivered by Professor A.L. Titchener at an Association of University Teachers Seminar in Auckland last month. Professor Titchener is Professor of Chemical and Material Engineering at Auckland University.

Following Professor Titchener's address is a commentary by Victoria University Pro-Chancellor Kevin O'Brien.

The great growth in the number of universities and in the scope of their teaching has been, of course, during the 19th and 20th centuries. Of particular importance in the last century was the admission of the experimental sciences and the engineering technologies into the teaching curricula. These disciplines, applied to human affairs, have had a profound effect on the nature and quality of human life; and this in turn has put the universities, as the generators of new science and new technology, under political and social pressures formerly unknown to them. For this reason alone the role of the modern university cannot be the same as the role of the university of the past.

Photo of Registry building

## Education &: empire

The educational tradition of 19th century Britain was Aristotclean, Lockcan, liberal. Education was desired to be and essentially was non-vocational, non-practical, non-utilitarian. One has the impression—and I don't think it is false—that in Britain the whole structure of government and empire rested on this liberal educational base. Whitehall, the colonial civil service, parliament itself, were recruited from the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. (Indeed, until comparatively recently these two universities had a special allotment of seats in the British lower house.) Since the British Empire was notably successful, at least as viewed by the 19th century observer, the inference was that the kind of education given to those running it was the best kind of education for men of affairs. This tradition, which has been so firm a part of British university thinking, and which spilled out also into the universities of its colonies and dominions, has, over the last 30 years or so, taken some pretty severe punishment. A question to be asked—and answered—is whether the concept of a liberal education, Locke's *mens sarin in corpore sano*, a sound mind in a sound body, has relevance for us today.

One source of the punishment received by the liberal tradition of university education has been the social, economic and political impact of science and technology. Admitted into the shelter of the universities, the practitioners of science and technology rather rapidly developed the new ways of thinking about the experimenting with the universe and its contents. In the 200 years from Boyle to Kelvin science developed from a fascinating hobby for well-to-do amateurs into a lifetime career for professionals. And in so doing it grew into the most powerful body of knowledge ever available to man-powerful in the sense that it could and did set going great changes in civilization. Abundant cheap steel from the application of chemistry, abundant electricity from the application of Faraday's discoveries in electro-magnetic induction are but two mid-19th century examples of its products. New developments came with increasing frequency. The automobile appeared just before the turn of the century, then radio, and flight soon after. To the educated adult of late Victorian and Edwardian times the prospect must have been purely dazzling. Britain in particular had enjoyed a long period of relative stability and peace. Certainly there was some poverty. But there was also great wealth, and the prospect of yet greater wealth to come. The scientific humanist of the turn of the century was filled with a confident belief in the potential of science and technology (or engineering, as he would have called it) for good. This 19th century optimism—epitomized perhaps in H.G. Wells—could for see these remarkable new servants being used with ever-increasing power to solve the material and social ills of mankind.

## Sixty Years of Shattered Dreams

The next 60 years were to shatter most of these dreams. Such hopes of benevolent humanists as survived the sodden, boggy hells of Flanders were racked almost beyond restoration in the economic disasters of the Great Depression. The First World War revealed technology's enormous power to destroy, and the twenties and thirties its impotence to re-shape and re-make a botched civilization.

It seems that western man could not or would not read the lessons of those 25 years, those testimonies of his ineptitude. Throughout the forties, fifties and sixties he has been engaged in a repeat performance with devices more terrifying and results more impersonally brutal than ever before. The troubles of man are seen not to reside in his technological dexterity but in his emotional and political infantilism. If Bertrand Russell was

right in believing that "people do not care so much for their own survival—or indeed that of the human race—as for the extermination of their enemies", we are indeed in terrible straits; for science and technology have given us weapons—nuclear, chemical, biological—that make extermination now completely practical.

It is hardly surprising that the optimism of the Victorians and the Edwardians has given way to a prevailing despondency. Medawar recently remarked that there is a preoccupation with failure, separation, loss, disaster. Yeats wrote prophetically fifty years ago:

*Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold.  
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.*

Of course, not everything has fallen apart, and not all was loss in the disastrous years 1914-45. Science, for example, gained a growing political respectability. Politicians and others in places of power came to appreciate science for what it could do for them. Science, which once ran on a shoestring and was proud of it, has now come to command budgets of millions—not only, of course, for warlike aims. Since science has useful ends, and the primal fount of all science is the universities, the universities have come into positions of unprecedented wealth and power.

## Repression of the Liberal View

And in so doing they have come under pressure from the users of scientists to steer their work into channels directly useful to them. It is a small extension of thinking to call for all university teaching to concentrate on training people for the jobs that the country needs or seems to need doing. Thus the advance of the vocational, practical, utilitarian view of the university's role. Thus the retreat of the liberal non-vocational view.

## Progressive education

A second important factor that has put liberal education into retreat has been the development of what may be called progressive education. Progressive education has a history almost as long as that of science. I am not an expert in educational theories, and the theories woven into the fabric of progressive education are numerous and complex. I hope I do not misrepresent them by saying that, in essence, they may be described as a methodology—a way of educating people. Primarily associated with the teaching of the very young, progressive education tries to find incentives for learning, and generally connects the process of learning with the manual activities of the child. Historically its development has been deeply although not exclusively associated with the teaching of backward or culturally deprived groups. Many famous names are associated with the movement—Pestalozzi, Montessori and Dewey to name but three. Progressive education is opposed to the almost purely linguistic culture of the traditional liberal education. Interestingly enough, its proponents saw in science, in the methods used by science to acquire and test knowledge, a pattern by which all knowledge could be acquired and tested. The child was to learn from his environment by a series of inductions much as a scientist learns from his experiments. Understanding and knowledge were to be tested against the practicalities of life. A strong component in progressive education is recognition of the creativity of the individual, and much emphasis is placed on fostering this creativity. In its more extreme manifestations this has led to what one writer has called "the romantic belief in the child".

Whatever faults there may be in progressive education, it has provided valuable, indeed one might say invaluable, techniques for educating the vast numbers of children, variously-motivated, and emerging from widely varying backgrounds, who have to be handled under systems of universal education. Its techniques have been rather extensively exploited in kindergartens and primary schools, much less so in secondary schools, and hardly at all in universities.

Not withstanding the failure of progressive education to invade the university teaching process directly, it is having some effects on what goes on in the university. For one thing those exposed to it at other stages of their education have become aware that learning can be relevant to day-by-day activities. For another, a person who has experienced the joy of being taught by a fascinating teacher at school is likely to be less than satisfied with pedestrian lectures delivered by a "platform-constipated, note-bound academic". Ever since Freud made parents fearful of inflicting who knows what damage to the psyche of a sharply reprovved child, it has been a principle of western parenthood to abdicate authority over offspring as soon as it is possible to do so. The concept of authority thus has little meaning for young people today. And so student dissatisfaction with a course or a lecturer nowadays finds ready expression.

## Relevancy

One of the likely criticisms is that the curriculum is irrelevant to the hearer's interests or objectives. This is indeed a common source of dissatisfaction. And this brings us in approximately where we started.

The traditional liberal educationist has an implicit belief in knowledge for its own sake. He seeks it not as a tool for use, but as something important in its own right, having its own concepts, laws and forms, and making its own demands. The scholar must bow to the dictates of the subject. According to this view, a subject is not and cannot be at the mercy of personal or public fancy, serving now this, now that temporary indulgence. That was certainly the 19th century view of the university's function—a dedication to the content of a subject and to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. Is this still to be the role of the university? Ought education to be liberal, humane and non-vocational, as it has been, or ought it to be something different?

To what extent should relevance determine university curricula? Does the university have a part to play, in political affairs? Is it an instrument of social justice? These and related questions must trouble the thoughts of anyone who takes his association with a university at all seriously. I freely confess that I cannot give confident answers to many of these questions. But turning one's back on them will not make them go away. In the remainder of my talk I shall try to set out some ideas about the function of the university. I want to emphasize that these views are personal. It is not to be supposed that they will be shared by all academics, who, if notable for nothing else, are notable for their inability to agree, especially on matters pertaining to the institutions employing them.

The first question that I wish to ask—and to try to answer—seems to me to be the key to understanding the universities. It is this: Do universities have an educational function that is in any sense unique? Is there anything that marks universities off as different from other educational institutions? I am aware that such a question seems to carry with it snobbish overtones—an implication of superiority. But by 'different', however, I do not mean better, or, for that matter, worse. I mean different. This question can, I think, be most easily answered by first answering another question: By what criterion can one judge the relative excellence of different universities? To this there is one simple reply: a university is judged by the quality of its scholars. To me, no other answer is conceivable, and no other standard of judgement possible.

## Without Scholars Nothing

Most people, either inside or outside the university will agree that the scholar who works in a university has three chief duties. They are first to his branch of learning, second to his pupils, and third to society outside. I have placed these duties in that order because I believe that to be their order of importance. Most of the public criticisms of the universities arise not because the critics outside the universities believe in objectives different from these, but because they hold to a different order of importance—often in fact the reverse order. But any other order than mine seems to me to make nonsense. The scholar must know his subject. It is bad if he is a poor teacher, and distressing if he is a social disgrace. But neither is fatal if he is a first-rate scholar. Unsound scholarships by contrast, is not to be tolerated.

A university, then, is or ought to be a community of scholars. Without scholars there can be no university. The first obligation of a scholar is to his branch of learning—to keep abreast of it, to integrate new knowledge and ideas with old, and if possible to contribute new knowledge or ideas to it. And these obligations take precedence over all others. This is the unique function of the university, the function that sets it apart from all other educational institutions. By how well it fulfills this function will it, in the end, be judged. In pursuing these obligations the scholar must have absolute freedom to explore whatever scholarly paths beckon him; and to record, publish and disseminate whatever new finding his explorations lead him to. This is not teaching and it is not always research, but it is a prerequisite of both. This is the ingredient that is omitted from almost all public discussion and lay thinking about the university.

To state that the special role of the university lies in the devotion of its scholars to their branches of learning is to state too little. It leaves untouched the other two duties that I set the university scholar—his duty to his students and his duty to society outside. I want to take up the second of these since it is the one that has caused me greatest public hubbub.

## Irrelevant to Country's Needs

The government of the day is not providing \$X million a year for university staff to follow their own scholastic whims. And the rather steady flow of letters to the editors of the daily newspapers make it quite dear that ordinary members of the public are at one with their government in considering the universities to be publicly accountable. Employers of university graduates are vocal too, from time to time, sometimes about the

unsuitability of graduates for the jobs for which they are supposed to be trained, sometimes about the unavailability of graduates in fields important in New Zealand. There has been a good deal of criticism lately of the irrelevance of some university studies to the needs of the country. A related undertone of comment, not usually heard publicly, is that the universities in their teaching actually predispose their students against employment in business and industry—and, one might also add, in school-teaching, which some university teachers seem to regard as a lowly occupation.

## University research programmes

In the past the universities have been, if not insensitive, at least unresponsive to criticism of this kind. In certain respects the universities cannot be held wholly to blame. In this country a generation or so ago they were financed on a pitiful scale, mere cinderellas. They were consistently denied the opportunity to take on their unique role, the pursuit of knowledge. Research was not to be a function of the universities in New Zealand, but was to be done by Government. Those fields in which research began in the New Zealand universities simply reflect what happened to be the interests of determined individuals who saw research as a necessary activity, and found their own ways of initiating it. Today the scale of university funding is such that research is no longer a virtual impossibility to all but a few dedicated fanatics, but can proceed continuously and effectively over a wide front on modest if not generous budgets.

Government departments with active research programmes complain now that the fields of research in New Zealand universities are not those of importance to New Zealand. Twenty and thirty years ago they could have seen to it that this did not happen, for by appropriate encouragement and funding—and the funding need only have been small—they could have got university departments to embark on research in fields of national importance. We are now in the situation that there are areas of university research within which the direction ought to be changed.

But even now the major government research organisations are grudging in committing resources to bring about changes which they themselves wish to see. The scheme of doctoral fellowships recently introduced under the administrative control of the National Research Advisory Council met steady, and at times strong, opposition from certain government departments on the Council before it was finally adopted. Yet, for a tiny sum, these scholarships provide an opportunity for government research divisions to influence profoundly the directions of university research. Once a university staff member has become involved in a new research field and finds research in it stimulating and productive he is not likely to abandon it. A change of direction then has every chance of being permanent.

There is not much point in raking over the past if one cannot learn from it. There can be hardly any doubt that government departments have been antipathetic to university research in the past. The signs of the conflict have not yet all gone. But the universities, which now have large research commitments, in manpower, in capital equipment, and in running costs, must recognize that they now commit consequential sins. Only a minority of the research fields active in the universities are chosen with any kind of eye for the national interest. They still reflect the personal enthusiasms of individual university staff. There is not much real coordination of effort, whether between university and industry or government. Or between one university and another, or between one department and another within a single university. Research equipment grows increasingly sophisticated and increasingly expensive. Not to attempt coordination is a waste of scarce cash. It also wastes scarce research talent. One of the standing complaints of all research workers in New Zealand, whether inside or outside the university, is that of Isolation. But if New Zealand research workers were to make a serious effort to coordinate their work, and to operate in related instead of unconnected fields, dialogues could take place frequently and profitably within the confines of the New Zealand coastline. The pace of research could only be quickened. I sometimes suspect that a reason for not doing this is that it would remove the excuse for the overseas study leave that is now so well entrenched a rite in both the universities and the government scientific services. Both kinds of institution are more inclined to give leave of absence for overseas study than to promote exchange or interchange within the country.

I have dealt in some detail with a specific aspect of the university's unresponsiveness to national needs—namely in research. Prodded by such influential public figures as the present Minister of Finance, the universities have recently become much more sensitive to the need for orienting their activities in nationally important directions. But it is not enough just to think about it. It is important to act.

Action can be slow and reluctant, giving way gradually under insistent pressures from outside. Seen to be unwilling, it is unlikely to win friends. Or it can be initiated willingly within the universities, who can seek out the advice and suggestions of those groups interested in their output. It is clear to me that this is the kind of action needed. Of course, if the universities do not believe a change of direction is desirable, they had better come out into the open and say so, flatly and unequivocally.

## The utilitarian view

When changes are urged on the universities, those urging them invariably intend that the universities should be more directly useful to the community. Within the universities there have been and still are those who abhor utility, as if what is utilitarian cannot be scholarly. That is to take much too narrow a view of utility. John Stuart Mill may not have been entirely right when he said, "I regard utility as the ultimate appeal on all ethical questions", but he was not entirely wrong either, given his qualification that "it must be utility in its largest sense, grounded on the permanent interests of a man as a progressive being". The present enormous investment by the state in the universities reflects the view that the universities have a utility, not perhaps recognized 40 years ago; and the universities have a duty to respond to that view. There is nothing incompatible between the primary objective of the university as I have defined it earlier—namely the pursuit of knowledge—and the notion of utility, especially if taken in the broad sense of Mill.

## Educating to Meet Demands

Two difficulties that a university must face when considering what useful functions it should undertake are, first, the difficulty of knowing or discovering what utilities should best be pursued and, second, the difficulty of responding flexibly to changes in these as changes are called for. The demands of governments, employers, lobbying groups and their spokesmen are often clamorous, often also changeable, sometimes ill-informed. The university has to be able to determine the real merits of the demands put to it. Most group requests contain at least an element of self-promotion. Few groups are entirely devoid of the taint of status-seeking. Almost all tend to call for an education for all the group that is strictly needed only for a select fraction.

Another problem in educating to meet demands is that needs may change quite sharply. Two or three years ago it was possible to ask (and, if my memory serves me correctly, a Minister of the Crown did publicly ask) the universities why they were producing so many more geologists than the country could possibly employ. At that time the reply could be little more than an embarrassed silence. At this present moment, however, the demand for geologists exceeds the graduation rate.

The pressures on the university come, of course, from various sources. Employers may want one thing, students another. The university is not merely a factory for producing units of manpower trained to do directly useful tasks. It is an institution of higher learning, and not a few students come to it simply for that reason—to study a subject for its own interest. In a well-to-do society the right to such an education ought surely to be as automatic for those who can benefit from it as the right to vaccination or to an old-age pension. Yet this is not universally agreed and only ten days ago a writer to the Auckland Star was denying it on the grounds that a university education was of benefit only to the student who took it and not to the community at large.

Despite the sometimes conflicting requirements of employer and student, despite the difficulty of establishing real needs, and despite the periodic violent fluctuations in demand for graduates in specific fields, the universities must take account of the national requirements for trained people. If they default in this, they cannot expect, and, in my view, do not deserve the massive support the state has recently accorded them. Up to now serious attempts at establishing real needs for university graduates have generally been made only after prompting by the University Grants Committee. I wish I could say that I thought the answers given by the universities have invariably been the result of dispassionate study. I believe university groups as a whole have been slow to come to grips with the questions of what sorts of graduate they should be producing and how many of each. The answers cannot be exact, of course, but even rough answers would be better than none. Many university academics, however, are more interested in preserving and extending the established pattern of their own discipline than investigating new patterns that might be more generally valuable to the community.

## Frequent Dialogue Brings Action

Certain groups within the university do respond to expressed needs. These comprise the professional schools—medicine, law, architecture, engineering, dentistry, and so on. If I dwell a little on engineering here, it is only because I know it better than the others, not because I think it displays any exceptional virtues. The engineering faculties of both universities include representatives of the New Zealand Institution of Engineers. The Auckland faculty also includes representatives from industry, and Canterbury may well have a similar arrangement. The Education Committee of the Council of the Institution of Engineers includes a representative from each school of engineering. The dialogue between the profession and the teaching institutions is thus fairly frequent. The schools of engineering are also in continual touch with employers of engineering graduates, partly because of the vacation employment experience that undergraduates have to acquire, partly because most of the recruiting of new graduates is done by the employer making direct contact with the engineering schools.

Both schools make use of practising engineers to give occasional lectures. Similar practices hold in other professional schools, although there will be differences in detail. Thus as the requirements of a profession alter, the teaching pattern can respond. Indeed the schools of engineering take some pride in the fact that they give a lead as often as they follow, and doubtless this will also be true in other professional schools. This is not to say that all is perfect in the teaching curricula of the schools of engineering. Complaints are heard from time to time. But the virtue of the situation is that there is a real exchange of views. The complaints are heard; and action generally follows.

## Response to reform needs

It is to me striking that in the years over which I have been associated with this university, there have been major revisions of the degree statutes in all of the faculties with professional affiliations—law, architecture, engineering and commerce, whereas the B.A. remains hardly altered, and the B.Sc. only recently by a partial and rather messy development of an honours stream in some subjects.

It could be argued that the ability of the professional schools to introduce reforms is a function of their small size as much as of their responsiveness to the demands of the professions. It may be so, for at Auckland both the fine arts and music faculties have also introduced major changes. The two factors are not unrelated, however. The arts faculty is large because it spans such a broad range of subjects. It is the same breadth of interest that makes its teaching objectives so diffuse. Its members have a commitment to no employer, no group of employers, no particular profession. The largest single employer of arts graduates is, I suppose, the Education Department, but no special service is offered in the form of a degree structure tailored to suit intending teachers. Indeed this university recently declined to develop such a degree.

Photo of university building

It is not hard to think of areas in which there is need for well qualified persons with a specific training at the level at which the university operates, but which it does not currently serve. Many of these cut across the traditional subject boundaries, that is are interdisciplinary in nature. Local-body and government administrators, social workers of various kinds, persons to work in industrial relations and personnel management are but a few examples besides teachers. The universities could produce such people, but are making, so far as I know, little attempt to do so. The holder of a general B.A. is not trained for such jobs. He or she may have the right talents, but hardly any of the formal subject matter of his or her B.A. will be of the slightest direct use. Moreover, further study for an M.A. is altogether too specialized, and is quite the wrong way to go. The hoary old chestnut that the BA produces a trained mind will not do for an answer. The employer rightly asks, "Trained for what?" According to my reading there is not much solid scientifically respectable evidence to support the contention that a training in one field fits a person to perform well in another.

Members of arts departments seem to have such a strong discipline fixation that they are unsympathetic to the notion of a vocationally oriented degree, even though it be arts-dominated. Vocation seems to be a disreputable word. The University of Auckland has over 3100 arts students. When those heading for teaching are subtracted there is still left a goodly total. What are they going to do on graduation? "What does it matter?" you may say in answer. "They have a good general education." They might, however, have been given both a good education and a specific training in a field of immediate use. The women amongst them might not then have had to go straight to a secretarial college in order to learn enough to earn enough to support life.

If I am critical of the arts degree, let it not be thought that I am delighted with the sciences. In science there is an almost equal discipline fixation. Added to it is the belief, religious in intensity, that science is dedicated to unravelling the mysteries of the universe. With the latter I agree. Who am I to argue with Karl Popper: "All science is cosmology, the problem of understanding the world, ourselves, and our knowledge as part of it."

But this, of course, is not the popular view of science. The popular view confuses science with technology. A flight to the moon is hailed as an achievement of science whereas it is nothing of the kind. And it has to be accepted that most science graduates will not be helping unravel the secrets of the universe. Indeed most are not capable of it. If they are not teaching, they will be working in industry. They will be employed as applied scientists—technologists. But how many science departments in the country offer any courses in the industrial application! of their subject? I can name some, but not many. How many, for that matter, combine their courses with teacher-training courses to suit the many science graduates needed in secondary schools and technical institutes?

I would not advocate that the universities should enter into teaching vocationally oriented arts and science degrees if I thought that doing this would endanger the primary commitment of the universities to scholarship. I have already said, and I want to repeat it, that utility and scholarly endeavour are not incompatible. They never have been. The first western universities were vocational in character. I wish I could say with my hand on my heart and looking the Minister of Finance straight in the eye that our universities were fulfilling their role of

serving the community to the uttermost limit consistent with their pursuit of knowledge. Frankly, I think a sizeable section of the university is wasting the taxpayers' money. Too much of the time of too many of its staff is devoted to formal studies that, while worthwhile in themselves, are not intrinsically more worthwhile than other studies of more use to the community. I would like to see the universities introduce a range of degree structures solidly grounded in arts and science but with clear vocational ends. I think the need is overdue, and I think large numbers of students as well as employers would welcome such a change. Doing this would, moreover, combine the activities of arts and science departments with those of the professional schools. This, in itself, would produce an uncountable gain in communication across boundaries that are by tradition seldom crossed.

## **Laughter in the Corridors of Power**

Professor W.H. Oliver in a thoughtful and appealing paper presented to the Conference of this Association held in May 1968 put the thesis that the real value of studies in the humanities had to be seen in terms of the style it introduced into life, including political and public life. That simply won't do. Can't you hear the ringing laughter in the corridors of power?

## **Scholar's duty to students**

I have spent a good deal of time discussing the third of the university scholar's duties, namely to society outside: I have dwelt, moreover, almost wholly on ways in which the university can serve society directly, in particular by providing a greater range of vocationally oriented courses. I have hardly touched on the second of my university scholar's duties, that to his students. It is, of course, a vital duty. The day when students sal wide-eyed at the feet of their Gamaliel is long gone, but the university teacher wants still to do more than impart a sound grasp of his subject to each learner: he still wants to kindle the living spark of enthusiasm. At least I imagine he does. Not many of us succeed too well in either of these objectives, but not, I think, for want of trying. Unfortunately, the teachers, on average, are no belter as teachers than are the students as students.

At the end of the last lecture of the last week of last term I was approached by a group of three or four students who, very politely, asked me whether I could please slow down my lecturing pace. They said they had discussed this together, and with others, before coming to see me. They were all agreed that they couldn't take down the diagrams that I drew on the blackboard and also listen to all that I was saying after I had drawn them. It's a little distressing, of course, to be told after nearly 20 years of lecturing that one is still going too fast, still only an average lecturer, but they were earnest and serious, and anxious to learn and one had to accept that they meant what they said. I agreed that I would slow down a bit. But I asked them whether, since we were being candid with each other, they would mind telling me if they had had this trouble in the last lecture. Oh yes, they had. Had they, I asked, and would they please give me a straight answer, had they read the set reading before they came to the class. Well, no they hadn't. What, none of you. Well, no, not really. Perhaps it wasn't quite fair of me to point out that over half of the material of that lecture, as of all those preceding it, was in the set reading in the set text, and that most of the diagrams were there too. As usual, the students turned out to be as well-intentioned as the lecturer—and about as short of perfect in performance.

## **Students more vocal**

But it is good to have the students becoming more vocal and less passive about the quality of the courses and their presentation. I have little sympathy for notions of student government (let's remember the fate of Bologna) but I do most strongly believe that it is important to get student reactions fed back to the lecturing staff and not less important that staff respond constructively.

Students have, of course, various motives for coming to university. They may see the university as a purveyor of meal tickets, as the first remove from the blight of parental control, as a marriage bureau, as a fun-house for a few years, as a place for a better education, as a mere postponement of the difficult decision of "What shall I do?" It is probably a fair guess that most come to it as a stepping stone to a job. But for many in arts and science the vision of "job" is ill-resolved, fuzzy, lacking in focus. The university probably does not help much in sharpening up the picture. Indeed it may simply blur it further. In this respect we do the student poor service. I may have given the impression earlier that I am totally opposed to the general B.A. This I am not. But I cannot think that all of those enrolled in arts, and they amount to one third of the student population at Auckland, are best served by such a programme of study. Most would, I think, welcome some clearer vocational goals and a range of courses leading to them. It may be that the general B.A. should be taken by many. It may also be that the kind of vocational studies I have advocated are best done as post-bachelors' diplomas. But I myself, however, incline to the view that the vocational teaching should not be postponed as

long as that. I think it would best appear in the second year of study, after the first 'filtration' year has been passed. I would make similar comments in respect of the B.Sc. The growing stream of B.Sc's crossing to engineering indicates that the students themselves feel a lack in their science degree when they view it as a preparation for industrial employment. Courses in applied aspects of the main physical sciences could fill valuable gaps in the science curricula.

As a final comment on the university's duty to its students I should like to point out what is often forgotten in public criticism of the universities, namely that the university scholar in fulfilling his duty to his students is at the same time serving society outside. These students of his will enter the community, and in doing so, will make their contribution to it throughout their lives.

To conclude this somewhat discursive talk I should like to touch on two of the questions that I posed earlier. The first of these was "Does the university have a part to play in political affairs?" and the second was "Is the university an instrument of social justice?"

## University's political role

I do not believe the university as a corporate body has any direct part to play in political affairs. Its part surely lies in teaching its students to understand the arts and artifices of politics, and in offering ethical and moral commentary on them; and then leaving each student to the conclusions of his own intelligence and conscience. Individual members of the university, staff and student alike, can and at times will play significant political roles. But the diversity alone of the views to be found within a university make corporate action impossible. It is not conceivable to me that the university as a corporate body can adopt an official stance on, to take today's issue, rugby football with South Africa.

I feel much the same about the university as an instrument of social justice. It can be effective by teaching what social justice is or may be, by sending out into the community graduates who understand what liberty and social justice mean, and what are the ways of preserving and extending them. On the whole the university does little about this in formal and organized ways. My youthful experience was that ideas of this kind developed largely by discussion with one's fellow students—often in the late hours of the night or the small hours of morning. I imagine it is much the same today. My chief regret about engineering students is that they don't seem to do much of this, perhaps because their time is so heavily taken up with coursework. As a result their views are usually sedately conservative on all subjects except, engineering. I extend my regrets also to the other professions, which seem equally sedate and conservative—presumably for the same reason.

## Cowardice in the Milner Affair

Sometimes the university can speak out collectively on matters of social justice, and it must do so when it is itself involved in such an issue. The Godfrey 'spy case' of some years ago was one in which this university did take a firm stand. There are some who think it has not shone so well more recently. It behaved, I shall always believe, with cowardice in the Milner affair a couple of years back—albeit with rather inconspicuous cowardice. A month or so ago it declined to make a public stand in support of complaints about police behaviour in the Agnew affair, although few within the university who have seen the evidence seem inclined to deny its 'truth'.

Internally, universities talk a great deal about freedom. But they do not often come out strongly for it in public, especially if it means taking an unpopular stand. Thomas Jefferson, writing the constitution of the University of Virginia, pictured a body of scholars dedicated to the criticism of a society that would resist every change that endangered its comforts. These scholars, he believed, "would unmask usurpation, and monopolies of honours, wealth and power". But universities have rarely been centres of political dissent, and in New Zealand almost never. Besides, Mr Gail is watching us. And Mr Gair has said the money can be cut off.

## Titchner: "Please somebody tell him..."

In writing this commentary on Professor Titchner's address to the A.U.T. seminar in Auckland on 21 May, I find that I do not have the time, given the short notice, nor I am sure does Salent have the space, to expand in depth my own views on the functions of modern universities nor on the question of far more importance to us, universities in New Zealand today. Some of these views will become obvious from what I write but I would hope that readers appreciate that I may appear not to give appropriate emphasis to important questions.

I first became aware of what Titchner had said from the televised excerpt from his address. The following day I read carefully all the available newspaper reports, including that in the New Zealand Herald—a copy of

which I bought specially. This led me to move a resolution, which the Chancellor seconded, at the following Monday's meeting of Council. The original text was 'That this Council inform Professor Titchener of the University of Auckland that, however accurate his reported statements of 21 May about causes of alleged waste in universities may be in respect of some situation in his own university in which he as a senior academic has presumably been in a position of influence for some years, it considers him not competent to speak on these questions about the university system in New Zealand as a whole and furthermore that it repudiates those utterances as far as this university is concerned'.

On the suggestion of one member of Council, who thought the words from "however" to "years" might be interpreted as a personal attack, I agreed to their deletion. During the discussion, which resulted in the carrying by Council of an amended resolution to issue public statement published in fact in Wellington papers on 27 May, another member of Council who had been present for Professor Titchener's address read parts of it to Council. I of course cannot speak for other members of Council, but my own reaction at that point, shared I am sure by others, was to be even more appalled than I had been previously. Now that I have, by courtesy of the Editor of *Salient*, been able to read the text of the whole address I can only say that I feel one of my remarks at Council to have been a gross understatement. This remark was to the effect that one of the things most irrelevant to the facts of New Zealand universities today was Professor Titchener and his statements. This of course is not to deny that he may be a very good Professor of Engineering. I don't know and I would not be presumptuous enough to judge him in that context. I would accept the judgment of knowledgeable experts. This raises the central point of my disagreement with him. He is not, except possibly for the University of Auckland, a knowledgeable expert in the subject he chose to discuss, universities in New Zealand and that can be demonstrated from an examination of his own text. Indeed such an examination shows that his knowledge of university development in Europe, in the United Kingdom in the 19th century and in New Zealand since 1869 and right up to the present day is woefully deficient.

Before I go any further I should say that there are some generalisations and qualifications in the text with which hardly anyone would disagree. Moreover, as we pointed out at Council, there are certain passages which Professor Titchener must have known, because of their emotive content, would be seized on by what today are euphemistically described as the "news media".

The text treats us to a perpetuation of the 19th century 'Oxbridge' myth and its alleged influence on New Zealand universities. In his third paragraph however, Professor Titchener must have some people somewhere really rotating on their axes. It must be interesting to all those students who through the centuries have attended Bologna to read that the Professor has decried the demise of their university at some date in the past. Apparently this "demise" had something to do with a form of student government adopted in the early Middle Ages. But how able was Napoleon ere he saw Elba? Apparently his efforts with the University of Paris were as nothing. It has survived because in the twelfth century it was governed by its teaching members, according to Titchener. Furthermore he would have us believe that "present-day universities have an administrative structure that is descended directly from the early Paris system". I can only hope that, for the sake of all our futures, the structures designed by Professor Titchener's students are more substantial than the arguments in his first three paragraphs.

Let me now state some things which I believe to be true about the present university situation in New Zealand. 'Oxbridge' had some but a very small effect in New Zealand. Other influences, and more important ones, were the Scottish system, the other British universities and developments in the United States together with a tincture of the applied science of a united Germany. This leads me to the next point that the New Zealand system has always been a blend of the "education for the whole man" system with the vocational training system. I think that for the foreseeable future it will continue to be such a blend and I am also of the opinion that, given our circumstances, it is a sound blend, it is intellectually justifiable and it meets the needs of our society. That is not to say that it meets the needs of some small critical sector in the community, but rather that it serves the needs as best it sees them and that it is very conscious of the fact that comparatively large sums of public money are being spent to maintain and develop the system.

This brings me to the central issue, namely that Professor Titchener claims that universities waste public money. Apparently "scholastic whims" dictate research projects. Perhaps they do in Auckland. Perhaps there has been the occasional case he has encountered during his recent membership of what has been described to me as that "Mickey Mouse setup"—the National Research Advisory Council. If he has, let him say so. If not, let him stop branding dedicated researchers as wasters. In any case, if a university has a pressing need for a lecturer in French to help train B.A. students who are going to teach in the schools, what research project relevant to New Zealand would Professor Titchener prescribe? Perhaps he would recommend instead of the appointee's interest in say the Provencal troubadours, that he try to find out what sea shanties the sailors under Marion do Fresne's command sang.

But, pause, there are other dramatic revelations to follow. There should be more in the way of vocational

options available in B.A. subjects. Apparently the learned Professor has never heard of universities in New Zealand where such options are available. Here he takes an Auckland experience and applies it to the whole country. "Perhaps he should be told gently that it is possible to provide, and such has been provided, a B.A. structure that provides legitimately for both the person seeking a good general education and also for the person seeking "vocationally oriented tertiary education". He tells us that he inclines "to the view that the vocational teaching should not be postponed as long as that," i.e. post-bachelors diplomas. Perhaps a runner should start now with a message impaled on a pointed stick to tell the barbarians north of the Waikato River that the Victoria B.C.A. degree enables people to take a range of subjects and course options which ensures that they can select the combination best suited to them. In the "interdepartmental studies" option people can offer appropriate unity from the B.A. or B.Sc. degree prescriptions.

However Professor Titchener also assures us that "there is a need for well qualified persons with a specific training at the level at which the university operates, but which it does not currently serve". Indeed he gives examples. They are as follows (with my comments following and those comments apply just to Victoria and not to what may be being done elsewhere in New Zealand)

Local body and Government administration

Please somebody tell him the D.P.A. course was instituted in Victoria in 1939 and you don't have to have a first degree to be enrolled.

Social workers of various kinds

Please somebody tell him that there has been a Diploma of Social Science course at Victoria for over twenty years and again you don't have to have a first degree to be enrolled.

Industrial relations and personnel management

Please somebody tell him that this area has been covered at Victoria for most of the last decade by courses offered in the Department of Economics and by a variety of courses, including some arduous certificate courses, in the Department of University Extension. While he is being told this he might also be informed that negotiations lasting over eighteen months have resulted in an Industrial Relations Research Centre complete with an advisory committee which includes in its membership the Presidents of major trade organisations, i.e. F.O.L., Employers, Manufacturers.

Let Professor Titchener tell us what has been done in the field of careers advice for those students who want such advice. If it has been neglected by New Zealand universities, let him tell US how.

I have now covered the areas in which we are accused of wasting public money, apart from an allegation of research information not being exchanged and coordinated. This was a common charge in the scientific disciplines twenty years or so ago. Such information as I was able to obtain from inquiry, which I made well before the Titchener address, indicates that in general there is no longer any substance to this view.

I could go on and on. I don't think it's worth it. Before I conclude let me make it quite plain that our New Zealand system safeguards the right of students who have qualified to take the courses which they want to. It must continue to do so. I am sure the Council of this University will ensure this, as will equally the academic staff within the vicinity of staffing and finance. Indeed, although my own first degree was in a faculty regarded as "vocational", it was not taken for a vocational purpose and was of no vocational value to me.

The kindest thing to do about Professor Titchener's address is to forget it ever happened.

K.B.O'Brien

Titchener: "Please somebody tell him..."

## Drama Review

### Macbeth.

Directed by Phillip Mann for the VUW Drama Society. Reviewed by Andrew Wilson.

Photo from Macbeth production

Phillip Mann's production of *Macbeth*, now running in the Memorial Theatre, is an exhilarating exercise in transforming the blueprint of the written play into dynamic theatre. The whole text was there and it ran without scene shifting, curtains or breaks of any kind for two and a quarter hours.

The act was a substantial presence without being monolithic and conveyed an immediate castle quality of heavy stone and receding dark corridors while retaining enough non-specific space to stage the other settings quickly in true Elizabethan spirit. The incisive cutting from scene to scene and act to act gave the whole a cinematic effect of montage: a highly appropriate form which highlights better than any other the commentary and contrast functions of the adjoining scenes. Moreover, this achieved the effect of instantaneous scene

changing in the Elizabethan mode (a matter of one set of actors moving off and another coming on) and also made possible the playing of two scenes simultaneously. A fine example of this was created by overlapping the natural extension of Act IV, scene ii (the discovery and collection of the murdered Macduff family) and scene iii where Malcolm and Macduff talk of the unhappy situation in Scotland, while ignorant of the latest horror. This was done by using the upper and lower levels of the set simultaneously. This staging was used to particularly good effect in the closing stages to cut from Dunsinane to Siward's approaching army with economy and a necessary rhythmic impetus.

The treatment of the three witches and the murderers will no doubt be the most discussed aspects of the play. The intensity given to the supernatural atmosphere affected the audience with a chilling force. The slow reverberating drum beats which began before the lights went down infected the theatre with an ominous tone before they were consciously noticed. The Three Weird Sisters were used impressively as ceaselessly moving spectres and by doing without the bubbling pot and the restricting wild moors setting they had a fearsome omnipresent quality true to the theme of the play: the forces of evil which work on the raptures of natural order caused by treasonable ambition. The murderers were a little difficult to accept but they are consistent as perversions of natural order; and the suggestion that they were somehow gruesome aspects of Macbeth's own personality or even a miscreant variety of those 'man-children' Lady Macbeth never produced (from the way Macbeth gathered them to himself) was an exciting discovery on the night.

The acting was good among the smaller parts where it might have been indifferent, although the soldiers, and especially Duncan, tried to project a gravelly voice too loudly for comfortable communication. The major parts were excellent and Jillian King played Lady Macbeth superbly well. Her 'unsex me here!' speech in the hovering presence of the invoked Weird Sisters was shattering. Sam Neill's Macbeth had great presence and he delivered even the better known lines with a freshness all the more effective for being closer to the rhythm of tortured thought.

The attempts at maintaining deep, rough masculine voices among the other leads seemed to be an unnatural strain for them although Banquo (John Woods), Macduff (Donald Carson) and Ross (Roy Middleton) performed well in spite of the handicap. Malcolm (Stuart Devenie) was remarkably well spoken, and not just in contrast, with a clear and intelligent delivery. His testing of Macduff was not completely convincing and might have left those not familiar with the play confused as to his moral standing. The porter (Michael Bajko) was deservedly well received in a scene where significance and laughter are in delicate balance. Gwen Kaiser's costumes were entirely appropriate and Lady Macbeth's in the early scenes particularly had a striking austerity.

But the highest praise is due to Phillip Mann for designing and directing an exciting new vision of *Macbeth*, bold in concept and dynamic in unity of execution.

we clothe students, folk singers executives, freedom marchers, politi left, right and center men theolog

## The 625 Line

## TV with David Smith

Image of David Smith

## Three Actors in Search of a Cameraman

Without putting too fine a point on it the fact is that we are now halfway through the year without having seen one local television programme capable of standing on its own feet (both of them left in the case of *Let's Dance*). Apparently the golden age of successful local television will dawn only when the 'mammoth' studios at Avalon become operational. Avalon is to the NZBC what Paremoremo was to the Justice Department—the only distinction being that Paremoremo has more television cameras than Avalon. Just as stone walls do not a prison make it might be pertinent to point out that extra floor space does not a successful TV enterprise make either. The usual government policy of 'put up more buildings' is singularly inappropriate here. The policy should be one of 'import more human beings'. Human beings like Max Adrian, whose presence in the capital city has gone largely unnoticed by the Corporation yet whose staggering talent was admirably showcased in what would probably be one of the greatest programmes ever seen on any TV screen anywhere in the world, to wit *Song of Summer*. As Frederick Delius in decay and resurrection, Adrian was magnificent, memorable and thoroughly direct. With totally competent supporting actors and a cameraman whose technique was marvellously suited to the small screen, the beautiful sensitivity to music and art that was emitted from a

seemingly loathsome individual came across almost imperceptibly and with no concert hall distractions. No attempt at grand scale production—just relentless pursuit of a central theme within an unambitious framework. Likewise Peter Vaughn's *Benvenuto Cellini*, on an even smaller scale, had almost as much impact. Once again the sheer animal force of the artist carried the programme with enormous intensity. Why no top class New Zealand actors are asked to try the same thing is beyond my comprehension. Maybe they really do like Moro bars.

After all these years of slick mindlessness, isn't it now time for the lead actor of *To Catch a Thief* to change his name to Alex Mundane?

Only the NZBC could do it without blinking an eye. One night last week they advertised a forthcoming transmission of a rugby league game by throwing up a photograph of an All Black game. Really!

Object lesson in sports broadcasts came with a total of four hours of the English F.A. Cup Final which all told deserved an Arts Council Grant. The fact that the result was known in advance simply added a new dimension similar to Greek tragedy. As soon as New Zealand TV stops treating sports broadcasts as a chore the sooner this sporting nation (the well known myth) will get the coverage it deserves.

*Miss New Zealand Show.* Well, I at least agree with the first word . . .

Photo from university petition

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Knaekers A Late Night Review At Downstage LlpM Friday And Saturday From June 19

Unity Theatre Presents Richard Iii Directed By Matthew O'Sullivan At The Unity Theatre, I Kent Terrace, From 19 June-4 July At 7.30 Pm. Ian Macdonald Of The University'S Electronic Music Studio Is Composing Electronic And Orchestral Music Especially For This Production. Peter Coates - Nzbc Producer - Is Designing The Set And Costumes. Adults \$1,00 Students 60 Cents Parties Of 20 Receive Two Free Seats Bookings At Dic

Karon Dramatic Society presents Antony And Cleopatra Directed By Pat Craddock Do Not Miss This Spectacular Production Which Will Be Staged In The University Memorial Theatre From Wednesday 17 June To Saturday 27 June At 8Pm. Matinees Saturday 20 June And Saturday 27 June Commencing At 2Pm. Every Effort Has Been Put Into Making This A Colourful And Attractive Production. Under Pat Craddock'S Guidance A Large Cast Headed By Such Experienced Players As Helen Brew And Don Selwyn Will Bring To The Theatre-Going Public An Outstanding Presentation Of This Intensely Interesting And Gripping Drama. Adults \$1.00 Students 60 Cents Parties Of More Than 30 People - 40 Cents Each Bookings At Dic

## Film Review

Photo still from *The Night of the Following Day*

## Music Review

Bach; Partita in D Minor. Gavin Saunders: Violin

One cannot help having admiration for anybody who attempts one of these unaccompanied Bach works

But with such technical facility as Mr Saunders displayed one should say more.

The performance was classical but merging with the afternoon sundrifts it worked

Even the Weather can be a Chance Element.

Stockhausen Piano Piece No. 9. Margaret Nielsen: Piano

After the power of the performances that Miss Nielsen gave this piece last year this performance was disappointingly lifeless an answer (maybe)? "This Piece is Already 20 Years Old" Sighed Miss Nielsen

Before a Note was Played, and although a little of the contemporary relevance was thus lost the piece still remained the most important event in the concert.

Webern: 8 Early Songs. Gerald Christeller: Baritone. Gillian Bibby: Piano

rather lucid dredgings from the world of Wolf and early Strauss.

before he met his later tutor Schonberg

Posthumously Published

Webern's inherent delicacy and clarity were evident in Mr Christeller's and Miss Bibby's performance

Lunchtime Concert Music Room. Thurs. 28 May: 1.30pm. Reviewed by Allan Marett.

*The Night Of The Following Day* is a fairly freaky excursion into the realm of implied menace. No specific acts of violence assault the senses until the film's last scenes, and even in the most notable of these, the shooting of Richard Boone on the beach, there is a strange, Daliesque atmosphere about the proceedings which belie intimations of reality. The film's startling final moments, which I would be tempted to label pretentious (in the Bergman sense) if this were a lesser work, imply that the events have been taking place in the mind of a teenage girl, the recipient throughout the film of the unwholesome attention of Mr Boone and his cronies. Whether or not the nightmare is a recurring one, after the style of Evan Hunter's *Mr Buddwing*. will depend on how one views the several aspects of the girl's association with the other characters. Was Marlon Brando really her father's chauffeur, already known to her and therefore fit subject for her dreams? And so forth. Interpretative gambols aside, it's all rather tremendous, if mildly sickening.

The director, Hubert Cornfield, is known to me only as the director of a socially significant mess called *Pressure Point*, produced by Stanley Kramer some years ago. In this earlier film a negro psychiatrist (guess who?) is chosen to treat a black-hating, jew-baiting member of the American Nazi Party. Any worthy points about the film are swamped by the stridently artificial polarity between Poitier and his antagonist, excellently played by Bobby Darin. Their numerous exchanges lead to heights of asininity heretofore unseen in cinema. In *The Night of the Following Day*. Cornfield, removed from Kramer's crushing liberalism, makes the most of a mean script, a talented cast, and Willi Kurant's exceptional photography. Any appearance by Marlon Brando is for me something of a happening, and he does not disappoint in this off-beat, comparatively subdued role. Always, apparently, near boiling point, Brando is nevertheless content to serve the story, rather than dominate it as he is on occasion wont to do. Richard Boone is inscrutably evil, while the rest of the players are equally effective. It is a pity, however, that the excellent young actress Pamela Franklin is called upon to do little more than show a tremulous lower lip at the appropriate moment.

Cornfield inclines to seduce us by using familiar devices of plot and character. The impression that the film is such a compendium reinforces the view that the whole affair is some kind of morbid, adolescent fantasy, if, indeed, this is what it is intended to be. There are numerous striking images and scenes, the foremost of which is the aforementioned episode on the beach, a true anthology piece. Brando sniping from the waves, Boone being dragged out to sea and wallowing there like some bloated monster, framed between his suitcase and upright umbrella in strikingly surrealistic pose. This is undoubtedly the highlight of the film, but the rest of it is not far behind. The kidnapping and deliverance of concomitant lucre .are convincing and suspenseful, the familiarity of such machinations being offset by the nerveless Boone who is, to say the least, grossly obvious in his lurkings. *The Night Of The Following Day* is not without its flaws in style and content, but the fact that I can be both fascinated and repelled by what is going on is, unless I misjudge, a measure of its considerable achievement.

A word of high praise for Cinerama's latest offering: There are some unfortunate people I know who are so obsessed with their objection to war, militarism, generals in general and Patton in particular, that not even George C. Scott could drag them to see this intelligent, superbly made biography. There is something to be said for the view that their antipathy towards the character would not be so outspoken were Patton a protagonist in a revolutionary situation—on the right side of course. Were Patton Spartacus, his disregard for certain elemental rights and decencies would be regarded as not entirely reprehensible. In any case, one can respect the man as he is portrayed in this film, partly because Scott, in yet another tour the force, is so persuasive, and partly because there is something attractive about his rugged integrity, be he bastard or not. Questions of historical accuracy don't bother me much, and this case is no exception. The character is developed consistently and forcefully, this

being sufficient to offset any suspicion that a wee bit of whitewash has been splashed here and there.

Franklin Schaffner, whose previous credits include *The War Lord*, *The Best Man* and *The Planet Of The Apes*, makes the most of the Spanish and North African settings and Scott's apparent limitless talents. The battle scenes are viewed from a distance [unclear: was] seen by the ancient strategists Patton would have as his [unclear: member] This approach is decidedly fresh after the cut and thrust cause of the hand to hand fighting so often seen in war films. As is the [unclear: was] in most high class productions of this order the technical [unclear: hand] impeccable, and Fred Koeneck's sumptuous visuals [unclear: comnb] enormously to the film's total effectiveness. I end this short [unclear: waste] with a plea that the film should be seen on its next appearance, scruples disregarded and doctrinal objections cast aside.

Rex Benson

## Classified

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## China

*This article has been reprinted from the last issue of Salient because the juxtaposition of several paragraphs made it unintelligible. We apologise for any inconvenience readers may have experienced.*

*Among the Canadian journalists in New Zealand for Trudeau's visit was Mark Gayn of the Toronto Star's Asia Bureau. Mr Gayn is a well-known commentator on China. We asked him for some general remarks on Chinese foreign policy.*

Dragon cartoon

China is a great power, like the United States, or Russia; she is led by extremely competent people. Her foreign policy is based on the fundamental needs and interests of China. It has to reflect these interests because, otherwise, China would be led to ruin, and China is not being led to ruin, nor is it being led into dangerous foreign adventures.

China's foreign policy, ever since 1949, has been coherent, and it has reflected two things: a desire to stay out of any dangerous wars and a compulsion to make sure that her border areas are protected. China has become involved in a number of conflicts, some of them on a huge scale; as, for instance, in North Korea. China went in because she felt that American troops were moving in too close to her territory. In fact, they were right across the river from Manchuria. And she became involved in a conflict with India. This again was in the belief, which beyond any doubt is genuine, that there is an ill-defined area on the border between China and India and India was poaching on this territory. It is important to remember that the regime of Chiang Kai Shek also had refused to sign any agreements on the India-China border because it also felt that the original dividing line was unfair and ill-defined.

China is preoccupied today with a number of very intricate and very vital problems and dangers. Her main preoccupation in the last, say, three months has been with Japan, and this has been more or less predictable. Japan is also a great Asiatic power and is certainly moving to rearmament. In November, after his visit to Washington, Prime Minister Sato spelled out at least some of Japan's foreign policy for the years to come, and the Chinese feel that it threatens them. Sato, after returning from Washington, said that it was essential for Japan to have South Korea and Taiwan in friendly hands. Peking looks at this—and it has always been suspicious of Japan, and always hostile to the present government—and feels that here are the Americans presumably pulling out of Asia and Japan is moving in. Japan is going to be, to use their own jargon, the 'Gendarme of Asia'. Sato's statement has been reiterated a number of times since November, and as a result I think that Chinese foreign policy has come to some sort of a milepost. They have to begin to prepare for future conflicts, whether they're armed conflicts or political conflicts, with Japan. Now one of the by-products of this was the meeting in Pyongyang, in North Korea, about 6 weeks ago between Chou En Lai and Kim Il Sung, the leader of North Korea. Both of them are vitally concerned, because when Sato speaks about his desires to keep South Korea in friendly hands he becomes of vital interest to North Korea which never stops, not for a day, talking about the reunification of Korea. And, of course, Taiwan is of tremendous concern and interest to China. So Japan beyond doubt is the main concern of China.

But China also sees all of Asia as an area in which she is in conflict at the present with the United States and with the Soviet Union. There's a lot of talk in the United States about making gestures towards an understanding with China. We will let our journalists go to Peking, or we will relax our restrictions on some of the trade with China, and so on. And this of course is a childish idea. The Americans cannot possibly have any understanding with China, they cannot come to any understanding, until their entire policy in Asia is changed. The Chinese are interested in knowing that there is a 7th Fleet in the Formosa Straits and that Taiwan is really protected by US power, or that US power is also massed very near the Chinese border, south of the Chinese border. So China sees the United States as an ever-present threat.

Now, of course there is also another dimension—ideological conflict. Mao Tse Tung has been steeped in a Marxist ideology which sees the world in terms of a great conflict between the bad ones and the good ones—the capitalists and the socialists. The entire foreign policy of China is coloured by this ideological approach. So even if the United States withdrew from all these areas I would think the conflict would continue on a different plane. The United States still remains a symbol of the Enemy. It is seen as the stronghold of capitalism and imperialism and so on, and the whole Chinese revolution is committed to the idea of getting rid of this enemy.

The third, and a very powerful, enemy—and one that the Chinese were extremely concerned about in 1969—is the Soviet Union. Again there's been a lot of very silly talk about a Soviet conventional nuclear preventive against China. There's been a lot of talk about Chinese guerilla raids into Siberia and so on. Both of these countries pursue a cautious foreign policy, and until and unless they feel that their vital interests are concerned, or that the gamble is worth taking they won't take serious risks. The Soviet Union took the gamble in Cuba when it tried to put missiles there. The Soviet Union is now in what I regard as a very dangerous gamble in the Middle East. Once you introduce Soviet pilots into the area, it transforms the whole scale and nature of the conflict in there. Though the Russians are still talking persistently about stopping Israeli imperialism, it's a lot of nonsense. It's also rather silly in the context of politics today to talk about helping the Arab countries to maintain their independence against encroaching imperialism. What will really happen is that Soviet intervention must bring the United States into the conflict, and then it becomes surely very dangerous.

The Chinese are involved in a conflict with the Soviet Union, for such a variety of reasons that I wouldn't even try to talk about them. Some of them are ideological. More important is the question of what kind of a revolution they are to have in the world. Their attitude towards revolutionary movements involves a fundamental debate on strategy: whether to be militant or cautious in revolution-making. In this debate the two countries take different positions, simply because they're in different stages of development. The Soviet Union is concerned lest it become involved in a nuclear war. The Chinese have decided that nuclear weapons are a paper tiger and therefore you need not worry about them; after all in Vietnam the Americans never use nuclear weapons so therefore don't be passive in your help to revolutionary movements everywhere. There is a long-standing dispute on the border. There is the question of who is to lead revolution everywhere, and so on. So these are rather fundamental interests. On the other hand the conflict is not such as to lead the other country to think that it must become engaged in a devastating war. Both of them have a coherent foreign policy and they're not likely to engage in suicidal wars. So I don't expect a major war. I think that it is possible that there will be continued border clashes, some of them perhaps on a very heavy scale, but I don't see any likelihood of major wars between Russia and China. Also, of course, the Russians feel that the real crux of their dispute with China is Mao's attitude towards the Soviet Union. Mao is 77 and sooner or later, probably sooner, he will die. You don't become involved in a major war with the Chinese when 6 months from now Mao is dead, and

perhaps you can at least negotiate on some issues with the Chinese and stop this dispute which is really hurting both of them.

The fascinating thing about Chinese foreign policy is the part that ideology plays in its shaping and its development and how ideology is closely linked with the nation's interests. How one is woven into the other. I was very lucky to have been able to see Mao in the years when he was still in flight—in the caves in which he lived in a place called Yen-an in the north west of China. It's a famous place, if you read Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China* you'll find that it ends with Mao's arrival in Yen-an. It was interesting that in his cave he had this rickety bookcase that was filled with the classics of communist Marxist philosophy. He lived in this wilderness, almost completely isolated from the world, and was immersed in this revolutionary thought which he of course tried to adapt to the realities of China as he knew them—the realities of the Chinese countryside especially. And out of this period there's come the political philosophy and a personal faith which has shaped his behaviour and the behaviour of all his companions, most of whom also went through ten years in Yen-an. It has shaped both the foreign policy of China and the history of China. The cultural revolution cannot be understood at all unless you know something about the ten years that Mao spent in Yen-an, about his views on the Good Revolutionary, about his view of revolutionary militancy, the need for sacrifice by young people, the need for obedience, the need for forgetting oneself for the sake of this ideal of revolution. It may be very difficult for us to understand this whole very complex plot because we live in a different context but in his context largely peasant China, and the revolution has been going on for 45 years now, it makes sense.

### Now it can be Revealed Department

Many are the security precautions taken by the New Zealand Government to deal with the current Royal Tour, but none so bizarre as the special decrees relating to the smashing of the Queen's lavatory seats.

It seems that on her last tour of New Zealand some years ago, the Queen, suffering from a mild illness on her way through some little-known town, was forced to beat a hasty retreat into a convenience which had not been prepared for her.

As soon as Her Majesty left the premises, a greedy speculator leapt on the lavatory seat, wrenched it from its fittings and, after much bargaining, sold it illegally as a Royal souvenir for a sum rumoured to be not less than \$4,000.

The New Zealand Government, shocked by the story of such shameless speculation, issued a decree that any lavatory seat imprinted by Her Majesty during this Royal Tour would have to be made of plastic and, immediately after the Royal usage, smashed to pieces in the presence of a civil servant.

*Reprinted from Private Eye*

## "Now scrape."

## ***Notes Towards a Definition of Art***

### **First display in library series**

The recent display of Kees Hos' prints in the Library was the first of a series of such exhibitions to be held throughout the year featuring the work of leading New Zealand artists.

Kees Hos studied at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts at the Hague. He began publishing when he came to New Zealand in 1936. Since then he has explored new methods of relief printing and intaglio which allow him a flexible and spontaneous way of image formation.

The prints in the exhibition are concerned with the duality of spirit and matter. Elements representing our physical material and commercial involvement are contrasted with the organic, spiritual and etheric forces in a free and creative way within the idiom of the medium, but not as illustration.

### **Critic unstimulated**

Clement Greenberg's brief discussion of the contemporary art scene pointed to the inevitable limitations to which art in New Zealand is subjected. Though we may strive to create a significant art scene our aspirations must be necessarily modest.

For, as Mr Greenberg emphasised, all great art is produced and is intimately connected with a major art centre: Paris for the last generation. New York today. Such a centre provides the pressure and stimulation of the most ambitious artists of the day.

It offers the opportunity to see the actual creations of the contemporary movement, as compared to the crude reproductions available elsewhere. And so New Zealanders rarely get a chance to view great works of art. Consequentially all our important artists must seek inspiration overseas—an unfortunate situation to which no satisfactory solution seems possible.

Sir

—In an Art Review which appeared in your issue of June 25th, the following sentence appeared:

"Elements representing our physical material and commercial involvement are contrasted with the organic, spiritual and etheric forces in a free and creative way within the idiom of the medium, but not as illustration."

Reviewer Helen Kedgley deserves some sort of award for this extraordinary comment. She should eschew such esoteric obfuscation.

Yours faithfully,

M.C. Mitchell

## **Peebles' constructions**

Victor Pasmore, one of Britain's greatest contemporary painters, believes, as does Clement Greenberg, in the immense importance of the artist's environment on his individual expression. He says: "One's development is the ultimate result of one's background and the influence one undergoes." And the work of Don Peebles, a chiefly self-taught artist, is currently being exhibited in the library. He has greatly benefited from his recent overseas experience where he was strongly influenced by Victor Pasmore's recent three-dimensional work and has since concentrated on pure abstract reliefs and instructions.

But above all, Don Peebles had managed to assimilate Pasmore's influence into his own personal vision. In contrast with Pasmore's characteristic quality of transparent lightness, Peebles animates the static forms of his constructions with strong carefully chosen colours. His sensitive and intelligent work carries the conviction of sincere and considered individual expression.

Of the works exhibited in the library the artist says: "I should like these small works to be seen as autonomous or self-sufficient. Rather than having direct links with constructivism, they are essentially painterly. Neither the reliefs nor the paintings form a mathematical basis but are assembled with a free sense of order more characteristic of the painter than of the function-influenced architect or designer."

## **An example from Don Peebles' exhibition.**

### **Current prints**

By Helen Kedgley

Last year the New Zealand Print Council was formed at the Auckland Art Gallery. The council will provide organised support and encouragement for the substantial body of serious printmakers that now exist in New Zealand.

Printmaking essentially involves leaving an impression of the artist's image on the surface of another object. As such it is an original creation and must be recognised as a work of art.

Among the best known printmakers in New Zealand today are Elva Bell, Patrick Hanly, Barry Cleavin and Mervyn Williams, but the most outstanding is John Drawbridge.

Born in Wellington in 1930 he was an assistant lecturer at Teachers' College before being awarded the National Art Gallery Travelling Scholarship in 1957, which enabled him to study at the Central School of Arts and Crafts, London, where many of the new approaches to printmaking were taught. For a year he studied printmaking in Paris under S.W. Hayter and Johnny Friedlander. At present he lives in Wellington where he teaches in the design department of the Wellington Polytechnic.

Ten of John Drawbridge's prints are currently exhibited at the National Art Gallery. All are of an extremely high standard. In the "Tanya Going and Coming" series the artist is concerned primarily with exploring three different aspects of space. With utmost simplicity of colour—black, grey and white—he captures the essential quality of space; not by alternately defining the area, but by suggesting its infinity with a subtly distorted perspective. By varying the tone and texture of his prints, introducing grey patterned areas to relieve the intensity of the contrasting black and white, the prints are given an imaginative, almost lyrical quality.

The stark area of plain black give the prints solidarity and density. Areas of light are carefully placed so as to draw the eye into the moving "Tanya Going and Coming."

Sir—I have a strong disposition to think that there is always something in what your correspondent Mr M.C. Mitchell has to say. But his recent attack on your Art Reviewer, Helen Kedgley, is, I fear, unfounded.

Take, for example. Miss Kedgley's contribution this week. There is a photograph of what to me appears to be a diagonally shattered black square with two right angle lines and a prong sticking into a white background.

But, alas, I am mistaken. This, says the accompanying review, is an example of the artist's assimilation "of Pasmore's influence into his own personal vision". Aghast, I learn that "In contrast with Pasmore's characteristic quality of transparent lightness, Peebles animates the static forms of his constructions with strong carefully chosen colours".

This is great stuff.

Yours faithfully,

J.R. Wild

## **A suitable case for treatment**

The work of one of New Zealand's best artists, Patrick Hanly, is at present on display in the library.

A well-known New Zealand artist, Patrick Hanly spent four years at the Canterbury art school, and studied in Europe for six years. He has received scholarships from the Italian government, the Dutch government, the British Arts Council and the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council. His work has been widely exhibited overseas as well as in New Zealand.

The eleven paintings in the library are selections from the major series of the artist's work 1959-1967.

The "Fire" and "Showgirl" series painted while Hanly was in Europe represent what the artist himself would describe as his "corny" stage, when he was concerned to create socially significant and symbolic paintings. These powerful pieces of work are characterised by an energetic, almost feverish, application of colour.

By contrast in the "Figures in Light" series, Hanly's work has become more stylised, formal and ordered. After returning to New Zealand he was greatly affected by the light and space. He portrays this feeling in his paintings with impersonal people painted in hard light. Similarly in "The Girl Asleep" series, again painted in a beautifully controlled and restrained style, he captures the mood of the sleeping girl.

Finally with the "Pacific Icons" series Hanly has moved away from representational work and created abstract images of the Pacific "essentialness."

The Benson and Hedges Art Award is at present being exhibited at the National Art Gallery.

## **Figures in Light, 16—Hanly**

With a very generous first prize of \$3000, 26 selections from 214 entries, one would expect this exhibition to present some of New Zealand's best art.

But this is not the case. (Most of the artists, in striving to keep up with overseas trends, seem to have confused originality with novelty. As a result their paintings tend to be facile and unconvincing attempts at emulation of overseas artists.

Ian Scott's "Mini Skirt", for example, can be distinguished from Britain's Allan Jones by his lack of technical skill; Don Driver adds his own personal touch to his coloured stripes with pieces of stainless steel—must he!

Ralph Motere's "Black Painting" of the Ad Reinhardt variety is in fact divided into four by a red strip of colour, and Ray Thornburn uses fluorescent lights in his "Modular I" to add chaos to his confusion.

However, there were notable exceptions such as Michael Smithers' beautifully painted "Rock Pools" and Patrick Hanly's "Now and Forever".

The winning painting, Wong Sing Tai's "Outside The Inside Out" is certainly an impressive and powerful piece of work, if not exactly pleasing to the eye. The mail scene based on the artist's personal experience conveys with a disconcerting reality the horror of the claustrophobic jail.

The bareness of the room in which the prisoner crouches menaced by a huge black figure is emphasised by the restrained use of colour.

Nevertheless, I do feel that the overall standard of the exhibition was disappointingly low, reflecting the poor quality of much of New Zealand art.

**Figures in Light, 11-Hanly**

## **Shrine Defiled**

## **Blasphemers Invade Athletic Park**

Photo from protest

Dumbkopfontein, (South Africa), Tuesday—The All Blacks suffered the first defeat of their tour of South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa today, reports William Joyce. The New Zealanders were defeated 72-0 by the Prime Minister's Fifteen—a team chosen from among Mr Vorster's elite corps of concentration camp guards. The guards, superbly fit and tanned from service in the Transkei, were infinitely superior to the All Blacks in every department of the game. Those of the rugby tourists who were able attended an after-match function where the All Black captain for the day, Sid Going (affectionately dubbed 'Unca Tom' by South African rugby supporters) said that there was no doubt that the Boers were superior on the day. The teams were later entertained by the world famous Black and Coloured Minstrels. The New Zealanders enthusiastically joined in the singing of such old favourites as 'Swanee Ribber'. (AAP—Reuter).

Cartoon about the protest