

SALIENT

33 XV



Thoreau once said that there came a time when the only way a man could remain free in the state which denied all the basic human rights, was to go to gaol. Last Tuesday night Bruce Preston was arrested and taken to Mt Crawford gaol to start a ten day sentence for failing to pay a fine resulting from his refusal to attend a medical examination imposed under the National Military Service. For Bruce this is the expected termination of over ten months of callous and bungling ineptitude on the part of the Department of Labour whose job it is to control the current Golden Kiwi raffle system of compulsory military training. But New Zealand 1970 does not bear much resemblance to the America of Thoreau's rhetoric and Bruce Preston is only a conscription martyr by default, for the whole shabby performance could have been prevented if Labour Department officialdom had been doing the job taxpayers expect.

And the blame doesn't just sit on the tired shoulders of Mr A C Davey, Secretary of Labour. It is also shared by his colleague in the Justice Department, Mr Missen, whose job presumably includes overseeing the progress of "Justice" a la Kiwi in order that "it be seen to be done".

Justice, in the case of Bruce Preston, has patently not been done, no more so, in fact, than it has been in the case of another recent Mt Crawford inmate, Tim Shadbolt. To many the real nature of this National Government was long ago exposed. Never since the notorious Massey-Coates era have such a bunch of obvious third-raters occupied the Treasury benches. Little wonder that a man such as Muldoon appears to shine when viewed alongside his utterly colourless, singularly talentless colleagues in the Cabinet. These men make Departmental inefficiency possible, and one should not be surprised when one hears in the future that others such as Bruce Preston have been taken off to gaol. What with all the manifold stupidities of the present inaccurately entitled "narcotics" legislation and the obvious preparedness of the Courts to uphold blanket provisions against civil liberties inherent in the Police Offences and Crimes Acts, it becomes apparent that New Zealand youth in general is likely to gain an increasing familiarity with our prison system.

A summary of the events surrounding the Preston case give a scale to part of a national problem:

- 1 Bruce was balloted for military service in the 1969 ballot. At the time he was a full-time student at Victoria. Prior to the ballot he had registered provisionally as a conscientious objector.
- 2 On Tuesday, 9th December 1969, he appeared before the Conscientious Objection Committee - Messrs H L Bockett (Chairman), C W File, G R H Peterson, Mr G Brown (Secretary). He told the committee that he was not a pacifist and that his objections were not based on religious grounds, but that he opposed C.M.T. "because I think it is unnecessary and undesirable in this country; as a protest against the war in Vietnam; and in solidarity with the world-wide movement against that war and against war and militarism in general." Bruce stated that he would not perform C.M.T. whatever the decision of the committee and did not accept that they had a right to judge the state of his conscience. He (worst of all probably in their eyes) accused them of complicity in the continuance of war throughout the world.
- 3 On the following day Bruce received a letter from the Committee which indicated that they could drop it out but they could not take it. Their decision? - "application dismissed."
- 4 On the 13th February of this year, Bruce received notice from the Labour Department to attend x-ray and visual examinations in preparation for military service. Bruce replied in a letter dated 16th February reiterating his statement to the Committee that he would not perform C.M.T. He did not attend his medical appointments on the 19th February.
- 5 In a letter dated 19th February, the Labour Department told Bruce to return the card M.T.4 (Provisional Certificate of Registration as a Conshy), which he did. The Department then sent him another card (M.T.2) a certificate of registration for service in the Armed Forces, which he sent back to the Department.

6 Several weeks elapsed - presumably the Labour Department would have approached Dan Riddiford's Justice Department legal eagles for a ruling. Then the Labour Department sent Bruce another notice to report for visual and x-ray examinations - this time as a registered letter. The visual was for 26th March. Bruce replied in a letter dated 19th March reiterating his position.

7 During April 1970 Bruce became seriously ill and was admitted to hospital on the 23rd of that month suffering from a perinephritic abscess of the left kidney. A few days after he entered Wellington Hospital a summons to court on a charge under the National Military Service Act 1961, issued in the name of the Labour Department, was delivered to his home address. Through his brother, Bruce contacted a lawyer who arranged to have the court hearing postponed. About two days before he was scheduled to undergo a major kidney operation, with his life in danger, a Labour Department official called on Bruce at the hospital and questioned him as to his attitude and whether he still intended to refuse to attend examinations when ordered. Bruce was seriously ill but Mr Davey's pen-pushers had to keep those files up to date.

8 Bruce successfully recovered and nine weeks after entering hospital he returned to work. On the 26th June he was convicted and fined in the Magistrates Court for failing without lawful excuse to comply with a directive to present himself for a visual examination, under Section II and 56 (1)d of the National Military Service Act. This conviction was unsuccessfully appealed to the Supreme Court.

9 Before he left the Courtroom on 26th June following his conviction, Bruce was handed a further notice by Mr J P Walsh, an Administration Officer of the Labour Department. This notice required him to report for visual examination. Bruce didn't report.

10 Receiving a further summons to Court issued in the name of the Labour Department, Bruce was charged as previously. On 28th August he was again convicted and fined.

During this period Bruce made an inquiry concerning the possibility of a re-hearing by the C.O. Committee. He received a letter dated 24th August and signed by Mr G Brown, Secretary of the Conscientious Objection Committee, in which Mr Brown stated that the Committee "was not in a position to grant a re-hearing." The Committee is under the control of the Secretary of Labour. It does what he orders. If the Secretary had wished it he could have used powers given him under the Act to have resolved the situation at this stage. In actual fact, as will be seen later, the Secretary, Mr Davey, gave verbal assurances that he had tried to persuade Bruce by letter to apply to him for a re-hearing. Bruce has never seen such a letter.

11 Bruce decided not to pay any fines and to make a stand in principle against the National Military Service Act. He had the impression that the Labour Department fully intended to continue prosecuting him until he complied. On the evening of 6th October he was arrested by the police for non-payment of fines and imprisoned in Mt Crawford gaol to serve a ten day sentence.

12 On the following morning SALIENT was informed of what had happened and rang Chris Wheeler, a friend of Bruce's to check the story. Chris then phoned Eddie Isbey, Labour member for Grey Lynn, and recounted the main events to him. Mr Isbey contacted Mr Davey and explained the implications of the case to him. Mr Davey assured Mr Isbey that Bruce had in fact been sent a letter asking him to apply for a re-hearing but that no reply had been received. Mr Isbey then rang Mr Missen at the Justice Department and was told that the Department could not, of course, interfere in lawful judgements passed in the Courts of our fair land. Mr Isbey then spoke to Dan Riddiford for half an hour and Dan, although not at all sympathetic, (he probably could not understand what it was all about) said that if Bruce's lawyer, Hec MacNeill, was prepared to make an approach on Bruce's behalf, he (Dan) might consider exercising the Queen's Royal Prerogative to have the sentence quashed. Before Mr MacNeill can

act, however, he must receive instructions from Bruce, who is unlikely to feel very charitable about being taken over something that wasn't his idea in the first place. As SALIENT goes to press it seems probable that an approach on will be asked in the House of Representatives issue made the subject of a Parliamentary debate. It's not too late for the Department process to work even now.

That is the aspect to the Preston case which has obviously been forgotten. The last case where anyone was imprisoned after being refused registration as a conscientious objector was in 1955 when the Hansen brothers of Waikato's Beeville community each served three months imprisonment along with a cousin, under the provisions of the original Labour-introduced, RSA-supported Conscription Act. Their applications for registration as conscientious objectors had been turned down, apparently because their grounds for objection were humanitarian and not "religious". Arising out of their refusal to report for the required medical examination the Hansens were gaoled for six weeks for refusing to pay the resultant fines. Sentencing them, the Magistrate described the Military Training Act of that time as "one of the most inept pieces of legislation on the Statute Book." Upon their release they were again gaoled for continuing their "offence". Widespread criticism of Government ineptitude followed and undoubtedly influenced changes which were to take place when the present modified system of conscription was re-introduced by the National Government in 1961 after a three year break under Walter Nash's Labour Government.

The renamed National Military Service Act included two features which were undoubtedly meant to cope with the sort of situation which had been presented seven years earlier by the Hansens. Under the Act the Secretary of Labour could apply to the Conscientious Objection Committee for a re-hearing "if new and material evidence is available." The Secretary of Labour also had power, under Section 29 (2) of the Act to provisionally register "in the register of conscientious objectors any person subject to registration, notwithstanding that he has refused or failed to make any application in that behalf, if in the Secretary's opinion there are reasonable grounds for thinking that he is a conscientious objector..." Mr Davey had the necessary grounds available to register Bruce as a conscientious objector. He didn't even need to have Bruce's permission. Now Mr Davey says that a letter was sent to Bruce asking him to present "new and material evidence" so that the Committee could be reconvened.

Yet Bruce can produce written evidence that in fact his approach to the Committee was knocked back by the Committee's secretary, Mr Brown. And Mr Brown, by a custom as old as bureaucracy, cannot make any statement which his Departmental Head, Mr Davey, is not directly responsible for. So Mr Davey didn't want to give Bruce a second chance. But Mr Davey says he did give Bruce a second chance. He sent a mysterious letter which Bruce never saw. Perhaps it was sent when Bruce was in hospital and got mislaid somehow. Perhaps the letter was written and both the copies got filed away and/or the Class VI clerk carrying the letter to the Post (registered, of course, like all good Government letters) tripped and dropped it down a drain and/or perhaps..... perhaps..... Is this the way Government Departments are always run or is it just that they think they can get away with this sort of crass stupidity because National Party benches have become the home away from home for the nation's geriatric misfits without the will or the energy to do the job they were voted into power to do.

People with moral principles like Bruce Preston shouldn't be put into gaol because of those principles. All the Labour Department legal advisory officers, all the Justice Department legal advisory officers, all the magistrates and all the Supreme Court judges and all the Dan Riddifords, Daveys and Missens will tell you that it was a very simple matter of whether the law should mean exactly what it purports to mean in all those files and records and statutes and acts and Law Society Reports that they so reverse. They say Bruce Preston wilfully refused to attend a visual examination and that under Section 21 D 9e) (11) b 2 ii he committed an offence - to wit etc, etc, ad infinitum. But Bruce Preston is in gaol because a stupid law was stupidly interpreted by stupid men.

VICE SQUAD ACTIVITIES

In recent raids the Vice squad have appeared to act as much as an arm of the Security Service as a Narcotics Squad. Instead of aiming the investigations at the drug scene the Squad seems to be making a habit of neglecting the terms of reference of the warrant and finding themselves considerably interested in other matters.

Over the last four weeks the Wellington Vice Squad has carried out a number of searches of flats and houses under the powers of the 1965 Narcotics Act.

Section 12 (2) of the Narcotics Act provides:

"Where any member of the Police has reasonable grounds for believing that there is in or on any building, aircraft, ship, carriage, vehicle, premises or place any narcotic...and that an offence against this Act has been or is suspected of having been committed in respect of that narcotic, he and any assistants who may accompany him, may enter and search the building, aircraft, ship, carriage, vehicle, premises or place and any person found therein or thereon as if authorised to do so by a search warrant issued under Section 198 of the Summary Proceedings Act 1957...."

Section 198 of the Summary Proceedings Act gives power to a constable acting under authority of a search warrant to:

- (i) operate under it at any time of the day or night
- (ii) use any force necessary for making entry, by breaking down doors or otherwise.
- (iii) break open any box or receptacle on the premises, by force if necessary
- (iv) seize any thing connected with, or likely to provide evidence of, any offence punishable by imprisonment (i.e. not just narcotics offences).

Section 10 of the Narcotics Act makes it an offence (punishable by either three months imprisonment or a \$400 fine, or both), to wilfully obstruct, hinder, resist or deceive any person who is exercising any powers conferred on him by the Act.

The important thing to note here is that the Police can act

according to Section 12 (2) of the Narcotics Act and Section 198 of the Summary Proceedings Act without even having to go to the bother of convincing a judicial officer that a warrant should be issued.

This isn't exactly stunning news. However, the way in which this Act is implemented renders it liable to abuses and these have recently occurred in Wellington.

Vice Squad members in the course of a house search are very interested in gauging and noting the extent of one's political consciousness and activities by close perusal of books and pamphlets. Interest even extends to walls covered with the usual collection of posters students seem to accumulate.

In one case a person had all his literature on Vietnam removed from the bookcase and looked through. It was noticeable that potential hiding places for drugs in his room and other rooms were practically ignored.

A more disturbing point to note is that the Squad also on occasions closely scrutinize any correspondence, address books, accounts, diaries, photographs, note books, wallets and bankbooks that they may come across. Cases have been reported of the Squad removing articles of correspondence and other material in contravention of Section 198 (iv) of the Summary Proceedings Act. The owners invariably never see this material again.

In event of a Vice Squad raid it is advisable to (i) tell them only your name, address, and occupation. You do not have to answer any other questions in spite of whatever they might say to the contrary. It is not advisable to say more than this as anything you say is noted for possible future use.

Squad-men's questions range wide of their supposed

preoccupation with illicit drug usage. People are sometimes asked if they belong to any left wing activist groups and movements and one question makes additional comment on the increasing movement of our society towards "1984". Two persons were asked which telephone box was nearest to their home. Surely this has precious little to do with drug abuse, unless the 'thought police' wanted to bug the thing (with the connivance of a certain public department which officially denies all allegations of complicity)

Do not forget that any verbal admissions and written evidence (as contained in correspondence, diaries, etc.) found by the Squad, of having ever taken drugs are definitely actionable, or at least render one liable for "further attention".

(ii) Get in touch with a lawyer immediately if things get out of hand or see one anyway after the event if unsure about the legality of any of the Squad's actions (i.e. removing property).

If any of your property is removed by the Squad insist on a receipt. They may be 'reluctant' to give you one but remember if you don't have a receipt, you have no proof that your property has been removed.

However, one's scope for legal action against the Police is severely limited for if confronted with the prospect of any embarrassing court action(s) they can fall back on Section 21 of the Narcotics Act. This reads:

"Any person who does any act in pursuance or intended pursuance of any of the provisions of the Act or of any regulations made under this Act shall not be under any civil or criminal liability in respect thereof, whether on the ground of want of jurisdiction, or mistake of law or fact, or on any other ground unless he has acted in bad faith or without reasonable care".

Try proving, in our "Law and Order uber Alles" society, that the Police act in "bad faith". Even if it can be shown that the Police had no good cause to raid a place, they only have to show that the information on which

they acted (even if it was false) was checked with reasonable care'.

Finally remember that since the Vice Squad also works for the New Zealand S.S. anything they find on or from activists could end up as evidence for some charge brought for political motives, quite apart from ending up on Police and Security Service Files.

Do not treat them as folk heroes. Remember their purpose, the reason for their existence.

If you feel you have a legitimate gripe against the Vice Squad, complain. If you feel you want something done about it contact

-The N.Z. Council for Civil Liberties, P.O. Box 337, c/- Ph. 793652.
-SALIENT, V.U.W.S.A., P.O. Box 196,
-COCK, P.O. 2538, Wgtn.

This article does not intend to debate the drug issue one way or the other. What is of concern are the breaches of civil rights that vice squads are perpetuating and seem bent on continuing.

A.J.S.

EDITORS 1971



George Rosenberg

In a surprise decision last Monday night, the Publications Board appointed two left wing radicals, George Rosenberg and Roger Cruickshank, as co-editors of SALIENT 1971.

There were two other applicants—Gil Peterson (former SALIENT Reviews Editor) and Peter Butler (one time SALIENT reporter).

It became clear that the contest was between the joint application (of Rosenberg and Cruickshank) and Gil Peterson, a contest which Gil Peterson had been tipped to win.

SPORTSMAN OF THE YEAR

Rod Barltrop has been awarded the 1970 Vic Sportsman of the Year Award. The announcement and presentation was made at the Blues Dinner last Friday night, 2nd October.

A number of sportsmen were considered. However, the number was eventually reduced to three before the difficult final choice was made. Those three were Rod Barltrop (Golf), Mark Gazley (Diving) and John Armstrong (Ski-ing).

Rod is a Vic Golfing Blue (1965-70) and a New Zealand University Golfing Blue (1966-70). This year he was reserve for the N.Z. Eisenhower Cup team which was recently placed second in the world amateur championship. He has played in the Freyberg Rosebowl for the last 3 years representing Manawatu-Wanganui (1968) and Wellington (1969-70). Among other successes have been the 1968 and 1970 Wellington Matchplay Championship and the 1969 and 1970 Wellington Strokeplay Championship.

Rod has been Vic's Golf Club Captain since 1968 and a selector for Vic's tournament teams.



Roger Cruickshank

PEACE

The Publications Board questioned the applicants in committee before making its decision.

Also appointed at the meeting were:

- Argot Editor 1971 — John Hales
- Handbook Editor 1971 — Roger Hall
- Cappicade Editors 1971 — Simon Arnold, John Hales
- Advertising Manager 1971 — John Falvey
- Treasurer, Pub. Bd. 1971 — Len Watson.

THE NEW EXEC MEETS



Exec. is dead, long live Exec. The first function of the new exec. was to heartily congratulate the five members of the past exec. who were thrown out in last week's S.G.M. Motions of thanks were moved and seconded by two of the ones that got away.

Next move, new MVP Cullen confirmed his SCM Electoral backing and ensured that the Inaugural Service would be held next year with a \$30 Studass backing.

It was a great night for Christians—the Catholic Students Assoc. got a grant of

\$40 for its Catholic orientation programme.

New treasurer Greenfield looks to have a tight hold on the purse strings and a hungry eye on the high honorariums some officers are getting. He moved (successfully) the setting up of a Payments Review Committee (Bryson, Langford, and 3 from SRC).

He wasn't nearly so meagre when the chance of a cocktail party cropped up, however. Boyd, the Managing Sec., is shifting his perch to Director of Student Welfare Services and Exec. is weighing in with a gift and (it was proposed) a cocktail party. The party idea was squashed (dissent Greenfield) but still \$50 is being spent to kiss Boyd goodbye.

So that was it kids. Another law suit is in the air, cocktails are back in season, welcome to 1971.

R.J.C.

WOMAN VICE-PRES



Adaire Hannah

Adaire Hannah, the new Womens Vice President, finds her concern in expanding student participation in the university—in the appointment of staff, course syllabus decisions and other matters. She is in favour of the abolition of exams and an increase in bursaries especially for women students.

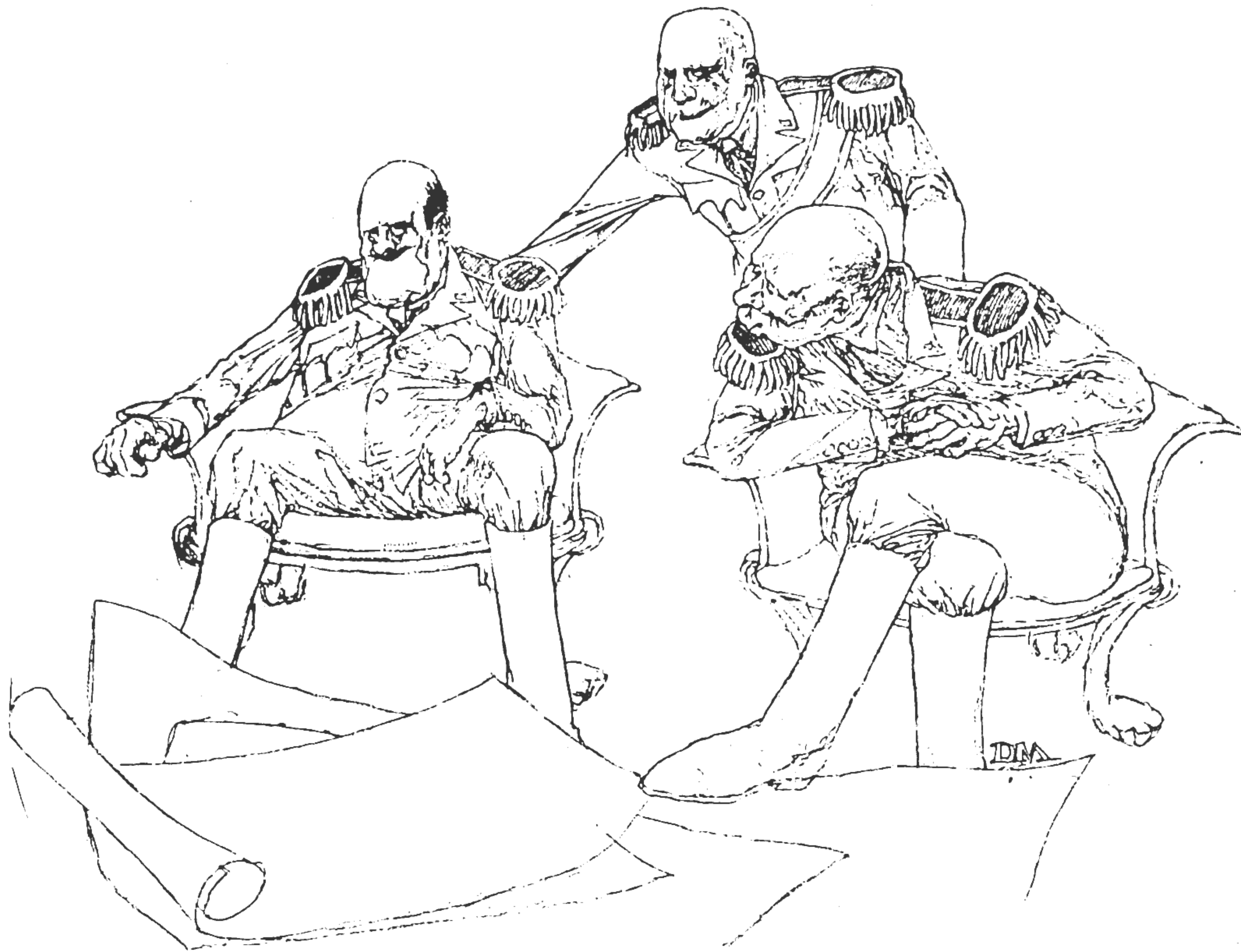
On the welfare scene she wants a free creche and free contraceptives.

"The University can and should be a leader in removing the discriminatory social and academic forces which restrict women and in fighting exploitation of any group whether national or international," she said.

1970 BLUES

The Blues for 1970 are as follows:-

Athletics: P. Kear, R. Petley.
Cricket: R. Priest, G. Gowland.
Diving: M. Gazley, Miss D. Megget.
Rowing: O. Gilbert.
Water Polo: B. Britten, G. Stephens, J. Brodie, V. Pickett.
Rugby League: A. Brodie.
303 Rifles: J. McKinlay, G. Adlam, N. Wynn.
Badminton: R. Atkinson, Miss S. Musker, Miss H. Barley.
Basketball—Mens Indoor: R. Agnew, D. Scott.
Swords: G. Stratigopolous, R. Hayman, Miss S. Norris.
Golf: R. Barltrop, G. Watt, G. White.
Ski: J. Armstrong.
Harriers: I. Stockwell.
Hockey—Womens: Miss L. Gilbert.
Rugby: R. Gregory, G. Wallis, J. Kirkby, M. McKee, A. Brown, M. Lookman.
Smallbore Rifles: I. Cossar.
Netball: Miss J. Robson.
Squash: S. Perry, Miss A. Cambridge.
Tennis: R. Colello.



*"Well, gentlemen, I think we can proceed
with an absolutely clear conscience."*

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The Staff Partner,
70-879
or write c/- P.O. Box 2093,
Wellington, 1.

PREGNANCY

TESTS

New Zealand's denial of racist orientation is rapidly being exposed as false. Last week's focal point on racism was the controversy over pregnancy tests for single Samoan woman wishing to come to New Zealand. This, along with recent developments in Trade Unions and Maori affairs, is bringing attention to the Governments racist attitudes.

The exposure of the fundamental purpose for such pregnancy tests has awakened the Samoan people to what New Zealand's official attitude is towards Polynesians and has forced the Western Samoan Prime Minister to re-examine the pregnancy test question. Why did the Government over-react to the accusation of racism if the accusation had no foundation? Samoans, as all Polynesians who come to New Zealand, are bought in at the lowest economic and social scale so they are beneficial to private enterprise. No firm employs pakehas or women when Polynesians and women can be employed with less capital outlay on wages. Now, having a Samoan woman only working 4-5 months instead of the full 6 months means her economic potential has not been fully exploited, therefore pregnancy tests are necessary to avoid this situation. The other consequence of these women being pregnant on

arrival is that the birth will be in New Zealand making the baby a New Zealand citizen. This creates great alarm in government circles because this is a loophole by which the mother can remain in New Zealand, thus screwing the system.

Pregnancy tests should be abandoned. In order to dispel, however, the racist basis of this requirement the Government will have to enforce it for all single women or not at all. Now Australian women are going to be more discriminated against than the 10-15% of pregnant Samoan women if the test is enforced for all women. The logical consequence of New Zealand enforcing pregnancy tests on single girls will be the implementation of such tests by Australia, thereby affecting those New Zealand women who go to Australia for abortions and confinement. So Mr. Holyoake-Marshall your actions could rebound. Not only will we have the highest illegitimacy rate but the figures of the number of New Zealand women seeking abortions or covering up their unmarried motherhood status will be public. Such statistics will further illustrate the vast social-economic contradictions of 'wonderful' New Zealand.

Adaire Hannah

FINALS

Every year some students miss units and lose their bursaries through neglect of fundamental points. Read through this list-it may save YOU.

- Note your exam times carefully and have someone else check them for you.
- Ensure you know what part of the syllabus each paper covers.
- Check the exam timetable each morning early enough to get to the examination in time if necessary.
- Inquire without delay about aegrotat considerations if your performance was impaired by illness, injury, bereavement or other critical personal circumstances involving the health of a close relative.
- Exercise, eat regularly, sleep adequately; do not get overtired.
- Consult your doctor, the Health Service, the Student Counsellors, if you are particularly upset. That's what they are for.
- Read exam questions carefully and answer the questions asked.
- Allot your time sensibly and ensure you answer the required number of questions.
- Avoid panic. The questions in the paper may seem formidable, frightening, unfamiliar-but they probably look the same to every one else. Stay there and start on what you do know; the rest will come.
- Sit all papers. Your first might not have been as bad as you thought; your second may be a winner.
- Remember that however much the examiners have enjoyed your presence in their classes during the year, they don't want to see you back next year!

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DICK GREGORY

NOT QUITE SO FUNNY

Dick Gregory isn't coming to New Zealand—Australia saw to that by refusing to allow him to stop-over on his way here.

Dick Gregory 20th January, 1970.
Gregory on Canadian Campus

"It is so cold in this damn town that the janitors are knocking on the pipes..."

"I dig Agnew myself...I think that Agnew is putting everybody on. I don't believe that it is humanly possible for one man to be born that dumb. If Agnew is as dumb as he wants us to believe he is, he could not walk and chew gum at the same time. If he is really that dumb, I would not be surprised if he hi-jacked a train and said 'take me to Cuba'... I kind of look on Agnew as Washington's answer to Rosemary's Baby. The only time Agnew kind of frightens me a little bit is when Nixon leaves town. That makes Agnew the number one guy in town...I just get the impression looking at him that he would make a crank call to the Russians on the hot line..."

"And I just hate that the young folk in America have to keep reading them right-wing cracker controlled newspapers, to read what they say about them. They call them 'hippy-yippy-bearded-irresponsible-smelly-kids! ...Whatever that means! Because you have a beard, why does that mean that you have to stink? They never say that about Abraham Lincoln. He not only had a beard, he was ugly too!"

"I remember when I was a kid and my mother and father and the whole community were talking and they said, 'One day you're going to grow up boy and some white man's going to call you 'nigger' but don't get mad, 'cause God don't like no Ugly.' That's a good trick. Now I got seven little black kids at home and me and my old lady ain't teaching them nothing. And I damn sure bet you if a white man ever slips one day and makes the mistake of calling one of them a nigger, I damn sure bet you it's going to surprise them."

"Ten years ago if I worked in a Ford plant making Ford automobiles and a

white boy called me 'nigger' and I hit him in the nose, I have no doubt Henry Ford would have fired me. But Henry Ford got to be very careful that in America today of what type of white folks he hires, 'cause he knows damn good and well that if one of them called me 'nigger' today, I just might burn his plant down..."

"If I go to Mississippi tonight and speak and listened to the Governor of Mississippi speaking and everybody in America up north will report that speech as a 'racist speech the governor made', but let the Governor of Illinois, or the Governor of California, or the Governor of New York give a racist speech and America we call it a 'conservative speech'. I go to Mississippi and get attacked and the press will report 'Dick Gregory got attacked down in Mississippi by the racists. White folks are the attackers in Chicago, the Press will say, 'Dick Gregory stirred up the White backlash'."

"Economic wise in the next 6 months in America you're going to see America go through one of the worst periods she's ever gone through in the history of America..."

"I can guarantee you that before Nixon's term is over, the silent majority that everybody's talking about will be the most vocal group we've ever had in the history of America..."

"And for Nixon's policy to get all the old fools to turn their lights on; well let me tell you something: turning on those automobile lights ain't going to kill no Viet Cong..."

"Like Dean Rusk, Ex-Secretary of State, look at all the kids he got killed when he was Secretary. Dean Rusk's son is now close to twenty-five years and he ain't ever gone from Washington DC yet. You know, I wish I was young enough to get drafted in America. As soon as I got my induction notice, I would hurry up and fly to Washington DC and handcuff myself to Dean Rusk's boy. And then get on world-wide television and let everybody know that 'Whatever's wrong with Dean's boy, is wrong with me too..."

"Irregardless of how you feel about Black Panthers or Bobby Seale, the issue is that in an American court room it is your duty as a defendant to defend yourself. Bobby Seale went to jail for doing what the American constitution says a defendant is supposed to do ... Because he was trying to defend himself, he got his legs shackled,

hands cuffed, mouth gagged and taped. It's a scary thing to me that when a man's sitting in an American court room with the world-wide press sitting there, and they'll gag him and cuff his hands behind him and shackle him to the chair. If they do that with the world-wide newspapers sitting there, then what the hell do you think is going on in courtrooms in America where you ain't got nobody lookin' ...A lot of people think that the Black Panthers are running across all of this problem because they talk about getting guns and killing the folks and all that. But you go back and do your own research, and check out the Black Panthers. When they first arrived on the scene, they was talking about arming yourself, defending yourself, and nothing happened to them."

"...In a nation where 44 million citizens go to bed hungry every night like happens in America, it can't be an accident that we pay farmers billions of dollars not to plant. We got billions of tons of food stored up in warehouses and Americans are going unfed ...Do you think that's an accident? No-O, that's the trick, man...I've tried to explain to folks in America that Panthers aren't getting killed cause they're black folks; that if there was white folks in America who were getting organized and going up to Appalachia and talking about feeding 400 white folks, they would be gunned down while they slept too. You've all got the news up here about the Union official, Yblonski. He wasn't no Black Panther. White as snow. Laying in bed one night, he didn't know what killed him. He and his wife and his daughter...for what? Cause he was talked about the corrupt system that whites believe in and he died for it."

"We lie to them young kids 24 hours a day, and when they catch us, we call it the 'generation gap'. So I figure when your own mother lies to you, damn near anybody's going to lie to you...It's not that we don't dig Santa Claus, we dig him, but we just know damn good and well that we ain't going to let no white man come into our neighbourhood after midnight."

"I just get damn sick and tired of all them right-wing crackers running around eulogizing America—America the beautiful! When any old fool would know that eulogies are for dead things...Let me tell you that America will never be a beautiful country as long as one Indian is locked up on that reservation in America. We can travel 3,000 miles from our shore and guarantee some foreigner in Viet Nam that he's going to live free from communism, but who in hell is going to guarantee that Indian brother that he can be free from us?...And the same that goes for America goes for you Canadians."

"...The whole country is in an uproar because the Biafrans don't want your aid. Well why don't you take those blankets

and food and stick them on the Indian reservations and give it to the Indians?"

"...I've met so many people here on campus who are saying, 'Oh, it's so cold, it's so cold'...If you get damn cold with all these modern conveniences, what do you think that Indian is doing a few miles from here, or haven't you thought about that? It's not too late for you here in Canada, but in America we've gone beyond the point of no return. You got a big job. I hope you don't make the same mistake we made in America. We didn't know how big our problem was. Let me tell you something, and I'll be honest with you. A country that don't treat the Indians right, I don't feel too safe in myself. I damn shudder to think what the reaction of Toronto would be if they had as many black folks in the morning as we've got in Harlem. I might be wrong and I hope I am wrong, but as long as you've got that Indian locked up on that reservation, I've got to believe that way because the reason is to protect myself."

"Young people are working to solve problems all over the world, but I hope you young people in Canada that have been so beautiful in sticking out your hand to our draft-resisters and saying, 'Now brother, come on over here with us where you'll be safe', would stick your hand out to that Indian reservation and tell them the same thing. The way the Indians get treated in Canada, if I was about to get drafted, I'd go to jail for the rest of my life before I'd run over here to Canada knowing the way you treated Indians, I wouldn't even ask you to help me."

"In Chicago at the Democratic Convention, 15,000 hippies and yuppies showed up to change the system and the whole establishment went stone crazy. Why? Cause they was trying to change the system. Oh because the kids were coming into Chicago to tear up the town, but white folks in America know better than that. Hell, for the last ten years every spring break them white kids been going down to Fort Lauderdale, Florida and getting drunk and tearing up the whole town and there ain't never going to get thrown out. They don't care if you tear up the town, it's the reason you tear it up."

"...Three days after the Democratic Convention, the whole establishment tried to convince folks in America that they did not see what they saw on television. They said that it didn't happen. They said that the press created it. You know if Kosygin and the rest of them damn fools in Moscow, Russia was dealing with a world as insane as America, you know that they could beat that Czechoslovakian rap? They'd get on world-wide television and say 'You didn't see it, y'all...! It didn't happen."

staff

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CONSPIRACY



JUDGE HOFFMAN

AND

THE CONTEMPT OF THE CONSPIRACY 9

"When the pig runs, we run; when the pig fights, we fight; when the pig crawls, we've won," barked out Tom Foran in his gravel voice. Tom Foran, the man without a neck, was summing up for the government, last turn at bat. The heavy. Everyone was on the edge of his seat—even friends of the Conspiracy—admiring how well, within the limits of his role, the arch enemy was doing, quoting various speeches with a perfect DA sneer.

"Don't be fooled by the fact these guys call each other by first names, as if they were kids! They aren't kids, they're highly sophisticated, evil men!"

Afterwards, in the bathroom, "He sounds pretty good reading our lines, maybe we should recruit him."

"Yeah," answered Rennie Davis. "Tiny Tom would make a great leftie. You know, people have been talking about making a play out of this trial, but I don't think they'd ever be able to find people to play these parts. The real actors play them to perfection."

Back in court, Foran ends his speech. Jerry Rubin, it turns out, is a predator. He works best at night. All seven of the defendants are "profligate extremists" and they're out to get your children.

Look out, Tiny Tom, the movement eats rocks and bottles for lunch.

Earlier, Kunstler had referred to the Salem witchcraft trials. Foran leapt to his feet to object. Judge Hoffman thought a moment, then ruled, "I see no relationship to the Salem witch trials—I don't think it's comparable—I sustain the objection!"

But Kunstler went over the head of the judge, bringing up John Peter Zenger, Jesus Christ, Socrates, John Brown, Nathan Hale, Che Guevara, Eugene Debs, John F. Kennedy, and Martin Luther King. He told the jury that they should act like a computer in weighing the evidence and should not let their likes and dislikes interfere with their verdict.

Foran hit hard on that: "You know," he started, "There's a difference between having intelligence and being an intellectual." Right on, silent majority! "You're not computers, you're human beings. But among you, there's nearly four hundred years of intelligence." Hard to believe. Most jurors had sat through the trial half asleep. But perhaps that was the impact of the case on four hundred years of intelligence.

Kunstler was maudlin in finishing, "If you return a not guilty verdict in this case, perhaps Allen Ginsberg will never write poetry again saying 'I have seen the best minds of my generation destroyed by

madness.' Perhaps Judy Collins will never have to appear in a court of law again and say 'when will they ever learn?'"

Foran was more direct. "Do your duty!" he commanded the jurors.

After court Jerry Rubin seemed manic. "These have been the best thirty days of my life. Did you see what we did last week, when the judge revoked Dellinger's bail? We called him every name in the book."

The next day the judge instructed the jury. It took about two and a half hours. He again read the indictment like he was reading the Gettysburg address. When he said, "It is further alleged that" it was pretty clear that Julius Hoffman was doing the alleging.

As he read each instruction, his head, described by Al Rosenfeld of the SEED as "an overripe casaba melon perched on a heap of judicial laundry," would bounce up and down like a bobbing head doll of a baseball star. Now go out and return your verdict of "guilty".

The jury GOES OUT. It is the trial's BIG MOMENT. WHAT WILL THEIR VERDICT BE?

It doesn't matter. Julius Hoffman can't have anyone else, including the jury, be more important than he is for even a moment. Immediately after the jury goes

out he pulls his big surprise. "I have another matter to deal with today. You will remember that throughout the course of the trial...."

"The only alternative is anarchy," Julius explains as he begins to read of Dellinger's list of contempts. It is impressive, going to thirty-three, more than twice as much as Bobby Seale.

He won't read out the word "bullshit" that Dellinger had hurled and had his bail revoked over. "There's no necessity for my repeating what the press has referred to as a 'barnyard vulgarity'."

Tony Lukas of the New York Times, whose editor had refused to print the word and used "barnyard vulgarity" instead, is embarrassed.

The defendants, thinking they would never walk out the main door of the courtroom again, were shocked. "There'll be a press conference downstairs," calls out Bob Lamb of the Conspiracy staff. "No!" yelled out Abbie. "The press conference will be at the airport!"

Everyone was in shock. Most people hadn't expected the contempt to be handed out until after the jury had come back. Thirty-three counts on Dellinger was more than twice as much as Seale had gotten. Was he to be given eight years on contempt alone?

After lunch, Hoffman gives David Dellinger a chance to say a few words before reading out his sentence.

"If you had any sense at all, you'd realize that record you just read condemns you, not us."

"We're supposed to act like good Germans, ignoring the war in Vietnam. When we wouldn't and were brought into court, we were supposed to act like good Jews, and quietly go to the ovens. Well we won't!"

Dellinger's oldest daughter, Tasha, began to applaud. Suddenly a marshal went after her to try to remove her. People close by said the marshal grabbed her and she started to kick loose. More marshals and more Conspiracy people rushed into the melee. People were crying, some were screaming.

Frank Joyce, of the conspiracy staff, rushed through the double doors of the courtroom and literally flew into the melee. Meanwhile a woman marshal had Tasha on the ground and was pummeling her. Sue Shultz, Rennie's girlfriend, pulled the marshal's hair.

Tasha, Frank and Sue were all carried out of the courtroom. A reporter outside said the marshals had broken their momentum by braking with Frank Joyce's head on the opposite wall.

William Kunstler was up in front at the lectern, tears streaming down his face, pleading with the impassive judge. "Look what you've done, this is all your doing. Please, don't make me wait. Sentence me now. You've destroyed my life."

Jerry and Abbie got up and shouted "seig heil!"

Then there was silence. Finally the judge began to read off the sentence. It totalled more than twenty-nine months.

"You've just jailed one of the best men in America," Rennie Davis yelled.

"We'll get you next," the judge assured him.

The judge read out the twenty-three counts of contempt Davis had piled up. Included was the arrest of Bobby Seale's birthday cake, and his activity when Seale was bound and gagged.

When it was Rennie's turn to speak he told how he felt seeing Seale in chains for trying to defend himself.

"Oh, you remember what he called me," the judge interrupted.

"He called you a racist, a fascist and a pig," stated Rennie, matter of factly.

"Several times," emphasized the judge. "Many times—but not enough."

The judge had the marshal seat Rennie, and the judge sent him to prison for two years and two months.

Then there were only five left at the defense table.

Hayden came next. Polite on the surface, seething underneath. He was apologetic in order not to be cut short.

At one point Hayden referred to the futility of the punishment, how jailing some people only created new revolutionaries. "You have seen how the younger Dellinger defied you even as the elder Dellinger was taken to jail."

"If you call Dellinger 'the elder', what do you call me?"

"I call you 'your honor'."

Underneath the calm, though, was a deep emotion, hidden for the purpose of tactfully getting into the record part of the machinations which the Justice Department had contrived to win this trial.

Hayden told an incredible tale of how Ramsey Clark was followed, watched, cajoled, and harassed by Justice Department agents, even in the courtroom itself, all with the purpose of preventing him from testifying. Dick Schultz, the whining assistant prosecutor, even reminded the former Attorney General that it would be a breach of "ethics".

"You can see why we feel like we're all characters in the movie 'Z'," he stated.

Hayden told the judge that the defendants had no faith at all in the U.S. judicial system, especially considering who was in the Justice Department and who was being appointed to the Supreme Court.

"A man of your intelligence could do extremely well in this system," the judge advised.

"We don't want a place in the business, Julie," Abbie broke in.

Finally the judge admonished Hayden to get to punishment.

"There's only one thing about punishment that disturbs me," said Hayden. Then eyes down on the table, "I'd like to have a child."

Hayden's eyes were red. Silence in the courtroom. Some shock. Finally, Julius Hoffman broke in, "I'm afraid that's where the federal system can do you no good."

"The federal system can do you no good in trying to prevent the birth of a new world."

Hayden's sentence was read, 14 months. He then walked to the lockup before the marshals could reach him.

Four were left, plus the two lawyers. Abbie Hoffman's turn was next. Several times the courtroom broke up as the judge read from the record yiddish insults Abbie had hurled at him. "Stunk. WoDen, a shanda fur da goyim!"

When it came Abbie's turn to speak, he was direct, a contrast to Hayden.

"You keep saying we should give you respects because this is one of the highest courts in the land. Yet, when I was on the witness stand, Mr Shultz asked me 'what was I wondering?' when I was looking at a building."

"I asked him if that meant 'what was I dreaming?' he said 'yes'."

"I've never been tried for my dreams before, how can I have respect for the highest court in the land when it puts me on trial for my dreams?"

During Abbie's statement, marshals kept advancing on him, as if to seat him. "Relax," Abbie would command, and they would move back.

The judge pronounced a surprisingly light sentence of eight months.

As the marshals led him away, he reminded his wife, Anita, "Don't forget to water the plant."

Then the judge announced the court would be recessed until ten o'clock the next morning.

"Wait, what about us, you can't do that," yelled Jerry Rubin. "Sentence us now, I don't want to be out while my brothers are in jail."

"Oh, you wouldn't ask favours of a man you've compared to Hitler."

"If I were being sentenced in Nazi Germany, I'd ask the favour of getting it over with."

That night was sad. Four in, three plus the lawyers out. At first those who were out wanted to go to Los Angeles and back to speak at a rally, but they didn't have time. So they stayed in Chicago.

John Froines, almost in tears, explained at 11p.m. how badly he felt being out of jail. He couldn't stand it, kept walking around the block, looking at things, saying goodbye.

Sunday morning, John Froines brought a toothbrush and a bottle of scotch with him to the courtroom. The bottle was taken from him by three marshals.

Jerry was first and defiant as the judge read off his fifteen counts. He got six month sentences for calling Hoffman a fascist and for calling him Hitler.

"I refused in this court to stand up and say 'Heil Hitler' when a black man was gagged and chained."

"In Nazi Germany everything that happened was legal. In the courts judges wore robes, and spoke of the sanctity of the law.

"We're going to jail with smiles on our faces because we know that outside there are ten million people who will eventually set us free."

But when he and Nancy embraced, she was crying, and Jerry too.

"Sadist" he cried at the judge as the marshals led him through the one-way door.

Two years, two left.

Lee Weiner: "I've sat here quietly for the most part as I've seen you abuse and bury the childlike notions I'd held that in the courts of America justice is somehow obtainable.

"I've sat in a quiet rage as I've seen the best men in America belittled and attacked in small and great ways.

"I went to Northwestern University. In the law school, there is a plaque outside one of the rooms, dedicating it to you, Judge Hoffman."

"Thank you for bringing that up in front of all these people," beamed Julius.

Weiner shook his head "no". "I tell it to you for an evil reason. The plaque has been ripped off the wall. After the trial is over, you better not show up to lecture at Northwestern, because you will be mobbed."

Weiner finished. "I've had my doubts, before the trial began, but this trial has made me confident. I'm confident now that my three year old child will make the revolution that we've started. Thank you for that."

Weiner got two and a half months. Now only Froines was left of the defendants.

The judge read out Froines' contempt; then without letting him speak, and without sentencing him, went on to Kunstler. Julius the Just look anxious. He made a slip, the blood in his eye showed.

Finally, when reminded by the clerk, Hoffman let Froines speak.

"I guess it's part of being a media unknown that even the judge forgets you," said Froines.

He referred to the defendants, the people on the staff, and the spectators who constantly waited all night in the Chicago midwinter cold to get into the trial as the real heroes, the people who would ultimately decide the fate of the Conspiracy and the Amerikan government.

The judge interrupted and delivered a lecture on how fine the federal courts were.

"You've availed yourself of the

opportunity to come in here and have your case heard."

"No, I think you've got it backwards judge, we were forced to be here."

"I know that some of you would want us to not force criminals to come here. If that happened, I'm afraid all the courts and prisons in the country would be burned down."

"Right on!" chimed the spectators.

Finally Froines broke into the judge's monologue, "As much as I appreciate the chance to listen to you, I'd like to go join my friends now."

And Froines was sentenced to six and a half months, leaving only the lawyers, Bill Kunstler and Lenny Weinglass at the defense table. It took over an hour for the judge to read out the twenty-four specifications of contempt he charged Kunstler with, mostly for the heinous crime of disagreeing with him or pointing out inconsistency in treatment.

Kunstler spoke to his sentence. In twenty-two years of practice, he'd never been sentenced for contempt even in the most racist courts in the South. He hoped the sentence meted him would not deter young lawyers from vigorously defending the pariah cases of the black, the oppressed, the radical and the young. He wasn't ashamed of what he had done in the case.

"I have tried with all my heart to represent my clients in the face of what I considered and still consider to be unjust treatment. I may not be the best lawyer in America, but I, and my colleague, Leonard Weinglass, are the most privileged, for we are being punished for fighting for what we believe in.

"I only ask that I be allowed to receive my sentence standing, as I have for the better part of the last five months, at this lectern.

"I have only compassion for you. All else has now fallen away."

And Kunstler got four years.

Lenny Weinglass was at the end.

And, after five months of absurdity, it all ended on an anti-climatic bad joke.

"If you people had only a modicum of respect for me, this all would never have happened," the judge said, with an air of finality.

Weinglass answered, "How can you speak of respect? You still can't pronounce my name right after five months!"

"Oh, I can explain that. I get your name confused with that of a friend of mine, a Mr Weinrus. I don't have any friends named Weintraub."

The conspiracy: Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, Jerry Rubin, Lee Weiner, Abbie Hoffman, Tom Hayden, William Kunstler, Bobby Seale, John R. Froines.

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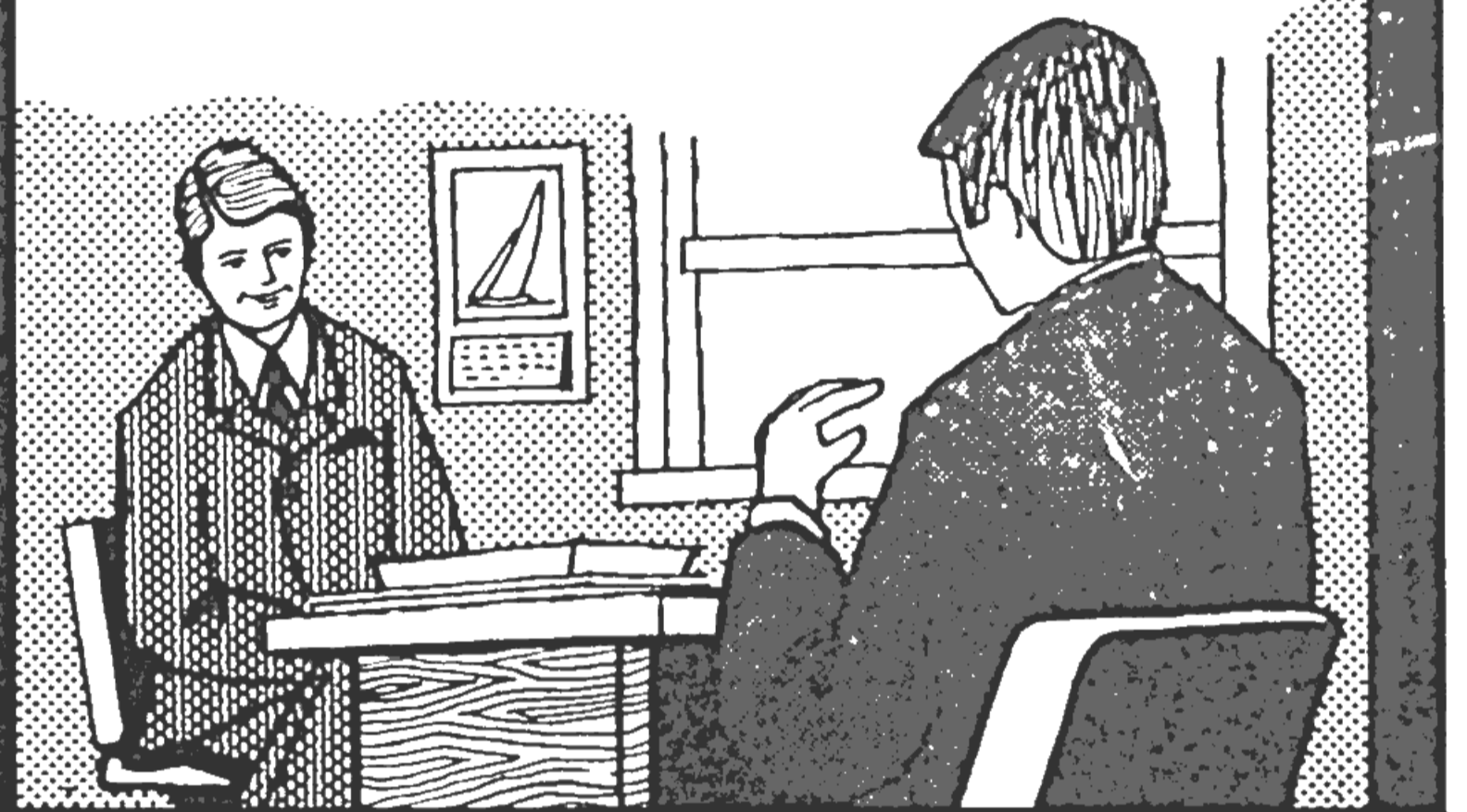
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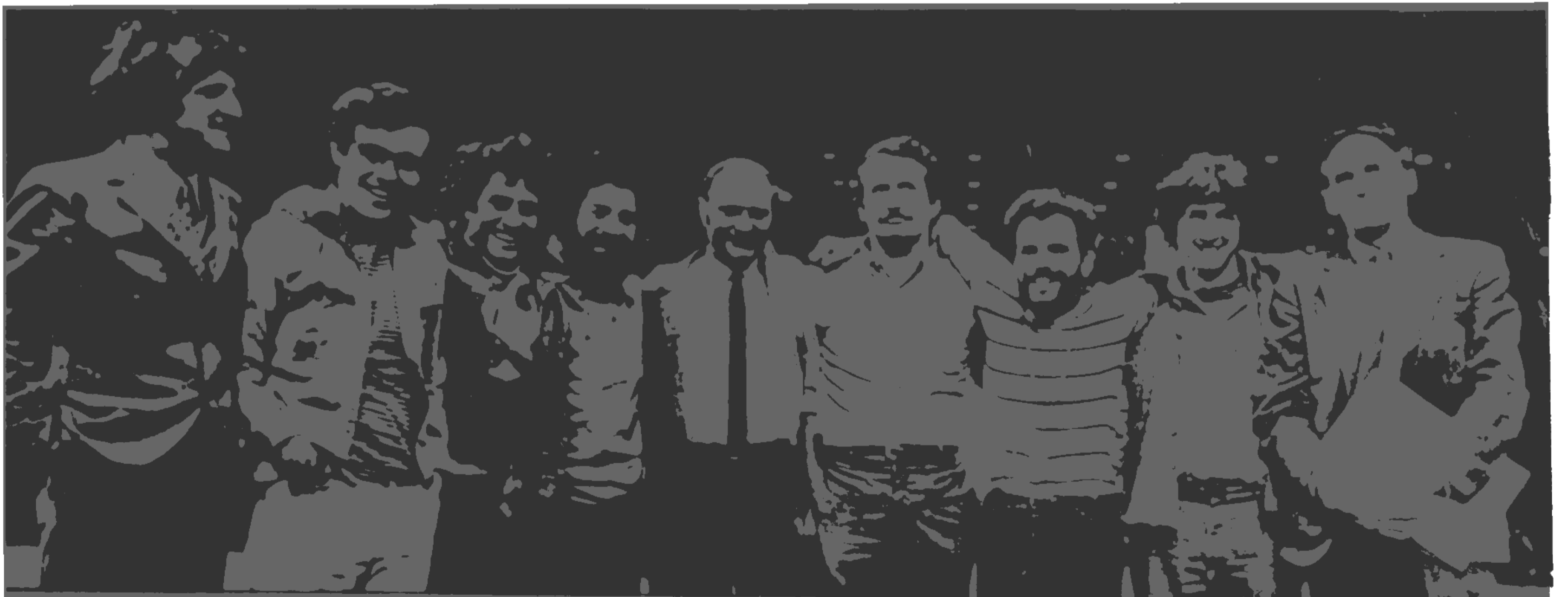
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ONE OF THE BIGGEST AND MOST BIZARRE CRIMINAL TRIALS
IN AMERICAN HISTORY

THE BIG OH

The following article is
reprinted from Nova Jan.69

A hundred years ago we all wanted to be good. A hundred years before that we wanted to be creatures of reason, further back still we've aimed at being courageous or learned, holy or wise. Today we express our spiritual goal differently. We want to be mature. Not just physiologically mature—almost anyone can be that—but mature in the psychological sense. How do we gauge our success? By analogy with physical maturity, which is recognised by the individual's capacity to reproduce his own kind, and it is in the pattern of his sexual activities that he can demonstrate maturity of the mind. Achieve the simultaneous orgasm, and bang, bang, you're mature!

It isn't difficult to see how they arose: both the concept of maturity as the highest good, and the criterion by which we judge it. We live in an age which has been taught to question everything. The nuclear physicists, the microbiologists and the psychoanalysts have taught us to accept nothing at face value, neither the corporeal nor the spiritual. We can't then, admire the simple qualities of charity, generosity, wisdom, kindness because we now know too well the compensatory devices which have made these virtues the necessary counterweights for inner doubts and inhibitions.

We have some respect for learning, but the teaching of Freud and his followers has persuaded us to distrust the burnished intellect almost as much as the shining sole. We're concerned with more than an admirable exterior, we want assurance that it is supported by a harmonious working of the whole man. The people we dislike, we find infantile, neurotic, they haven't realised their full potentialities. We approve of those who seem to have allowed their personalities to develop freely, they are "integrated", they are mature.

And since in this age we also measure everything, to reduce our needs, our aspirations and what satisfies them, to a series of formulae, we are not satisfied with the old-fashioned method of simple recognition. Perhaps it is something to do with the great distances over which our present-day communications have to travel. Once it might have been sufficient to say to your hearers "this is a good man", because you were speaking with conviction direct to them, and the good man was also present.

If you say the same thing to listeners or readers thousands of miles distant, who have no personal experience of your judgment or veracity, or of the good man's goodness, you must back your opinion with some facts. To convince, we need a measure of emotional maturity as unequivocal as the events which mark the physical counterpart, and in this search we again owe a debt of gratitude to Freud. He traced the infant's development through the oral and anal stages of sexual experience to an adult and genital expression of sex. This linking of "adult" and "genital", together with Freud's insistence that the nineteenth century's repressive attitude must be broken down, has led to today's belief that an uninhibited enjoyment of normal, hetero-sexual intercourse indicates an advanced degree of psychological maturity; for obvious reasons this is a gratifying theory.

It's one which has drawbacks. Enjoyment isn't an exact enough definition for minds with a "scientific" approach, and "normal" can be interpreted too widely for the purists. No one willingly admits to being abnormal and no one wants to find himself stilted in his sexual activities. The line that divides sexual perversity from sexual freedom is a very thin and straggling one, and can be drawn almost anywhere. There has to be something more, something absolute; some phenomenon which will tell us, apart from our own subjective feelings, whether we— he, she, I— are mature or not.

This time it's the fiction writers who have provided the solution; Lawrence, and Hemingway introduced the English-speaking peoples to the joys of the simultaneous orgasm, and once it has been suggested you see that it's the perfect solution. It is unambiguous; you can't be in any doubt about whether it has taken place or not; it's quantitative, not qualitative. It implies sexual proficiency, an understanding and solicitous regard for one's partner, physical and psychological control, confidence, relaxation, possibly even love. The sexual climax for each of us—splendid; the timed climax—even better. The answer to a maiden's prayer.

Of course this is nonsense. Maturity doesn't rely on one stupendous feat of sexual technique. I want to challenge and destroy this concept that the simultaneous orgasm is more than either a happy coincidence or a piece of careful organisation superimposed on an activity which can lose its point if one precise goal is constantly and obstinately held in view.

We have only just emerged from a dark age in which the convention was that the woman was incapable of sexual pleasure. It's natural that we should have reacted against this, and perhaps over-emphasised the importance of the sexual climax for woman. It probably also reflects the move towards recognising the equality of the sexes; if the man feels frustrated unless intercourse culminates in orgasm and ejaculation, then it is assumed that every woman should have her orgasm too. But though the sexes may be equal—whatever that means—they are not identical. That they can both enjoy sex has been recognised

by many cultures other than ours, and by our own before the prudery of the 19th Century chose to deny the fact. But they differ not only anatomically, but also in their physiological sexual responses; some women are capable of having several orgasms one after the other in quick succession, whereas for the man an orgasm imposes a definite, though it may be short, resting period. It may have been this peculiarity which gave rise to the idea, as mythical if universally applied as the notion that all women were frigid, that once aroused, women were apt to become insatiable.

The truth lies between these two extremes; some women are frigid and some are insatiable, some men are impotent and some are compulsive performers in the sexual arena. But although the extremes might be classified as neurotic, or immature, the converse isn't true; not everyone who can put up a competent performance in bed is without any neurosis; sexual prowess is not the touchstone by which development of the human psyche can accurately be measured, nor can the delicate balance of human relations be hung on the ability to delay or to accelerate the moment of sexual release. This mechanical view of what happens between people who love each other is limited and misleading. I believe in something far larger and more flexible than this meagre measure of success.

As long as the goal is widely acclaimed, people will continue to make for it, and worry when they don't achieve it. Simple quantity, the number of performances per night, has always been the test by which men measured their virility. But this is crude stuff, and as new fashions in sexual activity arise, some will believe that there is some superior state of bliss which others experience and they don't and this will nag and add to the anxiety and dissatisfaction which all of us experience at some time or other. There are always occasions when you begin to wonder whether you are getting as much as you might out of your marriage, or other sexual relationships, whether you are doing as well, proving an addt, as the next chap.

Both sexes read the Khama Sutra and (much more amusing) The Perfumed Garden; men speculate on practices described in kinky magazines, on triangular bedding down, on rubber, leather and fantastic positions which—the books warn—can be undertaken only by very supple women. And women brood on that fetish, the vaginal orgasm, which for the last thirty years has been supposed to signify the height of feminine sexual sophistication; I hate to think how many women, since the days of Freud, and insufficiently reassured by Kinsey, have felt that they have missed some great experience which they ought to have had. They may blame themselves and/or their men, while these same men are wistfully wondering what they, too, have missed.

Probably these are some of the considerations that crowd into the middle years of life, when you review what has happened in the past, and try to see where you have got to now, where you are going next, how much time there is still left. And if you have been convinced that there are more rewarding sexual paths which you haven't explored, and which might prove your own aptitude for maturity, it's difficult to resist pursuing them even at the expense of existing ties.

Super Sex, the simultaneous O—a technique, which has nothing to do with love and which could probably be brought off by any reasonably accomplished and sufficiently determined couple—by being equated with psychological maturity, has become a sort of magically endowed carrot dangled apparently within reach. In *For Whom The Bell Tolls*, Hemingway describes synchronised sex marvellously pithily. "The earth moved," Maria said, not looking at the woman. "Truly. It was a thing I cannot tell thee." "Como que no. hi ja?" Pilar said. "Why not, daughter? When I was young the earth moved so that you could feel it all shift in space and were afraid it would go out from under you. It happened every night."

"You lie," Maria said.

"Yes," Pilar said. "I lie. It never moves more than three times in a lifetime. Did it really move?"

You see? The magic formula. It's clear that magic has entered the scene from the dictum that it can never happen more than three times in a lifetime. It's this that I object to, these absolute arbitrary terms, guaranteed to increase if not to manufacture anxiety. It encourages people to ask, "Am I doing this correctly? Is this going according to the book?" Instead of what would surely be more appropriate, "What am I feeling? Is this what I want? What am I getting, and how much am I giving to the other?"

It's all part of a modern neurosis; the idea that you can learn how to live by being taught. That enough words expended on any subject will tell you all you need to know. That the head, if it's clever enough, can govern every other organ. And perhaps particularly that there is no subject which can't be made into a science of exact knowledge, measurable and susceptible to tests, with right or wrong answers; you check them by turning to page one thousand and three. I don't mean to denigrate Kinsey, who did a much needed job in demonstrating how much unproved mythology there is and always has been about sex, especially the sexual habits of others, the orgies going on in the other room. Nor do I want to detract from the value of Masters and Johnson, whose studies of the physiology of sexual intercourse are interesting and new.

But let's get it clear, that this is a collection of hitherto

unascertained facts, and not a way of life. Just as the statistical figure of 2.5 as the average number of children in middle-class families in some specified area of the world does not mean that you will find two and a half children in any one home, so what we know rationally, or statistically or from laboratory tests, about sex won't necessarily make us more or less sexy, more or less adept, more grown up or more infantile. I'd like someone to write a novel—perhaps it would be an anti-novel—about a couple who had everything on the sexual plane, whose love-making caused the whole globe to shoot off into outer space, but who, after savoring this for the appropriate number of months or years, discovered that it was only remotely connected with what they really wanted, and who eventually settled for that dirty word, "love". Unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, it hasn't yet been possible to measure love.

We seem to assume that it isn't only maturity, but love as well, demonstrated by the achievement of text-book sex; which raises an interesting question which we tend, today, to ignore. We'd probably all agree that a sexual relationship doesn't necessarily imply love; you can have a successful affair with someone whom you like or are moderately fond of. But we do also assume that where love exists there must also be sex, and as a corollary, that the success of the sex is in more or less exact proportion to the love. Isn't this a very naive belief? The question I want to ask is, what part does sex play in love?

Of course, it is important. Not only because the physical pleasure of sex for each individual is something which that individual will prize and want to repeat, so that the person who is the "other", and who has provided that pleasure becomes of value for this, if for nothing else. But where there is also liking or love, there is the pleasure of giving pleasure in kind; perhaps the only comparable relationship is that between a mother and her breast-fed baby. Even that isn't quite a parallel, because although the baby wants to receive what it eases the mother to give, the baby's role is an unconscious one, and so the tenderness which arises from the knowledge of having pleased another is missing on his part.

Between the adult lovers—and I'm using the word advisedly here, to cover both physiological and psychological senses, the give and take is equal and it can be an extra dimension to love, just as other shared pleasures may be. We have progressed this far, at least, along the road to maturity, that we look for more than the appeasement of our own desire, we do care that our sexual partner should also receive pleasure. And there's another thing. Sex has the immense advantage of being both a shorthand of communication, like the "little" language which families and lovers develop, and also of being without words. To be able to communicate without the complications of language is an incomparable benefit. Of course, this isn't peculiar to sex, and if we were less physically inhibited with each other we should use more frequently the touch which means "I'm sorry, I was unreasonable and cross, forgive me", and the embrace which says non-verbally, "I feel for your misery, I'll do what I can" or just "I do understand."

If the convention of the shared bedroom for married couples didn't exist marriage would be even more difficult to sustain than it already is. D.H. Lawrence knew the importance of the sharing of unconsciousness. "Paul loved to sleep with his mother. Sleep is still most perfect, in spite of hygienists, when it is shared with a beloved. The warmth, the security, and peace of soul, the utter comfort from the touch of the other, knits the sleep, so that it takes the body and soul completely in its healing". Sex is a refinement of this skin language, but it's not the only way of proving your confidence in another by allowing yourself to lose control in their presence. It's interesting that both sleep, and the pause of satisfied exhaustion after the orgasm have been named, "the little death". In each case consciousness is abandoned, you lay down your defences before the person you trust.

So. Sex is a means of communication, it's a wonderful interchange of pleasure. But it isn't synonymous with love. There can even be, though it is heresy in this age to say so, great and lasting love which is never fully expressed in a sexual form. We must all have known couples for whom sex was something less than the best, who continued to love each other. Admittedly this is more unusual now, when so much emphasis is placed on compatibility in bed, and when the break up of a marriage is so often, retrospectively, attributed to sexual dissatisfaction. "I left him because he couldn't satisfy me"; "I can't stay with you, you don't make me feel like a man".

The odd thing is that if the speakers were asked whether they married more for the deep deep peace of the double bed than for other reasons they would probably say no, the ex-partner had many excellent qualities which they still value very highly. Why, then, are they remarrying? For another set of admirable qualities, plus the renewed confidence which is given by the acquisition of a new sexual partner. If the quest for maturity is admirable, there's nothing wrong in dissolving a partnership which couldn't supply the current token of that goal.

This position paper on Women's Liberation was originally prepared by the Spartacist League for the information, edification, and direction of the American group, Students for a Democratic Society. It presents a left-wing viewpoint on the role of women.

Ladies Leftist Liberation

SDS AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Students for a Democratic Society needs a clear, accurate class analysis of the special oppression of women and a Marxist program for women's liberation.

The existing women's liberation movement, both liberal and radical, seems to see sex as the basic "class division" in society. This low level of theoretical development means an opportunity for Marxists to intervene with a working-class line. However, we will render our intervention useless if we cling to an oversimplified analysis that the only form of oppression is class oppression and confine our interest to the economic super-exploitation of women workers.

The class question is the decisive issue in class society. However, other additional types of oppression do exist as well—e.g. racial oppression, national oppression, women's oppression.

The SDS resolution passed by the June convention did not provide a correct analysis of program.

OPPRESSION AND THE FAMILY

The June resolution included the following statement: "The family does not have to be primarily reactionary. We should attempt to attack the bourgeois aspect and make the family a unit for fighting the ruling class."

This statement is flatly wrong. It ignores, in a crude anti-theoretical manner, the entire thrust of the Marxian critique of the family in order to accept as potentially revolutionary an institution which is inherently reactionary. The family can no more become a unit for fighting capitalism than can racial segregation, which is also a bourgeois institution. Both of these socio-economic institutions are oppressive and help maintain the capitalist system. Both are tools by which the ruling class maintains and strengthens false consciousness in the working class.

As a pro-working-class student organization, SDS must provide a Marxian class analysis of the

social oppression of women. The primary source document for this analysis is *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, in which Frederick Engels traces the history of the increasing oppression of women through the various stages of economic development of society, showing that the appearance of private property brought with it the necessity of transferring this property through inheritance. From this flows the need to trace descent; and since the male, in the primitive division of labor, had come to be the property owner, he is therefore given the right to exclusive sexual access to the bearer of his children. Hence, the institution of marriage emerges.

Sexual divisions continue to be socially enforced, since they bolster the capitalist system. The social inferiority of women is maintained by the entire structure of class society, including its ideologies. Many women internalize and come to believe the false ideas of class culture, and actually feel themselves to be inferior. Women today tend to be "under-achievers"; feeling rightly that there is not much future for them, they waste their talents and energies on trivialities, decide to live through their families or succumb to despair. It is our task to offer to these women a worthwhile goal: their own liberation, which cannot be a personal "self-liberation" but requires a social revolution and the withering away of the family.

This is far from advocating that, as in the bosses' press, that under communism men and women will live in separate barracks and all children will be brought up in a state orphanage. We are rather advocating the replacement of marriage as a compulsory economic arrangement with voluntary forms better suited to people's physical and emotional needs.

FAMILY AND CLASS

The resolution states: "With the rise of capitalism and modern industry, the economic foundation on which the traditional family was based was destroyed. Women were taken out of the home and put into the factories. As a result, the special exploitation of women, who became cheap reserve labour force, continued to justify the double exploitation of women workers. The ruling class fostered the ideology of male chauvinism."

To set the record straight, at the very beginning of the industrial revolution women and children formed the bulk of the industrial proletariat. The reasons for this were twofold: women and children were cheap, unorganized labour used by the ruling capitalist to batter down the wages of men (usually more highly paid) and to destroy the craft industries employing relatively highly paid male artisans.

Consequently, workers with large families were often given preference by early capitalists who, as a matter of fact, often compelled the worker to require his entire family to work in his factory or lose his job.

The destruction of the traditional family by employing women and children in production creates the possibility of founding the relationship between the sexes on a new economic basis.

INDOCTRINATION

The bourgeoisie and its theorists tinkered with the old institutions in order to fit them better into the new industrial capitalism. In the age of disintegrating feudalism, before the capitalists had accumulated much experience in running their own system, some of them even toyed with very radical ideas regarding the state, family and religion. They soon learned, however, that whether they themselves liked conventional family life or not, or whether they believed in God or not, the institutions of religion and the family were indispensable for inculcating the required docility, submissiveness, respect for authority and superstition in the working class. Without religion and the family the workers would be far more likely to become troublesome.

Although individual families were destroyed—and are being destroyed—by capitalism, the family as an institution was not hurt, as it rises or falls with the existence of private property. When economic considerations permitted, the ruling class periodically initiated campaigns, through the media and churches, to get women back into the home. This tendency reached a peak of brutal chauvinism and cynical barbarism with the Nazi slogan, "Kinder, Küche, Kirche", which portrays the woman deluded by

religion and as breeder, babysitter and cook. "The family that prays together stays together": both religion and the family are bourgeois institutions of false consciousness.

THE FAMILY IN NON-CAPITALIST STATES

The family serves its reactionary function not only in capitalist societies but also in the bureaucratically-deformed workers' states—i.e., Russia, China, and those other nations which have abolished the material basis of the family—private property—but which still require the family as a socio-cultural institution in order to suppress the consciousness of the masses, rendering them subservient to the parasitic bureaucracies headed by Brezhnev & Co., Mao, etc.

For example, the initial effect of the Chinese revolution—which in its need to fight imperialism found itself completing the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and establishing the property relations of a workers' state—was the unleashing of an immensely progressive social force. The feudal oppression of women was abolished. But in the absence of workers' democracy in China, policy is determined by the whim of the Maoist bureaucracy. Hence, the ambivalent attitude toward the family: thus the bureaucracy opposed birth control during the Great Leap forward; today they encourage long periods of celibacy for the Chinese youth.

No society could today be entirely free of the dark heritage of the family with its sexual oppression and shut-in, stultifying life for the children. What is the most repugnant to any evolutionist about family life in the deformed workers' states, however, is the fact that the political elite ruling these societies presents the survival of an archaic and reactionary institution as a great achievement in building socialism. The Bolsheviks, in Lenin's time never clarified the family as an instrument, real or potential, for revolutionary socialist struggle and development. As far as the miserable, insufficient level of Russian economy and culture permitted, they passed laws and created institutions designed to free Soviet citizens, particularly the women and children, from the oppressive and stultifying influence of the family. All this was of course reversed with the advent of Stalin's bureaucratic regime, which continues on to this day. After wiping out the very spirit of the Communist Party and stripping the soviets of power, the Stalinized regime proceeded to make divorce more difficult, legalize abortion, advanced parental authority, and work of all called this adaptation to brutal barefaced Russian medievalism—socialism!

SDS cannot wish away the social and cultural significance of the family by words about making it "a unit for fighting the ruling class." Reactionary institutions serve reactionary ends.

THE WORKING WOMAN

The economic aspects of the inferior position of women in our society provide the most immediate benefits to capitalism. Whenever capital needs to draw women out into the labor force, it has been able to use the ideology of male superiority to justify the super-exploitation of women workers—that is, women being paid less for doing the same work as the men. After all, "a woman's place is in the home"; "a man has the responsibility of supporting a family, a woman only works because she wants to."

The assumption is that the woman's main role is that of the tender mother; hence, she is forced to take care of her children, even if they are unwanted, even when she is divorced. Any woman who wants more out of life is termed "unnatural" or "unfit". The lie is pushed that women are fit only for domestic chores and that therefore their labor is not worth as much as the labor of men.

MILITANCY OR PASSIVITY?

In the months ahead, many SDS members expect to have jobs, either full-time or temporary, in factories, on campus, in offices and hospitals, wherever labor struggles are going on. Those of us involved in assisting striking unions will be able to establish contacts with workers on the picket lines. As socialists, we must support the working class in its struggles and seek to raise consciousness, pointing out that male chauvinism divides the workers, that lower wages for women means lower wages for everyone. In Britain, where unions have calculated that wages would increase 11% if women received the same pay as men, equal pay for equal work has become a major union demand. In the U.S., a related process of awakening is going on.

Male chauvinism has made many women workers passive in accepting their lower wages and generally poorer working conditions. Many women are convinced that it isn't "ladylike" or "feminine" to be really militant, that political activity is only for men, that the picket line is too dangerous a place for women. These attitudes serve the bosses and must be fought. Radicals should encourage militancy among women workers and relate women's oppression to the oppression and alienation that all workers experience under capitalism. Thus, women's liberation has an important role to play.

MALE CHAUVINISM IN THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

Male chauvinism—perhaps a misleading term since it tends to obscure the fact that women's male chauvinist attitudes can oppress them or other women—has hurt the radical movement. Many potentially radical women are unwilling to join an organization which they believe is indifferent to women's oppression.

The student movement is infected with male chauvinism, a bourgeois ideology, as is the rest of society under capitalism. Long ago most of us faced up to our own deeply embedded racist attitudes and began to conquer them. Now we must root out our male chauvinism as carefully. Here we are dealing with the social and psychological forms of discrimination rather than the economic aspects of male chauvinism. We must recognize also that no one—including our women members—is automatically exempt from male chauvinist attitudes. We must, by scrupulous attention to the content of a pro-women's liberation position, prevent the subject from becoming a bandwagon which intimidates free political debate in SDS the way that some Black hustlers have sought to racist-bait other radicals into accepting their positions as gospel.

PROGRAM

When SDS members make a political entry into a special group such as a women's liberation group, they should be armed with a program that raises the consciousness by relating specific felt needs to the broader struggle for socialism. We carry through this program by raising a series of transitional demands—that is, demands which flow from the specific struggle but which lead the struggle to a higher level of militancy and political sophistication.

We move that SDS accept the following program for struggle and agitation around the following demands:

Abolition of abortion laws; each woman must be free to make her own decisions.

Free abortions, as part of demand for free quality medical care for everybody, so poor women will have the same freedom of choice as middle-class women.

Freely available birth control devices and information.

Free full-time child-care facilities for all children, the expenses to be borne by the employer or the state. Free pre-natal, maternity and post-natal care with no loss in pay for time off.

Establishment of free voluntary cafeterias in the factories and other places of work.

Divorce at the request of either partner. Abolition of alimony. Expenses for children to be paid by the state.

Lower the legal age of adulthood to 16. State stipend for schooling or training for any child who wishes to leave home. Free education for all children, with housing, food and stipend. No loco parentis. Student-teacher-worker control of all schools and colleges.

Full and equal pay for equal work.

Equal work: equal access to all job categories. Shorter work week with no loss in pay ("30 for 40") to eliminate unemployment at the capitalists expense.

An end to all forms of discrimination—legal, political, social and cultural.

SDS should seek the creation of a non-exclusionist class-conscious women's liberation organization in which SDS members can participate and struggle on the basis of the above program. Toward this end, we should direct interested SDS members to seek to initiate, along with other radical women, a nationally orientated women's liberation publication.

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Having read the articles released by Life and Rolling Stone, I understood that this had been big. But, it is not until I saw this film that I realized just how big it actually was. This was life being larger than life as sometimes it fortunately is want to do.

The name itself indicates a kind of backwoods early American strength such as is illustrated in the literature of that pioneer period. The film does make that connection between the communal woodlands farm existence of the 1770's and the community that formed for those three days. The film opens with idyllic shots of Upstate New York farmlands with its gently rolling hills, misty woods, placid lakes, and industrious people. Then through the farmer and his tractor, the film blends the mood it has created into the catapillar tractors and cranes of the festival organizers as they construct the mammoth stage and erect the huge sound and light towers. The stage and the towers are the first physical indication of how physically large that which is to follow will be.

Slowly the things come together, the anticipation building in the film much as it would have for those who were actually there.

Then, at last, the first performer takes the stage. Ritchie Havens. One of the few complaints I have about this film is that the material Wadleigh shows the artists performing, for the most part, is not their best. Havens, for example, has far better songs in his repertoire than he is shown performing here. Nevertheless, the performance he does give is an exciting opener.

Joan Baez, the next to perform, constitutes the musical low-point of the film. The material she is shown performing is poor and the way in which she handles it is also poor. Those who followed, including the Who, Ten Years After, Joe Cocker, and Santana, give performances that offers the audience the cliched neveradullmoment. The 1950's type rock band, Sha-Na-Na-Na produced very strange results with their gold suited rendition of At The Hop. Everyone in the audience applauded and cheered, the theatre audience that is, something which was not done for any other performer.

There is no spoken narrative. Instead Wadleigh lets his camera and tape recorders capture all there is to be said. He is very apt at telling visual jokes, such as, the dope smoking sequence. Also his timing is perfect in his visual effects: He knows just when to split the screen or to parallel speech of one side to the action of the other. The three sections into which the screen is generally split matches the three channels of the theatre's sound system. So, that when the action moves from one side of the screen to the other the sound follows it.

But, the music was not the only factor involved in the festival nor is it the only factor in the film as it was in Monterey Pop. The people are also important, both the faceless out-of-focus masses and the character filled faces of the individuals. The people of the town are fantastic from the first old-timer who had to eat nothing but Corn Flakes for two days to the guy who had to clean out the Porto-Sans. Then there are the audience from the toothless cowboy from 42nd Street to the girl who felt the loss of her own individuality in the immensity of the crowd. By switching from the crowd to the individuals Wadleigh does not let you forget either.

On the whole, Woodstock is the most enjoyable three and one half hours that I've spent in a movie house for a long long time. I did not suffer the usual butt-rott which usually accompanies those marathon-epics ala Gone With The Wind even when they include an intermission which Woodstock does not. Like many other topical films, such as Medium Cool and M.A.S.H., I suppose the wrong people will be seeing them. Nevertheless I hope that a few older types will wander in and see just how the people acted in Bethel New York, the weekend the Fair came to town.



LITTLE

SHOP

OF

HORRORS

Stephan Chan has CRACCUM, professed anarchist Stuart Loudon has CHAFF, and Cruickshank and Rosenberg have SALIENT. Right thinking members of the public are going to have a ball in '71.

The appointment of Tweedle Dum and Tweedle Dee by the Publications Board on October 5th was carried out in true Victoria style: applications for the editorship of SALIENT closed on Monday 21 of September. On time was one application—from former SALIENT Reviews Editor, Gil Peterson who took it all seriously enough to provide the Board with a comprehensive three page editorial policy. One from former SALIENT reporter Peter Butler was a little late and then a few days before the meeting of the Board an application was received from Roger Cruickshank and local P.Y.M. agent George Rosenberg. Chairman of the Board Graeme Collins moved that the late applications be accepted and they were.

Several of the democrats on the Board (among them Simon Arnold) decided that the meeting be held in closed committee (radical gadfly Logan explained that this was a tradition "hallowed by custom" so that was O.K.). Everybody (including Graham Ingram, SALIENT technical editor in 1968 and 1970, who had been invited to the meeting "to give advice") trooped outside and remained there. Prior to this members of the Board had been given copies of the Peterson manifesto which they dutifully held in front of them while they talked.

After a few minutes Peterson wandered out amazed at the ignorance of the Board members. This was probably the first hint of Peterson's lack of experience. Cruickshank and Rosenberg wandered in. While the multitudes waited someone recounted that former Association Secretary Denis Phelps had had his hand

shaken by Sir Keith, who, dispensing with protocol in the best Nixon manner, thrust out the talcummed paw and said simply (as is his wont) "Keith Holyoake". "And Phelps got up and walked" said ex Cappicade Editor Roger Hall.

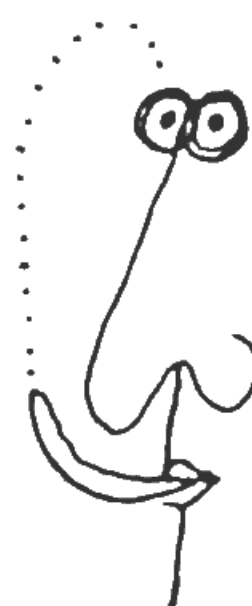
Cruickshank and his mate wandered out; "I was going to tell them that I had a job with the Taranakillerald over Christmas to get some experience," said Cruickshank, "but then I remembered that Graeme Collins could ring home and find out so I said the Wanganui Chronicle. It was the only paper I could think of." He wasn't admitting a lack of experience, indeed, he had put out several "underground" pamphlets.

A short time later Arnold came trotting out and gave Cruickshank and Rosenberg a jaunty thumbs up (remember, he wanted it in committee). Five minutes later the Board purported to reach its decision and informed the world that the new editors of SALIENT were to be Cruickshank and Rosenberg. Ingram had a message passed to the Chairman that he was only too pleased to have had the honour of advising the Board and that he didn't resent the time that had been taken up at all.

Bill Logan, when told the news, breathed distractedly "That's fantastic, amazing, we've won, we've won."

Graeme Collins, when told of Cruickshank's real job prospects, immediately undertook to get Cruickshank a job.

by Vivien Camp



8 eggs
1 tbslp baking soda
1 cup of water.
Beat together and smear over face and other exposed parts of the body.
Breath thru a handkerchief soaked in vinegar held in the mouth.

BOTH SIDES NOW...

The Making of a Pollution-Industrial Complex

reprinted from an article in Ramparts (May 1970).

In January of this year Coca-Cola Company announced its purchase of water treatment equipment and desalination systems. "The acquisition will permit Coca-Cola to enter the mainstream of environmental control systems," declared a spokesman for the company. Perhaps the people at Coke have seen the handwriting on the wall and realize that their livelihood depends on having clean water to make brown. But whatever the precise reasoning, the marriage of Coke and Aqua-Chem is just one among a rash of similar developments on Wall Street where pollution control has emerged as one of the hottest growth industries of the '70's. As Forbes Magazine put it in a recent cover story, there's "cash in all that trash."

Since the beginning of December 1969, despite a market engaged in a remarkably stubborn downward spiral, stock issues of companies with substantial interests in pollution control have made price advances of often better than 50 per cent. For the pollution control industry as a whole, the average annual growth rate for the next five years is expected to climb to better than 20 per cent, which is almost three times that of most manufacturing groups.

Lester Krellenstein, an engineer and pollution control promoter for the brokerage firm of H. Hentz and Company, believes that President Nixon's appointment of a Council of Environmental Quality triggered the heavy buying. Present estimates of the potential market start at \$25 billion.

But of all the developments in the fledgling industry, by far the most instructive is the corporate integration of polluters and controllers. About two dozen pollution control companies are subsidiaries or divisions of the largest corporations and polluters in the United States. Represented among this latter group are Dow Chemical Co., Monsanto Chemical, W.R. Grace, DuPont, Merck, Nalco, Union Carbide, General Electric, Westinghouse, Combustion Engineering, Honeywell, Beckman Instruments, Alcoa, Universal Oil Products, North American Rockwell, and many others. Although these super-corporations currently make less in sales from pollution control than do smaller firms like Research-Cottrell and Wheelabrator, their superior access to capital, resources, markets, management skills and political

power will invariably be translated into a superior competitive position as ecologymovement flowers and the control industry grows.

The pollution control industry is really an extension of both the technological capabilities and the marketing patterns of the capital goods sector of the economy. Most of the companies involved in pollution control are not only polluters themselves but are the same firms which supply the chemicals, machines, plant fuels and parts for even bigger polluters, such as General Motors, U.S. Steel, Boeing, Standard Oil, Philco-Ford, American Can Co. and Consolidated Edison. For many of these firms, pollution control is merely one aspect of a program of "environmental diversification," which is generally accompanied by heavy investment and aggressive acquisition programs.

Koppers, for instance, is an engineering and construction firm that designs municipal sewage plants as well as air and water purification systems. Among its many specialties in pollution abatement is the production of gas removal devices for electric utilities; steel plants, coke plants and foundries. At the same time, however, Koppers is one of the world's leading builders of steelmaking equipment and is responsible for designing over 25 per cent of all basic steelmaking facilities in the U.S., as well as half of the present domestic coke plants in operation. Thus it gets the business coming and going. Since 80 per cent of the coke plants in the nation will require modernization in the '70's, and the steel industry expects to increase its overall capacity by 50 per cent, Koppers can expect good profits designing the pollution control systems needed to curb the pollution caused by all the new coke ovens, steel furnaces and foundries which it will construct.

It is the chemical industry, however, that best illustrates the consequences of the incest between the pollution control business and the industrial polluters. First, the chemical industry is in the enviable position of reaping sizable profits by attempting to clean up rivers and lakes (at public expense) which they have profitably polluted in the first place. To facilitate this, practically every major chemical company in the U.S. has established a pollution abatement division or is in the process of doing so. Dow Chemical, for example, produces a wide variety of products and services for water pollution abatement, including measuring instruments, specialty treatment chemicals, and a special biological filter medium called SURF-PAC. The company designs, engineers, builds and services waste water treatment plants and is currently supervising municipal sewage plants in Cleveland and working on waste disposal problems for lumber companies in Pensacola, Florida, and West Nyack, New York. All of these projects are funded by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration (FWPCA).

Thus, the chemical industry—which ranks second in production of polluted waste water and generates close to 50 per cent of the biological oxygen demand in industrial water before treatment—has, at the same time, established a dominant position in the water pollution control business.

A second consequence of placing the "control" of pollution in the hands of big business is that the official abatement levels will inevitably be set low enough to protect industry's power to pollute and therefore its ability to keep costs down and revenues high. According to a recent study by the FWPCA, if the chemical industry were to reduce its pollution of water to zero, the costs involved would amount to almost \$2.7 billion per year. This would cut profits almost by half.

Fortunately for the chemical industry, the present abatement target is only 75 per cent reduction in water pollution through "secondary treatment" methods which will clean up the solids but leave the phosphates, nitrogen

compounds and a host of other poisonous substances which secondary treatment can't possibly catch.

Of course, it is precisely the profit incentive as the criterion of what shall and shall not be produced that makes it impossible to stop the proliferation and profusion of poisons in even the most obvious places. Thus the chemical industry has polluted the housewife's food package not only through the unintended absorption of pesticide residues, but also through innumerable colorings additives (like the cyclamates) and preservatives designed to increase food purchases and consumption, in order to buoy up sagging sales curves. The package itself, which is a sales boosting device par excellence, can be both the most polluting and dangerous feature of all. As a piece de resistance the chemical industry produces the non-biodegradable plastic container, which comes in all sizes, shapes and colors, and, if made from polyvinyl plastic, can be deadly in the most literal sense of the word. When Dow's Saran-Wrap is accumulated as trash and burned, it produces phosgene gas—a poison gas used in World War I and currently stockpiled by the Department of Defense. Exposure for only a short duration to 50 parts of phosgene per million parts of air will cause death. The chemical industry currently makes approximately five billion pounds of polyvinyl plastic per year and output is expected to rise by seven per cent this year alone.

Another consequence of business control of cleaning up the environment is cost to the public. Most municipal water treatment plants in large urban areas are currently constructed to handle an excess capacity frequently 100 per cent greater than the volume of waste actually produced by their resident populations. Much of this surplus capacity is used by big business (especially the chemical industry) to dispose of its wastes. Although industries are charged for this use, it is the consumers and taxpayers, through federal grants and state bonds, who bear the cost of construction and maintenance of the treatment facilities. Thus the public pays the polluters to construct the treatment facilities necessitated by the polluters in the first place.

Thus pollution control, developed as a complementary industry, is a way to insure that the favorable balance between cost, sales and profits can be maintained and business can continue as usual—indeed, better than usual, for pollution control means new investment outlets, new income and new profits; the more waste, the better. Pollution control as conceived by the pollution control industry is merely an extension of the same pattern of profit-seeking exploitation and market economics which is at the root of the environmental crisis itself.

The most salient fact about the crisis that now threatens to overwhelm us is that it is first and foremost a product of the so-called free-enterprise system. It is not technology per se, but the way technology is employed (its organization and channeling) that creates the problems. Take, for example, the automobile. What logic determined man's use, as his central mode of transportation, of a device which threw concrete highways across the plains, cut up the forests, poisoned the atmosphere, congested the cities and created the sprawling conurbations that have smothered the land? Was it safe? Computed as fatalities per mile, the death rate for cars is 25 times that for trains and 10 times that for planes. Was it efficient? A traffic study made in 1907 shows that horse-drawn vehicles in New York moved at an average speed of 11.5 miles per hour. Today, automobiles crawl at the average daytime rate of six miles per hour.

The costs of pollution are borne by our lungs and in individual cleaning bills; the costs of lack of safety are paid in individual hospital bills and individual deaths. Suppose Ford had been forced from the outset to reckon the social costs (at least the ones that could be quantified) and to put that in the price of his autos. At that price, people would

FROM page 8

But this is just as much of a rationalisation, an idealisation of sex as the belief that there is no satisfaction without the simultaneous O. You could compare the sharing of sex to the sharing of another art, music. Suppose two musicians, used to performing together, and married to each other, found that one of them was becoming crippled or deaf; would you immediately assume that the marriage would come to an end? Not unless there had been nothing shared but the ability to play together. I'd be prepared to bet that if you could question the protagonists of lasting and reasonably happy marriages as to the importance of the sexual factor, you'd find that it was only one of several ingredients of success. Liking your marriage partner can be as vital as being in love.

If we believe that we are all entitled to super quality sex all or most of the time, we are making the usual democratic mistake of thinking we're all equal. For Orwell's sake, let's face it, we are not. We're not all equally good at everything; no amount of training or education is going to make all of us Olympic runners, nuclear physicists, creative artists. Not all of us are even equally good at the simpler tasks of living; some of us are going to be more and some less active sexually. It's also partly a question of time. Sex is one of the activities on which we have to decide to spend more or less of our limited time and libido. It's probably desirable that the two partners of a couple should make roughly the same allocation, but even this isn't an absolute sine qua non of success.

I don't want to undervalue the sexual orgasm. I think it's marvellous, irreplaceable, unique. But I feel like quoting a sentence from Aldington, which was quoted in turn in a review of new films which I happened to read while I was writing this article. "A man or a woman might die for love and be glad in the dying, but who would die for sex? If one would, what's wrong with masturbation? Isn't the whole point of really good sex that there is another person there? If you are fond of him, that's fine. If you're in love with him, that's good. If you love him, then it's splendid, so splendid that even the terrific sex is less important than the

loving. Simultaneous orgasms? Fun, clever, very pleasurable—as a psychoanalyst I once knew used to say—but not a test of bloody anything.

Furthermore I defy much of the modern teaching by saying that I don't think even the female orgasm is absolutely necessary every time. It's uncomfortable and frustrating to reach the nearly-but-not-quite stage and no further; but there's a great deal of love-making which doesn't get as far as that for one or other partner, sometimes for both, and which is tender and loving and tells each what the other wants to convey.

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have bought trains as their mass transportation, or more reasonably, they would have been forced to structure their cities and communities in a way which would have enabled them to walk to virtually all of the places necessary.

The problems created by the market system are thus like original sin: their implications keep spreading and diversifying. Now, when the demand for cars shows signs of being saturated, the market strategists get to work and—by changing models, manipulating consumers and planning the obsolescence of their product—generate the need for more and more cars, ad infinitum. The waste in resources is staggering (it has been estimated that style changes in autos alone cost \$4 billion annually) and the increase in pollution incalculable.

The pollution control industry itself reflects this irrationality in production for profit. It, too, is a growth industry. It, too, depends for its existence on society's capacity to make waste. The production of steel, copper, aluminum, asbestos and beryllium components for air pollution systems and sewage plants will probably create more air pollution and kill more rivers. The waste involved in the production of all the specialty chemicals and biological agents needed for water treatment alone is staggering. More-over, the waste in resources required to operate \$100 billion worth of control systems will certainly not reduce the despoliation of the environment.

Instead of reorganizing the productive system for social ends, thereby eliminating the problem of waste production and distribution at its source, pollution control under business auspices amounts to no more than rationalizing and improving waste production by making it less ugly, less harmful, less objectionable, and more pleasant for everybody. The object of this kind of pollution control is to make pollution "functional" in society, to institutionalize it, to change it into a necessary and regular part of the everyday world. There is no more effective way to do that than to make it possible for a whole industry to make money out of it. To the military-industrial complex, we can now add an eco-pollution-industrial complex, with a vested interest in continuing economic growth and environmental malaise.

Following every failure of the business system in a major social area, the government has stepped in to create a new social-industrial complex, passing the costs of rehabilitation and correction on to the tax-paying public, and reserving the benefits for the corporations. Like the defense suppliers and the educational-manpower conglomerates, the pollution control industry now enjoys the good fortune of being legislated into success. Lavish profits will come from ready-made markets bolstered by special laws controlling pollution levels of factories, special tax write-offs for the industrial buyers of abatement equipment, and plenty of Research and Development money for the pollution controllers themselves. As government outlays on abatement grow, so will the profits accruing to the pollution control industry. With Uncle Sam posing as Mr. Clean, the crisis of the environment can't help being profitable.

The crisis of the environment must be viewed in terms of a paradox central to modern society. The mobilization of the productive energies of society and the physical forces of nature for the purpose of accumulating profits or enhancing private power and privilege now conflicts directly with the universal dependence of men upon nature for the means of their common survival. A society whose principal ends and incentives are monetary and expansionist inevitably produces material and cultural impoverishment—in part precisely because of the abundance of profitable goods. To make an industry out of cleaning up the mess that industry itself makes is a logical extension of corporate capitalism. What is needed, however, is not an extension of what is already bad, but its transformation into something better.

Towards the end of September, two fifth and eight seventh formers of Scots College formed the (unofficial) Student Committee for Improvement. Their motive being to try to make something of their repressive environment.

Shortly after, a petition was presented to the headmaster, Mr J.F. McFarlane, on behalf of sixty-eight parents, students, staff and old boys which asked that the rules regarding the compulsory wearing of caps for senior pupils be relaxed. Those present were informed it would probably be four months before the Board of Governors would make a decision.

Two days later, a letter from the Student Committee for Improvement was posted to the Board and copies distributed to the students to let them know exactly what was happening. The Committee, unable to achieve any positive action through the headmaster, thus endeavoured to inform the Board of the...

"general feeling of acute dissatisfaction which is either suppressed by the college administration or the boys' own lethargy. The needlessly conservative attitude of the Board has hampered any attempts to improve this situation. Scots has been established for 53 years and those years have not been justified with sufficient progressive achievement and ideas. Scots has the potential to be a good school."

Immediately following this letter, the Committee members were individually summoned to the headmaster's office. They were asked to write an apology to the Board. Stunned by the fervent barrage of hypocritical criticism and yes-manism from students and staff, they agreed.

The next day the two prefects involved lost their badges and the Board demanded each Committee member read the following apology before the entire school (personal apologies were prohibited):

I apologise to the school, in that we ignored the normal channels of communication through the Headmaster and distributed a letter that was derogatory to the School and those who serve it.

The option given, if any member of the Committee refused to conform with the demand, was immediate suspension, and, if he still refused, though no time period was stipulated, his name would be "struck from the roll".

Seven members agreed to read the apology, while the other three refused. They, however, succumbed the next day.

In retrospect over the months of February to August, something of which Mr J.F. McFarlane should be reminded and the Board of Governors informed, is that two Committee members had used the "normal channels of communication through the Headmaster" on six separate occasions. The result of these communications invariably proved to be total unproductivity and thus total frustration. Not forgetting that in two instances students were ordered from the headmaster's office.

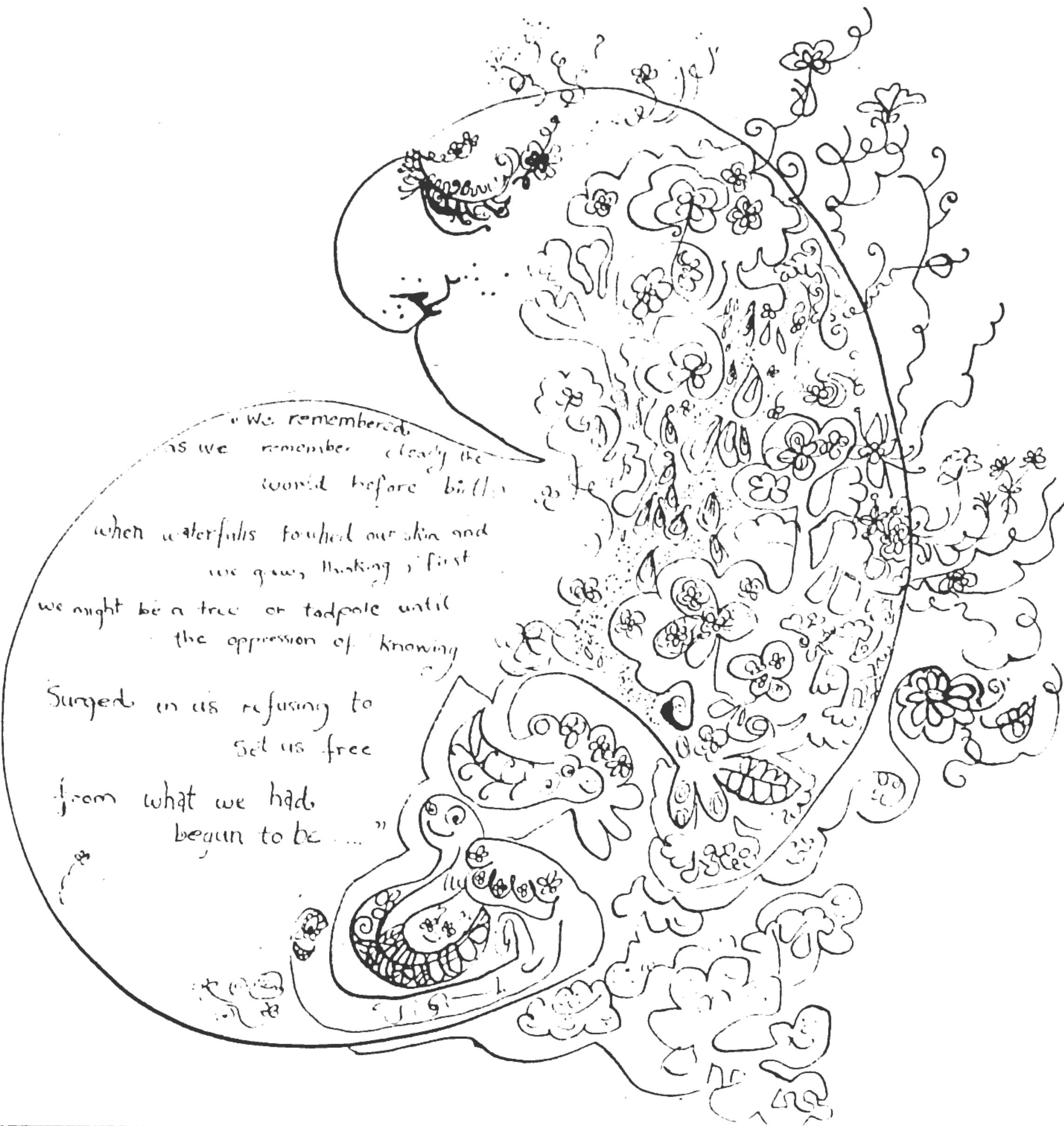
Since this (typically) abortive attempt to "control" students, three Committee members have left Scots College. Their deciding factor being the attitudes indicated by The Authorities, most clearly in these recent events.

As for the Student Committee for Improvement, the desired effect has been achieved. It has been smashed.

Yes "Scots is moving into the seventies" (so official mass publication informs the pupils and old boys).

"No meetings are to be held without the prior approval of the First Assistant," (1984 here we come) and Mr J.F. McFarlane and the Board "are not happy with the way the university is being run at the moment". They "don't want any university influences infecting the School".

Jonathan Harcourt, Ex-member Student Committee for Improvement, Ex-prefect, ex-student Scots College.



We apologise for thinking

FILMS

THE RAIN PEOPLE

ACCIDENT

THE HEART IS A LONELY HUNTER

THE RAIN PEOPLE



Like "Easy Rider" and "Zabriskie Point," The Rain People is built around the archetypal American journey and that current cinematic fantasy, the freedom of the open road.

Again there are the sweeping travelling shots along miles of motorway, with a varied beautiful countryside glimpsed in romantic angles to the accompaniment of sound track music. It is the pioneer dream of rebirth and renewal; leaving civilization for nature. But unlike "Easy Rider" or "Zabriskie Point", this film is much more.

Pregnant and unsure of herself Natalie (Shirley Knight) leaves her husband's bed to drive endlessly westwards. She stops off at motels and rings him from roadside call boxes. She loves him but cannot explain or understand why she had to get away. Her phone calls become confessions. Worried over her and the child she is carrying her husband tells her, "I'm not impressed with your honesty....I don't want any phone calls about how you feel. I want you to do something."

She already has. Kilgannon (James Caan), a college football star whose head injury has left him a simpleton, has hitched a ride with her and she reluctantly protects him. He grows to love her and almost kills the motorcycle cop (Robert Duval) who picks her up, but is killed himself.

Director Coppola handles the opening sequences with subtle skill and achieves a sense of mellow understatement. In a close

up, Natalie reaches her decision in the silence of early morning while lying trapped under the arm of her sleeping husband. William Butler's camera touches the perfect pitch as in the semi-darkness she packs and leaves a note. The scene with her parents is brief and impressive and the flash backs are very well intergrated. Her first phone call near a petrol station must be one of the best telephone conversations of recent cinema.

The viewpoint has been subjective and sympathetic up to this point but when she is on the road and even more so when other characters appear she is suddenly seen objectively and suffers as a result. The change is a mistake, but Shirley Knight gives a good performance. So do James Caan and Robert Duval in their smaller roles.

Coppola also wrote the script and shows he is not afraid of silence. It is both a strength and a weakness. He uses it to establish complex moods as in the bedroom or in the bleak motels, but at moments in the travelling episodes it places too great an emphasis on the landscape and the atmosphere is allowed to thin. However the irony that she is travelling nowhere is made.

Even though Kilgannon's death is not entirely out of context, violent endings are often too easy and are now becoming something of a cliché in the American cinema.

Rob Cameron

ACCIDENT



While the titles appear and fade, the camera stares motionlessly at a darkened country house. Suddenly the night is shattered by a violent car crash, unseen but close by. The camera has not moved. This tense, menacing underplaying pervades Joseph Losey's powerful film Accident.

Conscious of his middle age, Stephen (Dirk Bogard) a philosophy tutor at Oxford becomes obsessed with one of his students, Anna (Jaqueline Sassard). So too does fellow don, Charley (Stanely Baker) and William (Michael York) another of Stephen's students. At a weekend gathering at Stephens home, in the presence of his pregnant wife (Vivien Merchant) the subtle aggression of their competition hides beneath the common place; relaxing on a lawn, playing tennis, strolling, having dinner, but above all in the seemingly casual dialogue. Possessive violence is just below the surface.

Drawing on Mosley's novel, Pinter wrote the script and Losey has made perceptive use of the "Pinteresque" traits. What is said and done is not as important as the myriad interpretations and ambiguities that are implied. The

inconsequential chatter can be just that, or in the hands of someone who appreciates its nature, a sinister weapon. Neither the producer nor the script writer set up reassuring signposts.

Realistically, the five main characters have no clear cut outlines, and any easy assigning of motives or historical explanation is irrelevant. They exist and interact only in the present and this is reflected in the strange timeless quality of the film. The whole structure is Stephen's flash back after he finds and rescues Anna from the car crash in which William has died, yet even here we are left unsure as to how truthful or subjectively biased his viewpoint has been.

Pinter writes, "A character on the stage who can present no convincing argument or information as to his past experiences...is as worthy of attention as one who, alarmingly, can...The more acute the experience the less articulate its expression". Aided by an excellent cast Losey's profoundly haunting film works through the evocation of strong emotions and moods rather than an easily analyzed story-line.

Rob Cameron

THE HEART IS A LONELY HUNTER

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Gives you a pleasant
atmosphere and old
time decor.

I have often found Carson McCuller's collection of cripples, misfits, negroes and stranded adolescents a little too concentrated. But her insight and unique style prevents soap-opera. Unfortunately the co-producers of The Heart is a Lonely Hunter do not share this ability.

They needlessly modernize the setting of the original and with indifferent camera work and mediocre scene selection establish a tone that confuses sentimentality with feeling. So much is the strength of the novel weakened, that at times it is like sitting through a rescreening of a melodramatic 1950's heavy.

John Singer (Alan Arkin) is a silver engraver who carries a card which reads, "I am a deaf mute but I read the lips and I

understand what is said to me. Please do not shout." A good listener whose own needs are overlooked. He looks after childlike Antonapoulis, his closest friend (also a deaf mute) who is to die later in a mental hospital. He restores a drunkard's self confidence, befriends 'Mike', his landlady's lonely teenage daughter, reconciles a negro doctor and his daughter, and shoots himself.

If the suicide is unconvincing the fault lies with the production, not with Alan Arkin. He plays Singer with masterly economy and control. No gesture is wasted no movement superfluous. Every facial flicker vividly establishes the isolation of an intelligent sensitive man trapped in absolute silence.

Music is completely unknown to him and yet he buys a record player and records so that Mike will come into his room and talk to him. Walking through the streets his fingers move rapidly in sign language; he is talking to himself. He moves about as a pathetic survivor of the silent movies.

Sondra Lockes portrayal of Mike is irregular although has surprisingly high moments.

But it is Alan Arkin who rescues what he can of the film. It is thanks to his superb performance that much of the tragic intensity of the novel is maintained.

Rob Cameron

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KINGS THEATRE

OCTOBER

In the last few years everyone has begun to worry about the universities. They are growing faster than they have ever before. It is probable that more students will go to universities in the last 40 years of this century than have been before in the whole recorded history. They have become a vital part of society—and they are helping to change the face of the world as they change themselves. They appear to be tearing themselves apart just as the world has come to understand that no community can prosper in the modern world unless it has large expensive universities of its own.

Why have universities exploded into riot and confusion?

Most of them are as orderly and efficient as they have ever been, but others seem to be in total chaos.

THE EARLY UNIVERSITY FOUNDATIONS

I think many of the difficulties which now beset us can only be understood by studying the history of these great and ancient institutions. I shall try to show that some of the most acute of the problems of today had perplexed the world several hundred years ago, and that traditions which had been forgotten before ever the Pilgrim Fathers set foot in New England disrupted American universities last year. It is an astonishing story.

The three pillars upon which society rested in the Middle Ages were the Empire, the Church, and the Universities. Universities were as important then as they are today.

The oldest universities in the world were established 800 years ago in Bologna and Paris. Every university in the world today has developed from these two. Both were professional schools which educated men for careers in the learned professions, but they differed in one quite fundamental respect. The University of Paris was organised and run by the masters and professors who admitted students to their fellowship and treated them much as members of a guild treated their apprentices. The students were relatively young—they often went to university at the age of 14 or 15—and their masters disciplined them as best they could—and beat them from time to time. We can all understand an organisation like this.

But the University of Bologna, which is a few years older than Paris, was very different. For one thing, it attracted mature wealthy students, many of whom were benefited clergy who had been given leave to study law. But—most important of all—the whole university was run by the students who hired the faculty, paid them, and subjected them to an iron discipline.

YE OLDEN STUDENT POWER

The extremist advocates of student power today have never contemplated even the palest reflection of the situation which existed in Bologna for 300 years.

The professors were dominated by their students to an extraordinary degree and subjected to what we would regard as intolerable indignities. Lecture courses were prescribed in detail by students; the times at which the professors lectured were laid down by the students; professors could be fined if they began to lecture late or finished early. If a professor failed to turn up for a lecture, he was fined; if his audience dropped below five, he was treated as if he had been absent and fined accordingly. A professor could not leave the city without permission of the students and without depositing a bond to guarantee his return. There was a time when professors could not get married without permission from the students! University regulations prescribed that a junior professor who left Bologna and tried to set up a rival establishment in another city would be fined 200 ducats, a more senior man could be put to death.

Sooner or later the masters and professors took control of all student universities but constitutions which nominally gave power to the students were preserved in some places until the 19th Century.

AVARICIOUS AND CORRUPT PROFESSORS

In Bologna it was the avarice of the professors and the restrictive practices which they were able to introduce which nearly ruined the university. In every university the professors and masters always had the right to admit other members to their guild. In other words, it was they who conducted the examinations and awarded degrees which allowed a man to teach. There was trouble from professors who accepted bribes and let students get examination questions beforehand. In the 15th Century the professors persuaded the citizens of Bologna that it was outrageous that

The article below is an abridged version of an address titled, "Crisis in the University—Is Anarchy the Rule?" given by Lord Bowden, principal of the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology. The full text appeared in the December, 1968 issue of The Chemical Engineer. The reason for its publication in SALIENT will be self evident upon its reading. Moreover, as the European experience has shown so far this year, the so-called "student power" movement has not died as a temporary phenomenon, but has gathered momentum. Undoubtedly it will do so here.

by Lord Bowden, M.A. Ph.D. M.Sc.Tech.
C. Eng F.I.E.E.

STUDENT POWER

they should be at the mercy of an ill-disciplined and tumultuous student body. The city endowed several professorial chairs with stipends paid from the city revenue. This was the beginning of the end. Professorial chairs became exceedingly valuable so that the professors tried to reserve them for citizens of Bologna. This was bad enough, but after a few years they insisted that university chairs should become the property of their holders and be handed down from father to son.

The students of Bologna realised how rapidly the scholastic reputation of their university was declining under its hereditary professors so they persuaded the city to endow five more chairs whose incumbents were to be elected by the students themselves. But, alas, supporters of the various candidates took to fighting in the streets over the claims of their men and so in the end the students' own professors were chosen by lot. This method of election was not a success either and the university continued to lose ground.

THE POWER OF THE UNIVERSITIES

In spite of all these troubles the medieval universities were very powerful indeed. Paris, Bologna, and Oxford had at least as much influence as Harvard, or MIT, or Cambridge has today. They were most powerful when they had no possessions of their own. Staff and students could pack up their books and the Common Seal of the University in a chest and then they would go away and establish a university in another city. A university brought wealth to the city which housed it and glory and fame to the community. The threat that scholars would leave if their demands were ignored brought mayors, kings, and even emperors to heel. Student migrations created new universities all over Europe. Oxford was probably founded by scholars who fled from Paris; and Cambridge by refugees from Oxford. Once the universities acquired their splendid buildings and pious benefactors gave them real estate and books and gold and silver plate, they ceased to be mobile and they had to stay and fight it out where they

Scottish university is chosen by the students and he is, at least in theory, the chairman of the supreme governing body of a Scottish university. In practice, the masters (that is to say the staff and the administration) have long taken over control of the Scottish universities, as they have of all the original student universities. Scottish students have a great deal of freedom but their Rector cannot compare with the old student rectors of Bologna. His duties are honorary, he is always a distinguished man of mature years. After the students have elected him, the rector always appoints as his deputy a man who has been chosen by the university administration and who presides over committees on his behalf, but were the rector to exploit the ancient privileges of his office, the students' own nominee would be in control of the Scottish universities. The constitution of Queen's University in Ontario was inspired by the traditions of Scotland. Even in Canada there is at least one university in which the students might have power.

STAFF AND NON-ACADEMIC DOMINATION

But of course all universities in England and North America were based on Paris and Oxford, which were always dominated by their staff who did their best to keep students under control. Few English speaking people have ever known that there could be any other system of university administration. The actual organisation varies very much from university to university. Oxford and Cambridge are still governed entirely by their own graduates and staff; they have no lay officers at all. Most English universities are governed by a lay council which may or may not have a substantial minority of academic staff upon it. A senate or professorial board is responsible for all academic matters. Student representation on these bodies is still rather unusual though students sit on many

seemed likely to destroy the University of California in Berkeley. Perhaps universities are more resilient than we think. I doubt if many Boards of Regents would adopt such an extreme point of view today. But should scholars be subject to the whims of politicians or of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of regents?

SOUTH AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

But what about the other American universities? We are always apt to forget that the biggest universities in the New World are south of Panama. The universities of Spain were based on the student universities of Italy—(Spanish student rectors had to pay for a bull fight as well as a banquet when they were elected to office! So that even at the time of Christopher Columbus, there were no student rectors left in Spain.) The Spanish kings took Spanish traditions to the New World and founded new universities such as that in Lima, Peru, which is nearly 200 years older than Harvard.

Some of the universities of Latin America still pride themselves on the fact that their traditions derive directly from medieval Spain and that they were only slightly influenced by Napoleon Bonaparte's reforms of the University of Madrid. Most of them are professional schools. Many of them are enormous. The University of Buenos Aires has nearly 80,000 students, about two-thirds of who are reading law. The ancient professions attract all the best students and no one wants to qualify for a career in industry. Few students, few professors, and few universities expect to play any part in the economic development of the country.

I think that only two per cent of the students of Buenos Aires are studying agriculture upon which the prosperity of the country depends; a few years ago, there were only two students of geology in the whole University, which is the largest university in a country whose mineral wealth is probably vast and is totally unknown.

There are virtually no student grants. Many of the students spend years in university before they finally abandon their academic career and leave without a degree. Many professors still regard their chairs as sinecures which give a man a salary, but require little or nothing of him in return. Professors in Oxford and Cambridge and Anglican Bishops had the same idea 100 years ago. Many professors in Europe seem to have the same opinion today. 150 years ago, Talleyrand was Bishop of Autun—and Foreign Secretary of France. He visited his diocese only once—to persuade the chapter to vote for a friend in a parliamentary election. Members of the Italian cabinet hold chairs in the University of Rome—but never lecture there. Too many part-time professors are bad, but absentee professors are worse.

Students have a most important part to play in the administration of all universities in South America. They are represented on all committees which appoint professors and senior staff. Students have vetoed a man whose standards were higher than those to which they were accustomed and who might make it more difficult to pass examinations. Sometimes they veto a man who wants to change the syllabus and stop them using their fathers' lecture notebooks.

On the other hand, sometimes it has been the student representatives who insisted that scholars of distinction should be chosen rather than men whose claims were based on family influence or political pressure. I once heard the vice-chancellor of a large university in Latin America describe a novel and very courageous experiment which his university had initiated. They were allowing their students to read books for the first time in the history of the university. Apparently many universities fear that if their students have independent access to primary sources of information they will lose their confidence in the infallibility of the professoriat. No wonder some students are restless!

Much of Latin America is under the control of military dictatorships, and many universities have



were. Great wealth immobilised them and destroyed their power. They have never been as powerful as they were when they were penniless.

THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF UNIVERSITIES

All of this was far away and long ago. You may think it is outlandish and quaint, but some very ancient ideas are troubling us today. The Student University of Bologna influenced several French universities and its traditions went from there to Scotland. To this day, the rector of a

sub-committees whose business directly concerns them.

In America, lay regents, as they are often called, are in charge of universities and there has been a constant struggle for power between them and the academics. Twenty years ago, the regents of the University of California insisted that their position vis-a-vis academic staff was like that of the board of a company vis-a-vis its employees; it was this more than the argument about the oath of loyalty which produced that terrible row just after the war. It has almost been forgotten in the troubles of recent years, but at the time it

become centres of political unrest. They are, perhaps, the only places in the country in which free discussion is possible and from which political reform can emanate, and for this reason they are feared and mistrusted by governments.

PROGRESS

New countries which are trying to establish themselves often begin their march into the future by founding a university—next they found an airline and build a parliament house. Then they want to close the university down for subversion.

Only a couple of years ago, the government of Argentina decided to show its strength; police broke into the faculty of science in Buenos Aires; they knocked down the dean, who tried to bar their way; they broke his head and his arms; they beat up every human being who happened to be in the building at the time; and the next day 308 of the 312 staff had to go. The work of a life-time was destroyed in an afternoon, and practically no science is being taught today in the largest university in the southern hemisphere.

Even in countries where governments are tolerable and where universities are not corrupt and centres of political action, they may be inefficient and grotesquely overcrowded. The University of Paris, for example, has 180,000 students—30,000 more than they expected—and yet there are, I think, only 500 seats in the library. Students were admitted for whom there are no places in lecture rooms or laboratories. Some queue from 7 o'clock in the morning in order to get a place for an 11 o'clock lecture. Many students never see a professor all the time they are at university. Last year I believe 920 candidates graduated in archaeology in the Sorbonne and it was then that they discovered that there were no jobs available for them at all. German universities are run by all-powerful professors, some of whom are completely uninterested in student affairs. University courses get longer and longer and an alarmingly large number of men do not graduate until after 30. An attempt by Parliament to make it possible for men to be professionally qualified by 26 was most bitterly resisted by the universities. One cannot help feeling that some form of rebellion was inevitable in Europe and one can only marvel that many universities have been so quiet for so long.

And what is one to make of the universities in India? The University of Kerala has about 140,000 students—almost as many as the Sorbonne. Both universities are obliged to admit every student who comes with a school-leaving certificate, although the standard of schoolteaching has declined and the number of would-be undergraduates has increased beyond all expectation. University staff cannot be found, buildings are inadequate, and equipment is out of date. Students study subjects which are of no use to them, and in Kerala there are no jobs for the graduates. 50 years ago, devoted missionaries created the best schools in India in the state of Kerala—today it has some of the best universities, more graduates than any other state and more graduates unemployed—and Kerala was the first state in India to go communist. Many of the problems of Kerala seem strangely like those of Europe; everywhere desperate problems seem to inspire desperate remedies. And who can wonder? What are frustrated young people to do?

If we are to understand the student riots and the very peculiar form that some of the demonstrations have taken, we must think of present difficulties and present discontents; but we cannot ignore, even today, traditions established 600 or 700 years ago. In the Middle Ages university students were clerks, and in some ways they were indistinguishable from clerics in holy orders. Many of them had a priestly tonsure, and nearly all of them claimed the extraordinary privileges which were demanded by the church for its priests. In England, it used to be said that it took two murders to hang a priest—one to unfrock him and one to condemn him. All over Europe, students were to all intents and purposes immune to the processes of civil law.

BLOOD SPILLED

University students rioted. They fought each other; they fought and killed the townsmen. More blood has been spilled between the churches of St Mary's and St Martin's at Oxford than on many an English battlefield. When they were threatened with retribution by the authorities, students always claimed the privileges of ecclesiastics. One student at Oxford, who raped a woman and then murdered her father, appeared before the lay authorities. His case was

referred to the university chancellor, who made him say a few penitential psalms and as a final punishment sent him to Cambridge. An ordinary layman would undoubtedly have been hanged for the same crime.

After one tremendous riot on St Scholastica's day, the citizens attacked the university and killed scores of students and staff. The university appealed to King Edward III, who reinstated them and made the university chancellor the supreme magistrate of the City of Oxford. For centuries the mayor had to swear fealty to the university in a ceremony every year in St Mary's Church. Students today may wear their hair down to their shoulders instead of having a priestly tonsure, but the idea that in some way they are never subject to the rigour of the law is very ancient. Students have claimed it and everyone else has resented it for centuries. No wonder people are perplexed by the astonishing way it has survived into the 20th century.

Furthermore, the idea that a university is a place of sanctuary, much as ancient church might

murderers of the saint who died, whether he knew it or not, to establish the freedom of undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge from arrest and conviction by the civil power, and their right to kill each other and their fellow citizens without any fear of the consequences, as they did for several hundred years.

Students no longer wear a tonsure to identify themselves, but many of them have adopted curious hair styles, and many of them are certain that they can defy the law and that they are immune to the consequences were they committed by ordinary apprentices.

But, in spite of these privileges which are claimed by students and denounced by their contemporaries, there are signs of slow awakening. Once upon a time, students refused to submit to the civil law, and demanded to be judged by the ecclesiastical courts in their universities. Today they speak of 'double jeopardy'. They fear that they may be subject to the civil law in any event, and that, if they are found guilty, they may be punished both by the

IMPERSONALITY AND ALIENATION

Their ideas fell on fertile ground. They were in an enormous university in which many students felt lost and alienated. Few undergraduates experienced the vitally important and exciting contacts between the mind of the student and the mind of a stimulating teacher which provide the most important of all education experiences. American has always excelled in the mass production of motor cars, but individual services, like hair cutting, or getting one's teeth fixed, are expensive and hard to arrange. Young people began to complain that they could only get individual attention by bending their I.B.M. card. No wonder they responded enthusiastically to the idea of student power. They did not know it was 800 years old, or that it came from Latin America. We all know how much they like it—and how fast it spread.

There is a worldwide subculture of adolescence among whom communication takes place extraordinarily rapidly. It is astonishing, for



have been, was all important in medieval times. A felon fleeing from justice would find refuge in an abbey or a church. The law has known nothing of such privileges since the time of the Reformation, but the first major riots at Berkley occurred when the police refused to allow students to use part of their campus for political meetings, and when the police invaded the courtyard of the Sorbonne in May 1968, staff and students fought side by side on the barricades on the very spot where their predecessors fought for the same cause hundreds of years ago, and the whole world applauded them.

Some historical traditions are astonishingly tenacious. After St Thomas had been murdered, the Pope anathematized the King, but, even after Henry had submitted and done penance in public by walking barefoot to a Becket's tomb to be scourged by the cathedral clergy, the tragedy of the martyr and the iniquity of his murder were not forgotten. When the next Pope was consecrated, he took the opportunity to anathematise all four knights who killed St Thomas and all the knights' descendants. This precedent was followed by his successors for hundreds of years. By now almost everyone in England must be descended somehow or other from one of these four men, so that we must all have lived under the anathemas of successive Popes for many a long year.

Pope John XXIII and his successor Pope Paul have been the only pontiffs to be consecrated for nearly 800 years who did not anathematise the

courts and their university. This is, of course, a risk to which all professional men are exposed. A doctor who rapes a patient or a solicitor who steals from a client must expect retribution from the courts, and from the fellow members of his profession as well.

In Britain, and even in North America, the idea that a university is a special place, perhaps a sacred place, but certainly a place where the writ of the law does not necessarily run, is part of student folklore. Most people realise that, however weak this case may be in law the memory of man goeth not to a time when students and their universities were subjected to all the rigour of the law and to the discipline of the civil courts as laymen are.

Some universities in South America are avoided by low-flying aircraft because the students use them for target practice. The University of Havana, Cuba, is dominated by a student president who fought with Castro in the jungle and who carries a gun with him into classes and has 'seen off' two or three deans and a couple of presidents. There are universities into which the police can scarcely venture except in a tank. In some places, students have formed an unholy alliance with local criminals for their mutual protection.

To me the most ominous event in the riots in Paris was the entry into the Sorbonne of a body of men who called themselves 'Katangese'; they proposed to use the sanctuary of the Sorbonne and to provide the students with armoured support. To the relief of everyone else, mutual suspicion drove students and gunmen apart, and the Katangese left under police escort.

THE CONFLICT OF TWO TRADITIONS

It seems to me that many of the troubles with which we are now confronted are due to the fact that the Spanish American tradition arrived in California with exiled students from the Argentine. They had been accustomed to student power and to professors who expected it.

They found in California a system which was alien to them and the found furthermore that many of the people who were supposed to be teaching them had lost interest in undergraduates and were devoting most of their efforts to research projects inspired from Washington. This tradition is very familiar in Latin America so it is perhaps not therefore surprising that the students from South America should have tried to introduce the rest of their own system of student participation and student power.

example, that long hair should have become fashionable in almost every country in the world; and it is astonishing that the Beatles and beat music should be a source of anxiety simultaneously in New York, Liverpool, Moscow, Peking and Jakarta.

STUDENT REBELLION: A PERSPECTIVE

I think that some student rebellion in some countries is justified and almost inevitable, but I think it is spreading for no other reason than that it is the modern thing for young people to do. At the moment we have an extraordinary alliance between student idealists; students who are very properly dissatisfied with the conditions in which they have to work and students who want to reform both the universities and society at large. There are student malcontents; students who are emotionally disturbed and a few students who have quite deliberately decided that, since the whole of society is rotten and must be reformed universities must be destroyed as a first step. Some English students seem to rebel against society because their universities are so good—and so permissive that they have to find a cause in the world outside—the irony of fate! It is extraordinarily difficult to reconcile the conflicting claims of these people, and for university administrators to cope with them all. They can do a great deal of damage. Few universities have ever had to deal with the disciplinary problems created by mass rebellion. All universities are vulnerable: their most important task is, and always has been, to maintain the dialogue between authority and dissent. Their tradition of free speech makes censorship impossible, and they cannot function without the co-operation of every student with all the staff.

CONCLUSION

Universities are almost the most ancient institutions in the world, and their problems are many and various. They have survived the attacks of kings, emperors, churchmen, and ordinary citizens. I think they may have to reform themselves and adapt themselves. I am sure that they will have to listen to the ideas of the rising generation. Some universities may face serious trouble, but I feel certain that they will survive and emerge from their troubles stronger than ever and better fitted to face the future. They will remain the most flexible and the most 'conservative', the oldest and the most modern institutions in the world.



CLUB SECRETARIES

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 Reports for next year's Student Handbook must be in by Friday November 6th. If not, then your club will be omitted from the handbook and next year's freshers will join another club and you will wail and gnash your teeth. So there. Mark reports "Student Handbook" and leave in Stud. Ass. Office. Include photograph of club activity if possible.

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New Exclusion Regulations

EXCLUSION OF UNSATISFACTORY STUDENTS

The University Council recently amended the regulations governing the exclusion of unsatisfactory students. Any student who does not fulfil the requirements of the regulations is automatically excluded from enrolling at the Victoria University of Wellington except with the permission of the University Council. The exclusion regulations are as follows:

A PERSON WHO HAS BEEN EXCLUDED FROM ANY UNIVERSITY OR UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE SHALL NOT BE ENROLLED AS A STUDENT OF THIS UNIVERSITY EXCEPT WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE COUNCIL.

A STUDENT SHALL NOT BE ENROLLED NOR ENTER FOR EXAMINATIONS IN THIS UNIVERSITY EXCEPT WITH THE PERMISSION OF COUNCIL WHERE HE HAS NOT PASSED AT LEAST TWO SUBJECTS OR UNITS DURING THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF HIS ACADEMIC STUDIES IN WHICH HE HAS BEEN ENROLLED AS A FULL-TIME STUDENT;

WHERE HE HAS NOT PASSED AT LEAST HALF OF THE SUBJECTS OR UNITS IN WHICH HE HAS ENTERED FOR EXAMINATION IN THE LAST TWO PRECEDING YEARS OF HIS ACADEMIC STUDIES, PROVIDED THAT HE HAS ENTERED FOR EXAMINATION IN AT LEAST THREE ACADEMIC SESSIONS.

FOR THE PURPOSE OF THIS REGULATION A 'YEAR OF ACADEMIC STUDY' SHALL BE ANY YEAR IN WHICH THE STUDENT, ENTERED FOR EXAMINATION, PROVIDED HOWEVER THAT IT SHALL NOT INCLUDE ANY YEAR IN WHICH THE STUDENT, WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE DEAN OF HIS FACULTY, CANCELLED ALL HIS EXAMINATION ENTRIES.

FOR THE PURPOSE OF REGULATION 2 (b) 'SUBJECTS OR UNITS IN WHICH HE HAS ENTERED FOR EXAMINATION' SHALL NOT INCLUDE ANY SUBJECT OR UNIT WHICH, WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE DEAN OF HIS FACULTY, HE CANCELLED HIS EXAMINATION ENTRY.

A STUDENT WHO HAVING ENTERED FOR EXAMINATION IN A PARTICULAR SUBJECT OR UNIT IN THREE SESSIONS, HAS NOT PASSED THAT SUBJECT OR UNIT SHALL NOT BE ENROLLED THEREAFTER AS A STUDENT FOR THAT SUBJECT OR UNIT NOR SIT EXAMINATIONS EXCEPT WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE COUNCIL.

WHERE A STUDENT IS GRANTED PERMISSION TO ENROL OR TO SIT EXAMINATIONS UNDER THESE REGULATIONS, THAT PERMISSION MAY BE GRANTED SUBJECT TO CONDITIONS AS TO THE DEPARTMENT OR FACULTY IN WHICH THE STUDENT MAY PURSUE HIS STUDIES.

Students who are excluded from enrolment under these regulations and wish to apply for permission to enrol should do so in writing to the Registrar by 15 January. Excluded students who intend to apply for reconsideration of examination scripts should ignore the possibility of their reconsiderations being successful, and apply by 15 January. Applications are dealt with first by the Dean of the Faculty in which the student wishes to enrol. If he does not grant the application it is referred to the Exclusion Review Committee. This Committee consists of the members of the Academic Committee of the Professorial Board (other than Deans, whose place is taken by other senior members of the academic staff of the same Faculties); the Director of Student Welfare Services or his nominee; and two students nominated by the Students' Association. The following procedure will be adopted in considering applications:

Every application for permission to re-enrol shall be made in writing to the Registrar who shall refer it to the Dean of the Faculty in which the student wishes to enrol.

The application shall be made on or before 15 January without payment of fee, or after that date if accompanied by a late fee of \$1.00.

In considering the application the Dean shall grant the student a personal interview if he so requests.

The Dean may consult any member of the Academic Committee and any other member of the academic staff, as he deems appropriate.

The Dean, on behalf of Council may (i) grant the application, or (ii) refer it to the Exclusion Review Committee for consideration.

The Exclusion Review Committee shall consider all cases referred to it by Deans under these regulations, and shall determine on behalf of the Council in each case whether permission to re-enrol shall be granted or refused.

Before making any such decision the Exclusion Review Committee shall grant the student a personal interview if he so requests.

The Exclusion Review Committee shall seek to ensure that a common standard is applied throughout the university.

Students shall be informed, by notice on their examination result slips or other effective means, of their rights under these regulations.

L.O. Desborough,
 Registrar.

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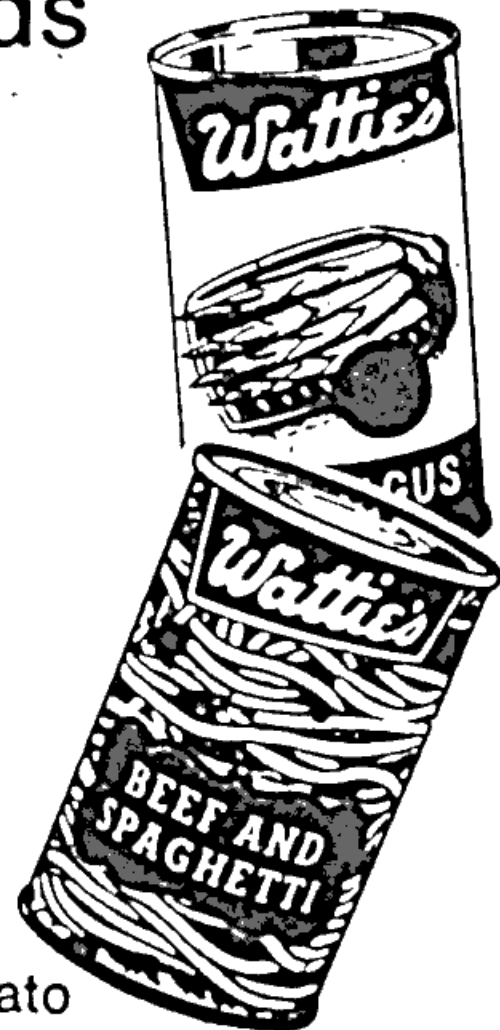
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SPORT

CRICKET



Cricket

The Varsity Cricket Club again had a successful season last year, with the 1st team finishing 3rd in the senior competition and the 2nd team second in the 2A division.

Bruce Murray had an outstanding season with the club, representing N.Z. at home and overseas while also playing for the Wellington Plunket Shield side. He also won the Nugget Cup for the N.Z. cricketer who made the greatest impact on the N.Z. cricketing scene last year.

Rick Priest and Syd Gowland both toured Australia with the N.Z. Universities team last February, and the tournament team (for students) performed creditably

at Easter Tournament.

The club has entered 6 teams in the Wellington competition this year, so there will be ample opportunity for those wishing to join to play for the club.

The club is especially keen to welcome any new players who may be available. At present practices are being held in the gymnasium Tuesday and Wednesday nights 5-7p.m.; we move onto Kelburn Park later this month.

Contact with the club can be made through:- Club Secretary Murray Bartle ph. 46.040 ext. 677 or Teams Officer Don Cook (Chemistry Dept.)

RUGBY

The 1970 season was one of mixed success for the Victoria University Rugby Club with few teams performing consistently well throughout the season. The most successful team was undoubtedly the Junior 3 "A" team led by G. Langford and R. Trott. This team was the only club team to win its grade and the Mackay Memorial Shield, (given to the team putting up the best performance in the season), was a just and widely approved reward for the Junior 3 "A's".

The Senior "A" team performed well, if a little inconsistently. The team did however, gain 3rd placing in the Jubilee Cup competition and went down by only 3-0 to Petone in the final. To the coach of the Senior A team, Mr G. Jensen who retired from coaching at the end of the season, a note of thanks is extended from the club. It is known that he will continue his good work with the club in other fields. Finally congratulations to Graham Wallis and Grant Batty of the Senior "A" team who were awarded trophies for the best player on and off the field, and

the best player in his first year out of school respectively.

The Senior "B" and Senior "C" teams occasionally realized the potential they undoubtedly had, but this did not happen enough to place either team anywhere near the top of their grades. Lower grade teams to perform well were the Junior 5 "A's" and the Junior 7th team with the Junior 1sts and Under 19's also showing considerable promise.

The rather mediocre performance of the club as a whole is evident in the club's position in the Championship Points Table. Wellington Club won the Points Championship with its 16 teams gaining a total of 340 championship points. Upper Hutt, with the same number of teams finished second only five points behind Wellington. Third was University, with its 16 teams gaining 245 points—95 behind the winner, despite having the same number of teams entered. The number of points lost through teams defaulting games in University vacation is to some degree responsible for this poor showing. However, it would appear that the structure of the University Club is largely to blame—there are too many "social" teams. The structure of the Club is also hampering the development of, especially, the Senior "B" and Senior "C" teams. A considerable number of good players are playing lower grade rugby when it would be of benefit to the club that they make themselves available for selection in Senior teams. This is a problem that the club has faced for many years, however few would condemn club players for placing their studies before their sport.

Although the performance of the club on the field this season

was mediocre, the 1970 season has proved a huge success for the club socially. The additions to the club's social facilities at the Boyd-Wilson Field, in the form of an extra room, complete interior redecorating, an efficient bar and an open time, have proven a great success. A facility such as this which allows the whole club to gather after the match on Saturdays, is of great benefit to the club in fostering a strong club spirit. A note for next season: a scoreboard will be placed in the social rooms in time for next year's opening matches.

Rugby 1971

An early start to the 1971 season has been organised with pre-season training runs starting on the first day of enrolment—these will be held down at Boyd-Wilson field under the guidance of several Senior A players and ex-All Blacks such as Mick Bremner, Bill Clark and Bob Stuart. It is hoped that trials will be played as soon as the term begins so players will be placed into teams well before the season starts (the Orientation Handbook will contain further information as to times and organisers of each training run). With the clubrooms as attractive as they now are the Rugby Club expects to have an even greater number of teams next year—all those wishing or intending to form a social team are advised to contact Ian Dunn as early next year as possible (phone 66959). The Club has already announced its coaches for 1971 and is expectant of an extremely good response from students to play "serious" rugby, especially with the pre-season training schedule being under way already.

HARRIERS

The VUW Harrier Club recently held its annual Endeavour Cup race. This 7½ mile handicap race starts and ends opposite the Robert Stout Building, the course passing through Kelburn and Northland.

The 1970 winner was Tony Woolhouse. Running with Martin Fisher off six minutes he had caught the rest of the field by the summit of Tinakori Hill, except Conor McBride (off 25 minutes).

Tony beat Martin home by 24 seconds. Third home off a 5 minute handicap was Brian Dawkins, 59 seconds behind Martin.

Fastest time was recorded by Eric Cairns (off 2 minutes) reducing the club record by 51 seconds to 44 min 54 seconds. Second fastest time was recorded by Ian Stockwell (45 min 18 sec) who also broke the old record. Third fastest was Tony Woolhouse.

Fresher Bernie O'Donnell on the basis of his run here where he recorded a 9th fastest time was awarded the Cairns Cup for the most improved harrier this season.

A notable absentee from this race was Ian Hunt who was up in Napier competing in the Hawkes Bay 10 mile road champs where he finished second.

10 Mile Road Champs

The race this year was run over the new course at Rongotai (four 2½ mile laps). The Victoria runners improved on the 1969 performance by finishing fourth in the teams event.

First home for Vic was Ian Hunt (9) with a time of 53min 42 sec. Next was Ian Stockwell (14). Third man was George Seconi (23). Others to finish were Tony Woolhouse, Roger Clark, Tony Burge, Bernie O'Donnell and Tony Hirst.

20 Mile Gold Cup

This race run over a cross country road course at Trentham consists of four 5 mile laps. The conditions this year were atrocious with a cold wind blowing and muddy patches on the cross country section over three feet deep in parts.

The Vic runners to a large degree found the conditions very taxing. Ian Hunt, Tony Woolhouse and Eric Cairns being forced to withdraw at the 15 mile mark.

However, veterans Jim Callaghan and Roger Clark, plus Phil Williams and Martin Fisher managed to see out the distance and finish this exhausting race which was the last of the harrier season.

—Ian Stockwell.

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