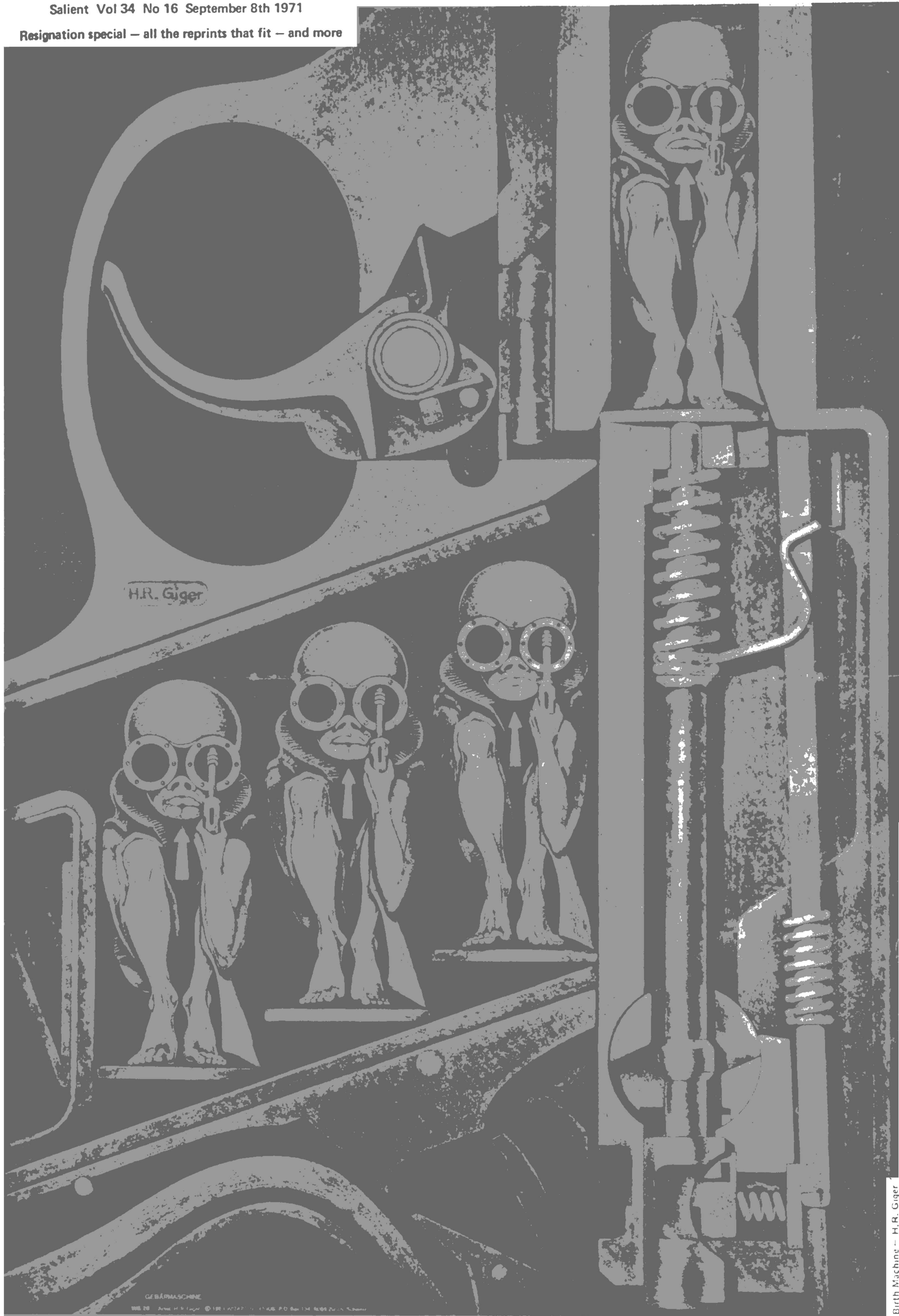


Resignation special — all the reprints that fit — and more



H.R. Giger

GEBÄRMASCHINE

WS 28 — Art. H. R. Giger — © 1971 CIPAR — CH — 1145 — PD Ber 134 8/69 Zürich, Schweiz

letters · comment · opinion · satire

1

murray mahony

The 1971 test series with the EEC has come and gone and already the prophets of gloom have begun their feverish ravings. Disregard them. Far from humiliating, New Zealand has emerged from the tough series with much honour. After all, the EEC team were probably the finest New Zealand has faced in the past 20 years.

Some argue that in the final test, which New Zealand desperately needed to win, too many opportunities were frittered away. However, in the final analysis, it was the EEC which dictated the terms and all credit to them.

We must now salvage the country's tarnished reputation in the struggles to come. The National Selection Trials next year will be a vital step in regaining this lost prestige. It is even being speculated that the whole team could be dropped and replaced by 15 completely new players, with a fresh, more imaginative approach to the game.

For all I know they could be right, but in making predictions myself I would play it safe and say that most of the present team would be re-employed. It won't be an easy task for the selectors, but I think the new team will appeal to the majority of the public.

In trying to forecast a 1972 version of the National team, how many players in the present side will retain their positions?

The big question intriguing everybody is whether captain-player-coach Keith Holyoake will retire before the selection trials next year. After the final test Keith told reporters that he had "no announcement" to make regarding his future. Rumours are bound to persist until he does decide. The incomparable Holyoake has no peer in this country, and the tremendous influence he exerts over the stability of the team will be sorely missed.

A player to emerge from the series with his reputation considerably enhanced was vice-captain and first five-eighth Jack Marshall. Marshall has long been a sound steady player and he showed his true mettle when the pressure was on him. He has developed into a very astute general, with an eye for the break and a good tactical kick. Mark him down as a definite possibility for captain when Holyoake retires.

Another candidate for captaincy would be the half-back Rob Muldoon, if it wasn't for his bad habit of getting off-side. He has certainly run the gamut of criticism this season and many would prefer to see him dropped from the team. However, impetuous though he may be, it is hard to see him being displaced. He is dynamic on form, with superb reflexes and is always a thorn in the defence, especially with his darting runs on the blindside.

Second five-eighth, Dan Riddiford, is often hamstrung with Hamlet indecisiveness and he could lose his place this season. He has been around the playing fields for a long time and is probably past his best.

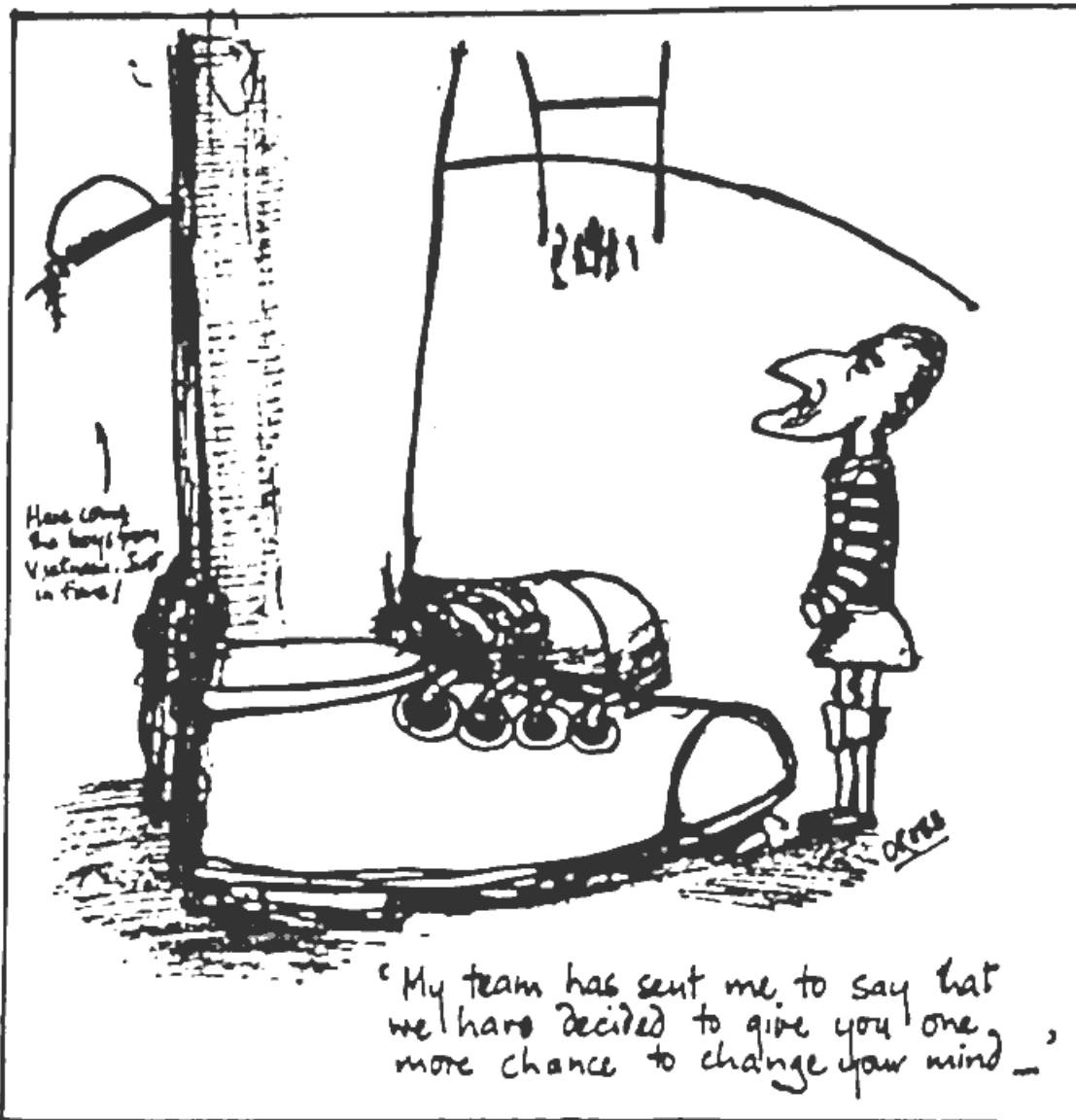
Peter Gordon should hold his position at centre, a department where New Zealand lacks players of real international calibre. Gordon can be a most purposeful runner and tenacious tackler.

Ebullient left-wing Lance Adam-Schneider had the misfortune to miss the third test through leg injury but was back to his best in the final test. Good off either foot, with swift acceleration, he has bagged a lot of points this season and has found his true position.

Don McKay on the right-wing is the second player of that name to make the National team in that position. However it is doubtful whether McKay II is as good as his predecessor, relying too much on orthodox moves.

Fullback Carter's main fault is that he doesn't come to the line often enough. He lacks the versatility so necessary in his position to be able to handle unpredictable situations; very likely to be dropped.

The forward pack has a solid core of seasoned campaigners and it is possible that some of them will be considered too long in the tooth. David Seath at hooker is one who could well be released from national duty. Lethargic displays have marked his game in the past few seasons and it is surprising that



he has held his position for this long. In such a key position, New Zealand needs a man who can use his head to his team's advantage. A long tenure of the tight-head prop's position by Percy Allen could similarly come to an end next season. He has had a lot of trouble with injuries in the past few years and this could account for his form reversal of late.

Never conspicuous in much constructive play outside the tight skirmishes Norm Shelton as loose-head prop is another who could go by the board. He is always dependable but that does not compensate for his slowness on the ball. Tall rugged Brian Talboys is now firmly established as Keith Holyoake's locking partner and is very diligent and methodical in everything he does. A fine lineout forward his clean two-handed take gives half-back Muldoon a wealth of possession for setting up attacking moves. Flanker David Thompson caused a furore early in the tour when he challenged the right of a visiting group of journalists to print what they liked. He was subsequently cautioned by the team management but held his test place. A very stout defender and devastating spoiler of moves by the opposition's inside backs.

Debonair Duncan MacIntyre is a flanker in the true New Zealand sense. He plays with a calm assurance that belies his relative youth and could well be destined for higher honours. He has very definite ideas about apartheid. Handicapped by a lack of real pace Rob Walker at No. 8 nevertheless gets through a ton of work. He is a resolute tackler and great at tidying up loose ends. Of this season's reserves George Gair looks most likely to force his way into calculations. He is a fine opportunist with plenty of stamina. Allan McCreedy and John Rae were dropped for the EEC series but could reassert themselves in next year's trials. Allan Dick and Herbert Pickering are two more contenders, although lacking real enterprise.

There it is. It is obvious from the test series where our weaknesses lie and hopefully we can find players to counter them. We especially need good attacking midfield backs with an appetite for hard work and a major reshuffling of the pack seems likely.

New Zealand certainly needs a shot in the arm and a radical switch may be the answer. Who knows? We will just have to wait until next year's Selection Trials.

ARTS FESTIVAL DEBATING AND ORATORY

Victoria University made a clean sweep of the debating and oratory events at Arts Festival.

The intervarsity debating tournament for the JOYNT SCROLL was won by Victoria - Henry Stubbs, John Blincoe and Russel Fairbrother - for the third year in succession. They defeated Otago in the first round, affirming "That Parliamentary Democracy has failed in New Zealand". And in the final they defeated Auckland, affirming "That the New Zealand Tax-

payer does not get value for money from the Universities."

Victoria also figured very prominently in the New Zealand Universities team selected at the contest. That team will debate the Australian Universities' team currently touring New Zealand for the Tasman Trophy on September 11. New Zealand hold the trophy at present. Team Captain is Henry Stubbs - who was also selected best speaker in Joynt Scroll - with Russell Fairbrother as third speaker, John Blincoe is reserve. The other team member is Tim McDonald of Canterbury.

THE BLEDISLOE MEDAL FOR ORATORY

The Bledisloe Medal for oratory was won by Darryl Hutchison, also from Victoria. The medal - cast in gold - was originally founded by Lord Bledisloe - then Governor General - in 1931. It is competed for triennially by representatives from the various universities on the subject of "a great man or woman connected with New Zealand or an outstanding incident in New Zealand history".

In his winning oration "The Christening of David Thomas Shand" Mr Hutchison took a very original approach. He addressed the audience as though they were present at the christening of a newly born child whose grandmother had died in the Wahine disaster. Using the disaster as a basis, he developed the idea of man's puniness before nature and used the christening as evidence of man's capacity for renewal and continuation.

Mr Hutchison also won Victoria's own Plunket Medal for oratory last July. He revealed at that time a similar brilliance in his use of the unexpected by orating on "Edward Alan Sanders", a President of the United States who was born the day of the contest - 23 July 1971.

Dear Sir,

I like reading your newspaper but I get tired of the way you always pull things to bits. Like the march on Friday [July 30]. That was a good show and it gets in the news and lots of people see it and that makes them think that this is for real and serious and that way something might get done about all this aggression. And there seems to be too much of this funny talk that no one can understand. Like the "2.drugs" man, with all this sense data and alienation stuff and things existing in one sentence but not existing in the next, its too much for the human bizz.

But what I want to tell you is that I think that Tony Simpson is a ~~cow~~ cow. He says he doesn't like the P.Y.M. but he's half inclined to agree with them. I don't know what that means. I think he's half inclined to agree with anything. I wonder if he does any real agreeing or disagreeing. I wonder if he does anything except tell everybody how much he's read and how good he is at using big words. But even when he uses little words he uses them in funny ways. I thought I knew what myths were, they were things like Thor making the thunder and all that, but from what he says it seems that when my boss pays me a dollar twenty an hour and charges two dollars fifty an hour for my time then that's a myth. And I thought I knew what fascism was. Like Hitler and Mussolini and them but he makes it seem like anybody who believes in something and tries to do something about it is a fascist. It gets the poor old swede piece spinning.

I think the PYM are good people and I believe in what Tony Simpson calls "the primacy of action" if you want to call it that. It seems to me that many things around here are not too good and that we ought to do something. Everybody ought to do something, and it doesn't much matter if I've heard of Zorostra or not, the thing is to get out and do what you can as hard as you can about the things you think are wrong and people who write flashy stories saying that the people who do this are not good or fascists give me a big pain in the bum. In the words of the poet:

*Asking you pardon as to the verse
"Would give you heartburn in the arse"*

(J. Joyce)

I'd be proud to have some of the PYM represent me, and I don't get laughed at at work. Tony Simpson hasn't met enough workers. Like his Bolsheviks maybe he hasn't met any, he's too busy word-mongering. Maybe the PYM does some things wrong but they do lots of things right too, and they do Do Things to try to fix this bloody shambles we try to live and work in which is a lot more that you can say for most people. From what I've met of these people he wouldn't hit you on the head with the piece of wood when you didn't see the ship, he'd help you build a raft because it would be doing something to fix things up.

Yours sincerely,
B. W. Moore.

·letters·comment·opinion·satire·

2

chris halliwell

Chris Halliwell is a Cambridge University student in political science and law, who spent two months this year working in New Zealand.

Crisis of disaster proportions has recently hit New Zealand — her national religion (not God) is in tatters — her workmen have been denied their traditional form of sustenance for a considerable amount of time — and her main source of income has been gravely threatened. But lo, what do New Zealanders continue to discuss but — God and sex. Admirable in moderation but hardly likely to save the country's economy, halt the chance of racial trouble or bring equality of opportunity to rich and poor, Pakeha and Maori alike.

Equality of opportunity is looked upon by some as Socialist but in fact Disraeli in the 19th century was allegedly striving for this goal. Equality of opportunity combined with an attack on racial discrimination of any kind will solve the basic problems between Maori and Pakeha. Teaching Pakeha how to speak Maori is no answer — it is the middle-class method of evading what ought to be done. Appreciation of the Maori culture and way of life is important but more so is to create the environment in which Maoris can advance their education and hence increase their earning power. This in short means higher family allowances to allow children to stay at school longer, better housing leading to better health and attendance and performance at school and at the place of work.

This naturally will mean sacrifices on the part of the pakeha but the slogan should be "pay now or pay more later." The explosive situation could easily worsen and bloodshed would replace prosperity.

Some Kiwis will look down Queen St. in Auckland, Lambton Quay in Wellington or High St. in Christchurch and talk of equality. They have omitted to look at Ponsenby or Porirua. It would take a thick-skinned person to talk about equality there. Education for all, even through university is fine, but how about a consideration of the house in which the child lives and the economic climate to make him or her stay at school beyond fifteen. This not only applies to Maoris but also to Pakehas.

New Zealand has always in the past had a reputation for humanitarianism towards the less fortunate but she must now see that she does not lose this amidst the indignant cries from farmers over Maori crime rates — polarisation of the races will help nobody.

Rather a genuine attempt to help Maoris and Islanders to acclimatise to city life. The threat of fines and prison will be useless in this respect but guidance from social workers will be all-important.

New Zealand is entering a difficult phase as far as social policies are concerned. In a few years time she could well be dealing with a more substantial drift of population from the land as her traditional source of income becomes more and more unreliable. She will be diversifying her use of other land and also her use of labour. The social effects of such a change must be examined. Planning must take into account education, health, transport and housing facilities to cope with ever-increasing urban populations.

The problem of increasing leisure-time must also be looked at. How will a country so short of culture be able to adjust to live a sophisticated urban life? Boredom in the cities is one of the main causes of madness.

A culture must be created by encouraging artists, architects, writers and musicians. At the moment New Zealand's feeling of nationhood goes little further than the All Black jersey. A national culture could be a means of escaping from American influence on New Zealand life.

But this nationalism must not be isolationism. It must be outward-looking, especially in respect of the South Pacific area. She must foster prosperity there for this is where New Zealand's responsibility lies.

The visitor to New Zealand will on arrival be asked what he thinks of the country. Having seen hardly anything beyond the airport tarmac this question isn't too difficult but must not on any account be skated round. The vital answer of approval must be given if Kiwi abuse to the "pommie bastard" is to be avoided. One gains a feeling that New Zealanders are unsure of their position in the world. An approving answer from a visitor will put them a step up on the Poms, Yanks and Aussies. The lack of confidence is dispelled.

New Zealanders talk of living in a rural community and yet one quarter of the population lives in Auckland whilst vast numbers inhabit the other three main centres.

One talks of humanity and yet where is the national health service; what of the conditions of staff and patients at Oakley; the riots at Mt. Eden prison; and the lack of maths and science teachers at school? What humanity is there in Muldoon, who more than most represents the majority.

No, humanity has gone as the farmers, workers and employers all display their aggressive attitude and social standards are turned aside.

The burden therefore rests on those in education, social work and the Church to help the underdog; to see past the profit margin and the pay-packet and to witness and expose the human indignities being suffered by the old, sick and needy. It is these that the New Zealanders would rather paper over with the help of the visitors. A country where insurance companies profit from the sickness of others and where means tests are prevalent must view its social philosophy closely.

3

kate clark

The observation that a large majority of university students know very little about N.Z.U.S.A., has been made often. It is true and I think it is one reason why education receives less support than it should as a student activity and interest. N.Z.U.S.A. is one of the most effective educational pressure groups in N.Z. and students at each university have a powerful tool through which their policy can be publicized, debated and adopted.

N.Z.U.S.A. winter council held at Waikato for four days during the August holidays was fairly undramatic — student politicians had little time or wish to be flamboyant and powerful; most of the work was time-consuming and tiring.

Education Commission consists of two delegates from each university (one usually being the Education Officer),

the Education Vice President of N.Z.U.S.A., (an unpaid position), and the Education Research Officer, Lindsay Wright, (a salaried position) who is leaving N.Z.U.S.A. at the end of the year. For this position to be effective for student needs, N.Z.U.S.A. needs a person interested in education, capable of long-term research and who is a politician — not an easily met requirement. Victoria often seemed to have gone a fair way towards having some of the facilities and opportunities which other university students were demanding. Our Research Unit on University Teaching and Learning is being set up, although it is underfinanced, and the acceptance of our new B.A. regulations and the discussion on the Committee of Examining Report in some ways indicates more enlightened attitudes than appear at other campuses. *[Like hell-ed!]*

Some of the main issues covered by Education Commission were firstly the need for a national conference on Education. It seems that one may be held related to the N.D.C. but N.Z.U.S.A., as yet, has not been invited. Next January, secondary school teachers are organising a seminar with speakers from overseas talking on experimental education and although N.Z.U.S.A. decided it could not contribute to this financially, interested students should find this a valuable event.

N.Z.U.S.A. has done much work on bursaries with the recent addition leading to a thirty per cent increase in affective cash allowances; (N.Z.U.S.A. submissions asked for a fifty per cent increase). The question was asked as to whether or not students object to bursaries being related to academic success. As Graham Collins or I have heard very few complaints this year about bursary anomalies etc., I can only assume that at Victoria, not only do students find the method of allocation of bursary money satisfactory, but that they are also well-financed throughout their university study.

Otago had investigated the buying of textbooks and reported that there is a general trend towards more expensive U.S. publishers and that book prices have risen markedly, resulting in students buying less prescribed texts. This is perhaps worth investigating at Victoria so that staff can be made aware of the expense involved.

Mike McAllum prepared a paper on Kawhia High School and it seems that the state of rural education should not only be brought to the attention of our government, but that our own Education, Sociology and Anthropology departments should commit themselves to such a problem by contributing information on this topic through research.

The question of how to determine what criteria we use to set limits on the number of overseas students, and N.Z. students, to be admitted to our universities, now that our own 'open-door' policy is to a large extent, a myth, was a relevant question for students to debate — no one yet knows a solution and students are as well equipped as most to set about finding an answer.

N.Z.U.S.A. on a national level, and Victoria, both need students interested to work in the field of education. N.Z.U.S.A. need an Education Vice President from January next year, and also an Education Research Officer. Next year is election year. Victoria must have an Education Officer and committee willing to work. At council, we donated \$500 to the N.Z. Combined Education Association Election Campaign fund and we will work with these people at a local level, arranging publicity, talks etc.

Much of student politics is a game, with no-one winning in the end. However in education N.Z.U.S.A. have backed their words with money and through the Education Research Office and individually local university students can be effective.

BANK



BNZ

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

OPEN YOUR BNZ

CHEQUE ACCOUNT

SAVINGS ACCOUNT

NOW!

USE THE BNZ OFFICE

IN THE

HUNTER BUILDING

HOURS: Daily 10 a.m. — 3 p.m.

Bank of New Zealand

"WRIGHT"
SUIT HIRE SERVICE
INCORPORATING
JACKSON SUIT HIRE SERVICE

We have N.Z.'s finest selection of new top quality LOUNGE SUITS, DINNER SUITS, MORNING SUITS in the very latest styles for hire at moderate charges. Perfect fit assured. Every suit hygienically cleaned after use.

HUGH WRIGHT'S
14 Willis Street, Wellington
PORIRUA—NAPIER—HASTINGS

THE GRAND HOTEL

Willis Street
THE "INN" PLACE FOR STUDENTS

STATEMENT by KUO MO-JO

An account of the address of Kuo Mo-Jo, vice-chairman, Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, to student delegations from New Zealand and the UK, August 1971. This account was prepared after the meeting.

As a lead-in he asks the UK students about their observations during their travel through USSR on their way to China, and agrees and adds to their comments about the repressive conditions there and the shortage of food. They comment on the way in which Mongolia has been turned into a virtual Soviet garrison. He comments that there are 8 Soviet divisions stationed inside Mongolia, and 1,000,000 Soviet troops along the Chinese border. The USSR has set up a special Asia command HQ near the border of the Mongolian autonomous region. The Chinese fear that the Russians will link up with India to form an aggressive crescent against China to the West. He says that in the USSR the troops are spreading the idea that they are going to attack first. But, as Mao says, the Chinese are afraid of nothing. We are prepared. For example in Peking we have underground air-raid shelters and underground subways. In all major cities there are shelters and tunnels, so we are prepared for a surprise attack. But we will not attack unless we are attacked.

Despite the aggressive actions of the Soviets, we still carry on diplomatic relations with them, and have been negotiating since 10 October 1969 on the border question with no success. The supply of food in Russia is very bad. Cucumber and tomatoes are available there only on the black market. But we are continuing to trade with them. For example we have ordered from them a number of AN-62 planes. In February 1965 Kosygin travelled to Vietnam, and on the way back he talked with Mao, and Mao said that it would take 10,000 years to solve the ideological differences. Kosygin suggested that 10,000 years may be a bit too long, so Mao said let's cut off a thousand years. Last year in talks with the Rumanians, the Rumanians suggested that a cut from the 9,000 years might be in order, and Mao said that he would cut it to 8,000 years, but that was his last offer. What all this means is that we will not bargain on matters of principle with the USSR - the USSR must return to the Marxist-Leninist line. The Soviet people have been sapped by the arms race with the US. In the 1960's the US and USSR spent similar amounts on nuclear weapons, missiles, and space research. \$US564.9B spent by the US and \$US470B spent by the USSR. This does not include USSR spending on the Navy which now sails the 5 oceans of the world. You can't eat and dress in nuclear bombs. The USSR owes many debts at home and abroad. Domestically it owes \$US28.6B, abroad \$US4.1B (1970 figures.) The US is better off, people say it is the richest nation in the world, but it has the biggest debt at home and abroad. [At home \$US400B, abroad \$US45B.] China has no debts at home or abroad.

China has not been rid of backwardness yet. Plenty of our houses are still in bad condition. But the variety of food is probably better than in the US or the USSR. We are

following and will continue to follow the principles of frugality and diligence. There are 750 million Chinese, and we will continue to be frugal and diligent so as to support the struggles of the oppressed people and nations..

[Kuo Mo-Jo then commented on Nixon's current economic measures; he concluded: All these measures are like a bomb in the market of the "Free World," an eight-point earthquake. They prove the depth of the crisis. There is also a racial, political and military crisis at the same time.]

Nixon recently gave a speech about US foreign policy. He said the power structure of world politics was like a five-pointed star. The first four points were the US, the USSR, the EEC, and Japan (whose steel output will soon surpass that of the US.) It looks like the more US dollars you have the more trouble you have. It is like the Aesop fable of the peasant who takes the snake into his breast to warm it and it bites him. (This applies to Germany.) The last country that Nixon mentioned was China. We don't want to be a super-power - ever. To be a superpower is to ride roughshod over small and medium sized nations. We identify with small and medium sized nations.

I mentioned Nixon because he never seems willing to admit the gravity of the crisis. The US is declining like the Roman empire. Why does Nixon want to visit China. The US has blockaded China for 20 years. They make propaganda against China. But now the red devil has suddenly become the red maiden. When Nixon stood for president he made two promises. First that he would end the Vietnam war, and second that he would normalise relations between China and the US. He has withdrawn some troops from Vietnam - but we can't tell when the rest will come out. During the last 2 years he has spread ideas of normalisation of relations with China. He has expressed this desire repeatedly through many channels. We have observed him for 2 years to see whether he is sincere or just paying lip service - Mao says we will welcome him, not quarrel with him, but we will criticise. An example of his expression of sincerity is the fact that as soon as the ping pong delegation returned to the US he received the head of it. On every possible occasion he has expressed the wish to come to China. He says his daughters should honeymoon in China - they won't honeymoon at Tachai. His whole family is welcome. Kissinger came to Peking. He expressed a formal wish to have summit talks and to work for normalisation of relations and exchange of opinions. When and whether he will come we cannot foretell.

The talks will have 2 goals. (1) Normalisation of relations. The history of talks with the US dates far back, starting on 1-8-55 in Geneva, and later transferred to Warsaw, at ambassadorial level. They have taken place 136 times to 'no avail. The problem of Taiwan is the main problem and cause of abnormal relations. The PRC should be recognised as the sole legal govt. Taiwan is a province and inalienable part of the liberation of that province is an internal problem. We oppose the Taiwan independence movement which is manipulated by the US and the Japanese. We do not recognise the illegal past between Chiang Kai Shek and the US. All US forces and assistance should be withdrawn.

On the question of the UN, the PRC should be restored and the KMT driven out. There is no other choice. These were the problems of the 136 talks, and will be brought up.

We have many common problems, but the main one is Indo-China. We support the 7 point proposal of Madame Binh in Paris. The US must withdraw all troops and set a timetable. The US should not interfere with the internal affairs of Vietnam. Vietnamese problems should be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves. We will give help outside the Paris talks. We will support to the end the Vietnamese and Indochinese Peoples' struggles. It would be treason not to support the Vietnamese People is what Mao has said. The Chinese people will spare no sacrifice to support them. We will not just pay lip service, we will not supply only biscuits.

The problem of Indochina will be solved bilaterally between the Vietnamese comrades and the US, between the Laotian comrades and the US, and between our Cambodian friends and the US. We do not recommend the reconvention of the Geneva conference.

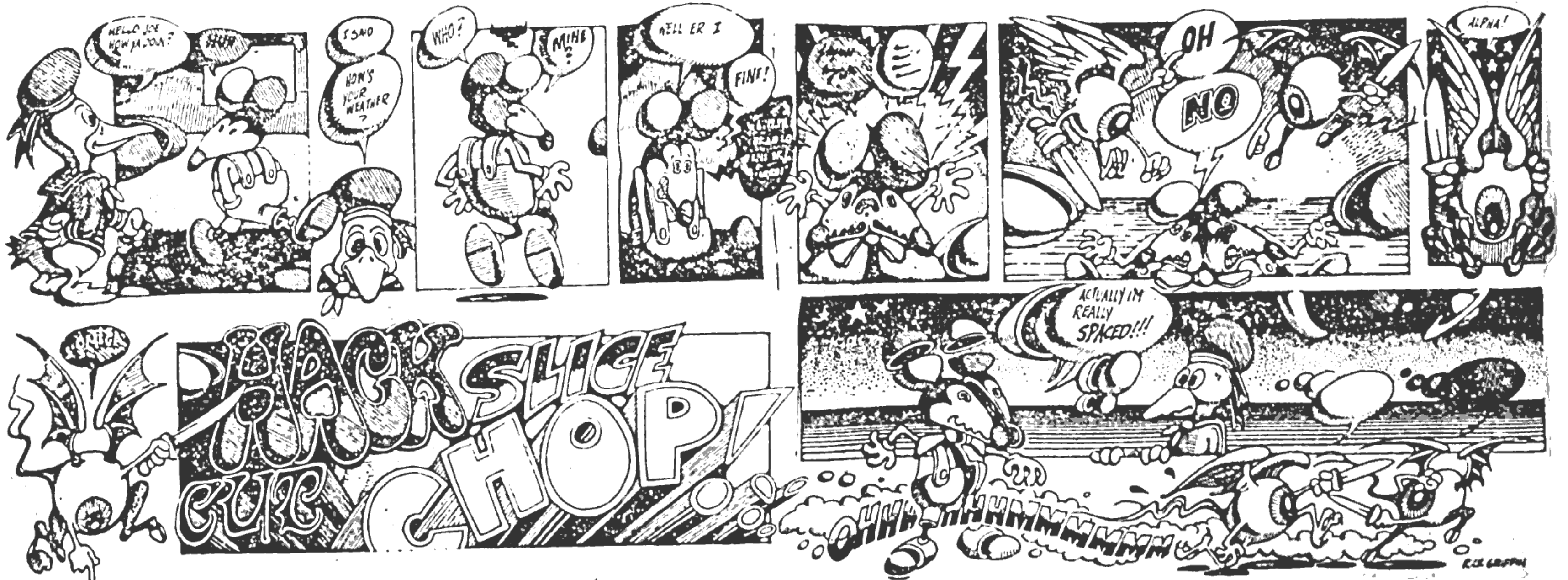
There is also the matter of Korea where there is only an armistice, but no agreement. The Chinese volunteers have withdrawn, but of the UN forces only U.S. troops (40,000) remain. The US has brought arms into Korea and moulded collaboration between Japan and Korea. When the US withdraws Japanese forces will replace them.

We will also discuss the problem of revived Japanese militarism. For example their self defence force has 300,000 men, and 200,000 officers. Hitler had the same kind of proportions in his army when he was reviving it. When they wish to mobilise they can immediately have a very big army - perhaps 3 million. This is a very big question in Asia.

All US troops should be withdrawn, all bases dismantled. - but the USSR should do the same in Mongolia. The Nixon doctrine says Asians should fight Asians. We Chinese say Chinese should look after their problems, Koreans, after Korea, the Vietnamese after Vietnam etc.

In the time until next May we cannot tell how the situation will change. Some people are worried that China might change. We will never bargain on principle. Imperialism represented by Nixon will never change: Marxism Leninism will never change - we will not be infected by capitalism. But Nixon thinks we bring the red germ to the US, so he fears us.

Nixon says his negotiations will not be at the expense of old friends, nor will they be directed against other countries. Those words are said for Soviet ears. The US are acting according to what he said. On 2 August Rogers advocated his China plot for 2 chinas. On 20 August Bush at the UN also put forward the 2 China policy. On 20 August the foreign Ministry of the PRC issued a statement saying that China will have nothing to do with a UN with Taiwan in it. We are waiting to see what will happen in the September session of the UN. But we can wait - we haven't been in the UN for 21 years and we are well clothed and fed.



NATIONALS WET WEEKEND

Did anything at all happen at the 1971 National Party Conference? Already at five weeks distance it seems clouded in obscurity. A weekend of debate, politicking and socializing — all to what avail?

It could have been an historic conference. There was an unprecedented leadership challenge, a presumed indicator of internal dissatisfaction. The agenda contained a number of seemingly liberal remits, close in style to some of the Labour Party Conference. In general, an unusual amount of interest was being shown in what was after all a mid-term conference. The ensuing weekend was an utter letdown; a complete victory for the status-quo. The message emerging from Dunedin was one of self-satisfied complacency.

So what did happen at the National's 1971 Conference?

Friday's official opening, though mainly a formality, had the atmosphere of expectancy. The speeches were predictable — parochial advertising from Dunedin's mayor, and inter-party flattery from the local divisional chairman. Mr Holt (Dominion President) delivered what on paper made a quite inspiring address (someone else's undoubtedly) — but from his lips was lifeless to the point of boredom. His heavy disinterested voice was to dampen most of the later proceedings.

With the stage rearranged, delegates turned to consideration of remits. The atmosphere of excitement continued perhaps until Friday tea. Two fairly mild remits exposed a number of deep-seated attitudes.

One was a request for an enquiry on the law on abortion. (An enquiry mind you, and what could satisfy an inaction-oriented party more?) But out came the strong anti-abortion prejudices and evidence of a positive fear of change. "A wolf in sheep's clothing" was the label one delegate gave the remit. "Pass this and you show the National Party in favour of changing the law," said another. "Too sensitive an issue to be tampered with." And so on. Hardly the talk of a socially concerned party, actively seeking change. The remit passed, but only by a majority of 161 to 141, which in any case hardly presents the government with a mandate for action.

There was also the rather incredible treatment of a remit asking that the People's Republic of China be recognised provided that Nationalist China continue to be recognised. An innocuous remit considering the mutual incompatibility of the countries anyway. In any case, it merely presented a restatement of the government's "two Chinas" policy. The Wellington Young Nationals, who had brought forward the remit attempted to amend it so as to remove the need for a continued recognition of Taiwan which was, needless to say, heavily defeated. A few hints of the underlying anti-Communist prejudice emerged. One speaker rather arrogantly referred to the recovery of good sense in China after the socialist madness of the cultural revolution. But at least shaken feelings produced lively debate.

The incredible outcome was the total rejection of the remit on the grounds that the issue should be left to the good sense of the government. The pleasure that the decision gave Sir Keith up on his platform position was obvious. No wonder he was later to call this a "working conference." If every issue is to be left to the good sense of the government then why bother forwarding remits to conference at all?

The first session took one and a quarter hours to deal with three rather innocuous remits. Hardly impressive progress. So much of the discussion showed an inadequate appreciation of the issues and a tendency to stray from the subject and air prejudices.

Friday evening brought the only real life to the conference, courtesy Tim Shadbolt, followers and a few hundred Otago University Students. The main anti-War mob ended in front of Robbie Burns' statue in the octagon with a semi-dramatised reading of the Pentagon Papers juxtaposed with official statements. From there to the Town Hall was an easy move. For some strange reason, what Dunedin lavished on the interior of its hall it scrimped on the entrance. Even to find the entrance is a problem. It consists of three ordinary-looking doors opening immediately on to the footpath of a back area of Moray Place. (outer ring of the Octagon). The waiting crowd spilled out over the road and helped by a natural slope, exerted pressure on the policeman guarding this entrance. Returning delegates were greeted with a barrage of insults. Full treatment was unleashed particularly on Sir Keith and the Press had much glee in reporting, he was momentarily forced up against the wall.

IN A NUTSHELL...



'... but fortunately I think it is true to say that New Zealand has never seen such a breakdown in industrial relations like this since ... or since ... since last week!'

Vigorous protest to what purpose? The decision to withdraw troops has been made and it wasn't hastened by the July 30 marches. Sir Keith was reported as saying that he found it all rather boring. The party delegates treated Vietnam as a non-issue and refused to receive a message from the organizers of the mob. The only effect it seemed to have on the calm complacency of the conference was to bring out occasional disparaging comments about 'dissident minorities' and 'long-haired protestors.' Inside the main hall the shouting of those on the footpath and the distant smell of smoke bombs had an air of unreality.

Not that discussion of remits was any more real. The conference did not seem to have its heart in the task. The only issue to raise any feelings was the proven one of anti-unionism. A resolution calling for enforcement of the Stabilisation of Remuneration Act was passed unanimously, a tribute more to social pressure than undivided concern. The ancient call for abolition of compulsory unionism was again passed and again will be ignored because neither management nor workers want any change.

Discussion of other remits was generally lifeless. Probably the pending leadership vote was a stifling influence. Full conference remits on doctor shortages, housing finance, road safety pollution, the economic state of the Chatham Islands, were discussed without much enthusiasm.

The remit committees passed the expected remits on issues concerning farmers, businessmen and so on. That radical proposal for the free prescription of the contraceptive pill to married and unmarried women met an ignominious end. How it ever emerged from the branch, electorate and divisional structure is an amazement. Its function at Dominion Conference seemed to be light entertainment for a room full of middle-aged ladies who treated it much as a room full of teenage girls would treat a first discussion of sex. The final vote — unanimous rejection, was a further indictment of the proceedings. It was far from clear that the vote was not in fact on a procedural motion. In any case the original supporters had been forced into retirement as figures of amusement.

A serious issue this, one might have thought, but in the environment of a 'working' conference it was unacceptable. The overall effect of remit discussion was to reinforce the status-quo. Not that any more than a polite statement of party thinking, to be acted on if the government thinks it expedient, is expected. Dunedin most certainly failed to produce any new philosophy for the party that two years ago was supposedly moving into the seventies.

MINISTERIAL INDULGENCE:

The party faithful atmosphere could be sensed most strongly during the addresses of various ministers. This was a Holyoake conference. His Saturday address produced a display of enthusiastic unity. From his opening 'My fellow freedom fighters' (Yes!) through his lavish praise of top ministers to the standing ovation he exuded confidence and complacency. "Our great National party is the most stable influence in New Zealand at this time" he pontificated. With a prime-minister of such belief how can one expect change anyway? It was all really a very ordinary Holyoake speech — complete with resonant over-emphasis of figures and anti-Labour rallying cries — this time the Stabilisation of Remuneration Act. (a new clarion call to replace the worn-out Black Budget?) The delegates lapped it up. It was the speech of a leader secure in his post and ready to contest the 1972 election — that fifth in a row that was mentioned like some monotonous theme.

The Saturday night address was heralded as the highlight of the conference — a sad reflection on the other events.

The same over enthusiastic reception greeted Mr Muldoon on Monday. Into the atmosphere on anti-union prejudice he cynically blew his latest trumpet and to maximum effect. Starting with a dull description of the state of the economy he launched into a tirade against the disruptive Communist elements allegedly within the Trade Union movement. Nothing could have been more calculated to delight his party. Simplistic statements like 'We're going to deal with industrial unrest' and 'We can beat the Labour party and will' brought delegates out cheering wildly. The final political cynicism of his speech 'We have but one leader and he is Sir Keith Holyoake' had delegates applauding and clamouring for more. It was a disgusting display of opportunism and depressing witness to party gullibility. Little matter that he produced virtually no elaboration of his assertion, they cheered him all the same.

Other ministerial speeches came from Mr Allen, whose outline of all the ministers concerned with the environment only served to emphasize the need for a single controlling force; Mr Talboys, who gave a fairly sympathetic account of the needs of the universities; and Mr Marshall, who gave a low key account (not surprisingly in view of the leadership struggle rumours) of his Overseas Trade and Labour portfolios.

Sunday, for senior delegates was a day for socializing, and presumably lobbying for the Monday election. Sunday was also the day for the Young National's national conference, held unbelievably behind doors closed to the press. (I was allowed in to listen, but not report, not that the proceedings were worth reporting anyway) If the Young Nationals wish to establish themselves as a creditable political force they will have to show considerably more vigour than they did at Dunedin. From an afternoon's talk only three rather innocuous political remits emerged. Sample: a call for a commission into the cause of violence in cities — yes, another commission. If you thought the government was already commission happy then its party is worse. Soon there will be a shortage of suitable people to sit on all these commissions. Four remits were still untouched at 5.30, and rather than miss some of their teatime socializing, the Young National's decided to refer these back to the divisions. Which is tantamount to shelving them.

Hardly the fruits of a politically aware and active organisation. If the main National Party fears to rock the governmental boat, then the Young National's seem to go one worse in not wanting to even disturb the main party. So at Sunday night's function, Sir Keith praised his Young Nationals for their emotion backed with logic. (as opposed to the emotion of those unwashed longhairs on the streets).

That evening function produced the nadir of the conference. A panel of four party members, including Mr Thompson, wasted an hour giving banal answers to questions on topics such as protest, dringing licences, population maximum, the Treaty of Waitangi, and probably others. The atmosphere was stifling with party-faithful intolerance. The new Chairman of the Young Nationals drew some rumblings from the back when he dared even to suggest that the July 30 protest had attracted a sizeable following. To see him back-peddle and qualify his rashness was not exactly edifying.

Sir Keith himself deigned to utter a few platitudes for the credulous gathering and proceeded to give a description of the Vietnam war that leant largely on the discredited domino theory.

If the Young Nationals deserved no credit for their afternoon performance they deserved even less for arranging this entertainment.

LEADERSHIP CONTEST:

The lifelessness of proceedings on Friday and Saturday could perhaps be excused in the light of the historic leadership challenge. For weeks before the conference, political commentators had been assessing the motives and chances of Mr Chapman. Here was a confrontation between the Hawkes Bay farmer and an Upper Hutt accountant — a progressive — conservative split, or rural — urban? The frustration that must have initiated the challenge could be appreciated after hearing Mr Holt's address and seeing the heavy and dispirited manner in which he controlled full conference. Mr Chapman, by way of contrast, brought humour and subtlety into his chairmanship of one of the remit committees. The loss of Marlborough had first jolted National's sense of security and there was probably a feeling that next time they would be out of office if tactics were not modernized.

Friday and Saturday had this issue hanging over them. Certainly the main hall on Monday morning had a tenseness about it. This was undoubtedly the testing point of the conference — the historic moment of utter anticlimax.

In fact of course inertia won. The party delegates, lulled into a slumber by the harmony of self-congratulation of the previous few days were not ready to acknowledge the need for change. What the margin for voting was cannot be known. So National maintained an air of solidarity and 'we're all right'. And the conference subsided into irrelevance. That weekend in Dunedin might have refreshed and enthused more susceptible party members. To the general public, it deservedly passed unnoticed. On New Zealand politics it will have left not a trace.

For the National party, the only hope of change would seem to be a resounding defeat at next year's election.

WAR IS OVER

Yesterday, about 2,000 men were chosen to undergo compulsory military training for enlistment in the New Zealand Territorial Reserve. Since registration for the ballot is compulsory, every New Zealander may find himself in a position where he may be called upon to enforce Government military policy. We all pay taxes to implement Government policy whether we agree with it or not, but the National Military Service Act faces us with the prospect of personally prosecuting a war created by those who have taken it upon themselves to lead us. In a nation like ours, lacking in political consensus, the mere question of service to the collective is a farce; it becomes service to the elite.

National Military Service can, however, be avoided. The NMSA makes allowance for Conscientious Objection, a freedom won by courageous men who over this century have gone to gaol rather than take up arms, and embarrassed successive governments into submission. At present you can conscientiously object on several grounds. The NMSA does not stipulate grounds for acceptance by the Conscientious Objection Committee. In the past, however, it has been found that you can pass the committee hearings by pleading

- 1) Religious Pacifism
- 2) Non religious Pacifism
- 3) Political Principles. The first of these

is based on a simple statement of faith in religious principles, and provided objective proof of such faith is given will probably be unquestioned by the Committee. The second of these is also generally a safe plea, though it can lead to certain logical traps if the

committee try to make it difficult for you [e.g. Q. This is based on Humanitarian beliefs. What if it could be shown that humanity would be better served by a little killing? The assassination of Hitler say in the 1930's.] Nevertheless, a mere statement of faith is still the best method of winning a case.

The most difficult of pleas is political principle. To merely object to what New Zealand is fighting FOR begs the question of what is worth fighting for, and a statement of support for any military force will not be received very well by the committee, who are fairly prejudiced in favour of New Zealand's policy. On the other hand, a failure to give a statement of some kind of political belief begs the question of just why you will not be conscripted. Nevertheless, statements that in the past have concentrated on New Zealand's Foreign policy have been successful. Such arguments have one great advantage. The great red herring: Would you defend yourself if you were attacked — does not arise, since New Zealand's foreign policy can be factually shown to have nothing to do with self defence.

The committee will possibly attempt to find inconsistencies in your argument. This however is merely argumentative quibbling. Two famous pacifists, Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell turned round and gave moral support to the allies in World War II. What they did here was not to contradict themselves, but to freely choose to support a war. The point in Conscientious Objection is not to create the infallible pacifist argument but merely to run your life as you wish it, rather than as the state dictates it. If you wish to turn round later and support a war, then

that is a matter for your own conscience. That it remains that way is the point of Conscientious Objection.

The freedom to object is not one that the state surrendered voluntarily. It was forced to do so by men who simply refused its dictates. Conscientious Objectors were a political embarrassment to successive governments who felt the need to give it an outlet. Even so, the freedom to object was only gained by suffering, and each expansion in its role was only won with a fight. That conscientious objection be continually used is vital if militarism in this country is going to be erased. There is no valid distinction to be drawn between the National Military Servicemen and the regular Army. Army planning takes the National Military Servicemen into account as a reserve to be called on if necessary. Brigadier W.R.K. Morrison stated quite bluntly in 1968: "While on the active list of his unit (the serviceman) is eligible for overseas service, and the government has the authority now without invoking a special act of parliament, to mobilise this force and send it overseas to honour one or other of our treaty obligations." Trainees have been told in the past:

"you had better take your training seriously — you may be going to Vietnam." Well, the Vietnam War is almost over for New Zealand. But the next time the U.S. decides to save a tiny land from the mythical red hordes, and asks for New Zealand's support, the trainee sweltering at Waiouru may find his future considerably bleaker than it is now.

Eric Frykberg

IF YOU WANT IT

APARTHEID

— **australian style**

During the recent anti-Apartheid campaign which accompanied the Springbok Rugby tour of Australia, it was suggested - whether out of genuine belief or concern, or as a way of avoiding the Springbok issue - that those protesting should first look at the Australian treatment of their own indigenous peoples before attacking the policies of another government. In this article, taken from the Adelaide S.R.C. paper "On Dit," the position of the Aboriginal in Australian society is examined.

We have no doubt that the inhumane laws of South Africa should be attacked where and when they can, but let it not detract from the fact that apartheid exists in this country too and that it is being applied in your name, for you are part of the society which by your silence condones and perpetuates it!

The Queensland "Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders Affairs Act" 1965, is abhorrent and repugnant. It denies the indigenous peoples of that state basic human rights and in the name of protection holds them in subjugation, erodes their pride and dignity, kills their initiative and generally imposes on them a sense of hopeless resignation to their inferior position in society. The Act herds them into Bantu-like reserves where their lives are controlled by despotic, Department appointed managers whose powers are reminiscent of the cotton-plantation-owners in the ante-bellum South. Their wages are controlled and as will be seen, often denied to them by those in authority.

In January 1971 at the Prime Ministers' Conference in Singapore, Mr. Gorton reiterated his pre-election promises of 1969 when he pledged that all forms of racialism would be abolished in Australia. He stated that the governments of Western Australia and Queensland had been ordered to repeal their race-laws within two years. "If they did not, the Federal Government would repeal the laws for them." (The Australian, 20/1/71.)

However despite his pledge when taking office that all election promises would "without any reservations, be honored during the lifetime of this Parliament" (Hansard, 15/3/71), Mr. McMahon capitulated to the Queensland Premier Mr. Bjelke Peterson on 8th April indicating that the Act was designed to protect persons who without guidance and assistance could be easily exploited. Therefore it was not seen to be discriminatory and apart from minor details would be allowed to remain on the Statute books.

In South Africa apartheid provides a legal apparatus which regulates the lives of more than four-fifths of the population. In Queensland at least 30,000 Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders are classified as "Assisted" and controlled by laws as oppressive as apartheid. When the act was introduced those Aborigines living on reserves were automatically covered by it. However any Aboriginal or part-Aboriginal is liable to be declared Assisted, for if an Aboriginal is summonsed by the Director of the Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs (DAIA), or comes before a Court on any charge, and it is decided that he should be placed under the Act, then he can be subjected to all the legal and economic disabilities that this involves, even though he may be declared innocent of the particular charge. The Director has the power to grant or reject an application for exemption from the Act, regardless of the individual's wishes.

"It is a notable fact that Aborigines refer to the 'Unassisted' as 'Free men' which shows the degree to which they feel they are oppressed by the Act... not that all assisted Aborigines want to be exempted. As things stand exemption means that Aborigines must leave the reserve. Many Aborigines have lived in the reserves all their lives, their roots are there and so they are reluctant to leave." (Abschol Conference Report, 14/1/71.)

In South Africa an African may be removed with his dependants "to any place in a Bantu area where he has not lived before, has no relatives or friends and has no employment." (Apartheid in practice - published by the United Nations.) Under section 34 of the Queensland Act the DAIA has power to move an Assisted Aborigine from one reserve to any other or in the case of an individual living off a reserve, onto a reserve. In doing this the Department has the power to separate families. A non-resident wishing to enter the reserve cannot do so without the permission of the Manager. This means that children who have left a reserve to seek work elsewhere can be prevented from visiting their families. "An instance of this occurred in Townsville, where we discovered there is a list of fifty young people who on no account were to visit their families on Palm Island for Christmas... nor could the parents leave the reserve to visit the children without the permission of the

manager." (Abschol Report on Queensland Trip, 1969-1970.)

In South Africa "A 'Bantu Tribal Authority' consists of a Chief or Headman and a number of councillors. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development may, at any time, depose any Chief or Headman, and cancel the appointment of any person chosen as a councillor by the Chief or Headman..." (Apartheid in Practice.) In Queensland the Manager of the reserve appears to have more despotic control than the Chief in the Bantu. Each reserve is allowed to 'elect' representatives onto the Reserve Council. They are the 'local government' of the reserve and as such are responsible for the 'good rule and government' of the reserve or community. However this democratic system is not as open as it seems. The council consists of four Assisted Aborigines, two of whom are appointed directly by the Director (in reality by the Manager) and two by the Aborigines themselves. However any of these Councillors may be removed if the Manager so desires. An Abschol team which visited Queensland in 1969-70 reported, "We found instances of men who run last out of half-a-dozen candidates being appointed to the council by the Manager. Such practices hardly make for popular government." (Abschol report on Queensland.)

Furthermore, each order or resolution passed by the Council is subject to the will of the Manager, who may suspend such an order or resolution. The Manager also controls the Council funds and therefore has another effective method at his disposal to block any action he so wishes. (No appeal mechanism exists in respect of funds.) So much for democracy!

The crux of much of the discontent is due to the powers vested in the Manager and staff on the reserves. The Abschol team found on its survey in 1969-70 that, "The resentment of white control is so widespread and deep that it is said the situation is akin to a military occupation."

The most general powers of control are contained in regulations 10-13 of the Act and apply to every resident or visitor to the reserve. All must conform to a "reasonable standard of good conduct", must "obey all lawful instructions of the Director, District Officer, Manager, Councillors or other officers of such reserves", and must not commit "any act subversive of good order or discipline on a reserve." The Manager as senior officer is the one to decide which acts are 'subversive' to good order and what interferes with normal duties. The wide scope of these powers is easily susceptible to misuse and gives the Manager almost absolute power over the actions of all residents.

There are many disturbing stories circulating about how widely these powers are circumscribed and abused. On Palm Island for example, "A girl was tried for some crime and acquitted. The Manager used his power to intervene and the girl was convicted and jailed for three days until Father Sutherland intervened." (Queensland Abschol. "Torres Strait Report 1970.")

The 90 days Detention law in South Africa is often quoted when the evils of apartheid are discussed. On Queensland reserves the Manager can enforce dormitory detention (House-arrest) at will for a period of up to six months. At the completion of this period the Manager may, after a report to the Director enforce the detention for a further unlimited period. On Palm Island, "One man said he had been sentenced to six months detention without knowing why. When he demanded to know the crime for which he was being punished, he was given another six weeks for insolence." (Abschol Report on Queensland.)

Despite their extensive powers over the lives of thousands of people, few of the Managers have received qualified training. Backgrounds of these men as reported by Abschol include, Army careers; one whose experience had been gained in South Africa; another of Dutch ancestry who had been a Plantation Manager in Ceylon; another who had been a pastrycook, and yet another who had been an Ambulance driver. "Certainly none of the staff were specifically trained to deal with the problems of individuals, only of discipline. And the discipline varies from reserve to reserve." (Abschol Report on Queensland.)

Appeals are allowed, but it should be kept in mind that most adults on reserves have grown up with the idea that they have few if any rights and that they must always obey the white staff on the reserve. Their upbringing makes it unlikely that they will argue with the Manager and even less likely that they will make an appeal against his decision. If they do appeal or complain they know only too well how they can be harassed and discriminated against. It is also important to realise that the standard of education attained by most adults is extremely low. Thus the high rate of illiteracy, lack of comprehension of rules and procedures implies heavy dependence on the white employees of the Department for assistance in their appeals against

decisions of the Department. The most telling argument against the effectiveness of the appeal mechanism regarding administrative decisions is that it is very rarely used, despite continued complaints about these decisions. Thus whilst it may be true that the Queensland Full Court would take action against abuses of power by the Administration of the Act, it is highly unlikely that any Aborigine would bring such a complaint before the Court.

On each reserve there is an Aboriginal Court where jurisprudence is in the hands of two Aboriginal J.P.'s or at least three members of the Reserve Council. The members of the Court receive no training in their duties. Usually they do not comprehend the proceedings and are easily influenced by anyone who does. This, plus their natural desire not to get into the bad books of the Manager, gives him considerable control over their activities.

Yet another blatant denial of rights concerns the wages paid to Aborigines. Under the Act "A protector may direct employers or any employer to pay the whole or any portion of the wages of Aborigines to himself or some other person on his behalf..." The employer however may retain a certain amount for keep and also part as pocket money which can be paid directly to the Aborigine. As for the rest of the money, this is appropriated and paid into the 'Aboriginal Welfare Fund'. This money is invested under the Fund so that a rate of interest is derived which is greater than that which would accrue if the deposits were invested individually. The difference between the sum of the interest at ordinary Savings Bank interest and the greater interest accruing from the total amount invested is then credited to the Welfare Fund. The money so accrued is substantial. In 1968-69 the interest amounted to 26,356 dollars. In 1969-70 it was 20,986 dollars. In 1970 according to the Queensland Auditor General's Report there was held in the Commonwealth Savings Bank Account 548,257 dollars (plus 75,966 dollars for Thursday Island), belonging to Assisted Aborigines. What in fact is happening is that the Aborigines who are already receiving minimal wages are 'forced' to contribute to their own welfare!

It is in the interests of the Department to discourage withdrawals in order to maximise the interest accruing to the Welfare Fund. Ample evidence is available to show that Aborigines are denied access to their Bank books, that they are refused permission to withdraw money from their own accounts and that private accounts have been appropriated from the Commonwealth Bank by the police in Queensland when it has come to the notice of the authorities that such private accounts exist.

Besides the denial of the right to utilise their own earnings as they so desire, Aborigines are not assured of receiving award rates as they can be classified as 'slow' or 'retarded', a practice easily abused in order to ensure a source of cheap labor. Yet another parallel with South Africa where there are differential rates for Blacks and Whites doing the same job!

Again, under the Act any Assisted Aborigine working outside a reserve can be withdrawn from that work by the whim of the Director. (R.72.) On the reserve of course his employment opportunities are dictated by the whim of officials. Even when fully employed the Aborigines are paid wages hardly conducive to a decent standard of living and this must account in large degree for the widespread incidence of malnutrition on Queensland reserves.

In January 1971, sixty delegates representing Aborigines and Aboriginal Rights groups throughout Queensland, at the Townsville Conference, passed a motion which pointed out that "Wages on Communities are too low to allow parents to care for themselves and their children."

Under another imposition of the 1965 Act we find that Assisted Aborigines and Islanders are denied the right to buy, sell, lend, borrow or acquire anything through hire-purchase without the approval of the District Officer. (Sect. 28.) The District Officer may also take control of any share that the Assisted Aborigine has in business. The Act therefore smacks of all the worst features of the 19th century English Poor Law. The Act creates a culture of poverty out of which the Aborigine finds it impossible to climb.

Why should Queensland hiding behind so called 'State Rights' be allowed to place such a discriminatory act on the Statute Books when the Federal Government has been given powers under referendum to terminate such legislation? It is intolerable that the rule of law has become so perverted as to permit power to pass to a Government department which is allowed to make special rules for individuals touching every facet of their life and freedom. One law for the Black and one for the White! Apartheid!



Armoured cars clear Wenceslas Square on the eve of the second anniversary of the entry into Czechoslovakia of Warsaw Pact troops.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA:

CULTURAL ASSASSINATION

Delegates to the XIV Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party held last May in Prague were told that "normalisation" had been satisfactorily completed. Gustav Husak, the first secretary, became secretary-general, and the congress went on record as showing its satisfaction at the Kremlin's "fraternal aid" in 1968.

In the eyes of most Czechoslovak intellectuals, however, this much-vaunted "normalisation" is tantamount to the "assassination of a culture." In this document - which a Prague dissident has preferred not to sign for obvious reasons - he explains how intellectual curiosity is being stifled and all discussion rigorously restricted to areas approved by the party.

When we in Czechoslovakia read the Western press - to the irregular extent this is possible for us at the present time - whether it is Communist or non-Communist, Left, Centre or Right, we are shaken by a horrible doubt as to whether anyone is still interested in this country, so much talked about only a little while ago.

And if by chance people are interested in it, can they really have an idea of what is going on here after two years of normalization? What do people abroad know about the barefaced fascism creeping into the day-to-day life of this country?

Consider the cultural field for example. Czechoslovaks were most impressed by the protest against the dismissal of the producer Otomar Krejca (he founded the Za Branu Theatre in 1966). Never before, it seems, had so many signatures been collected to protest against a measure taken against someone in the world of theatre. We noticed that, for once, Communists - a few Communists - had signed with the others. It was rare and heartwarming. Everyone was aware, of course that the issue did not only involve Krejca alone; he had become a symbol.

One statement in the text of the protest deserved to be mentioned. Krejca was punished we read, despite the fact that he had always wanted to remain in Prague with his actors. He was in fact punished precisely because he wanted to remain in the capital with them.

Morale weakened

If he had agreed not to emigrate but to turn into an "itinerant showpiece of socialist culture" - forbidden at home, but exhibited abroad to fill the state's coffers with foreign exchange - then a solution to his case might well have been worked out. But Krejca's own firm attitude, his stubbornly reiterated intention of staying put in Prague led to the authorities' repressive decision.

For Krejca was setting a very bad example. The Czechoslovak leadership's present policy to humiliate people and to force them to go back on what they have said or signed so as to deprive them of all moral authority in the future.

One comes to understand how the absence of a cause to defend weakens morale and resistance within the country. In this respect the situation was better during the years of the German "protectorate" between 1939 and 1945 for all wars have an end. Physical terror indeed was more savagely inflicted but there was far less destruction of people's ethical and cultural values.

In the eyes of the Czechoslovak leaders, the danger of Krejca's attitude lay in the fact that if it had gone unpunished it would have encouraged other men to remain honest and true to themselves. So they punished him so as to scotch any dangerous ideas of the sort. And his was not the only case.

One of the country's best film makers, Vojtech Jasný, winner of two awards at the Cannes film festival for his films *One Day, One Cat* and *Moravian Chronicle*, and honoured yet again this year at the Festival Palace, has been to all intents and purposes expelled from Czechoslovakia. The authorities began by withdrawing his films from the regular circuits. Then Jasný was given to understand that he should abandon the idea of going on with a film he had been planning to make for years. Finally, the new head of the Barrandov film studios, who had always been an uncritical supporter of the Soviet Union, spoke to him.

After the meeting, Jasný took the first available opportunity to leave the country. Because of his popularity and his spotless reputation, the authorities then tried to undo what they had done.

But Jasný would not budge. He explained his stand in one of his farewell letters. "If I could have gone my way in the cinema, I would have stayed. If all I wanted to do was film Czechoslovak fairy tales, I would have gone back. But I could not accept the prostitution into which everyone will soon be forced. And I am not going to collaborate with what is going on in our country today."

A thing has happened to Czechoslovak theatre. Most theatre producers have been replaced by men whose lack of talent is, for the authorities, the best guarantee of absolute devotion. Preliminary censorship, a hollow hoax has been abolished and the producer made responsible for any undesirable public reactions in the course of a performance. All controversial plays have been gradually withdrawn from the theatres' regular repertoires.

As if this were not enough, Bertolt Brecht's play *Mother Courage* suffered twenty-five important cuts because the audience attending the dress rehearsal - and it was a carefully selected audience - turned the show into a veritable political demonstration. But Brecht, once regarded as subversive in the United States, was not the only victim.

In Prague, the National Theatre's performance of *Don Juan*, Molière's subversive libertine, underwent extensive cuts; the dress rehearsal for Shakespeare's *Henry IV* unexpectedly aroused such a demonstration that government representatives attending the performance left the theatre when the curtain fell for the interval. The play was not performed again.

Russian classics have fared no better. Cuts massacred Gorky, Ostrovsky and Chekhov. Perhaps

the crowning blow came when Alexander Griboyedov's play *Gore ot Uma* (Wit Works Woe) had to be banned two weeks before the ceremonial first night scheduled for the anniversary of the October Revolution.

Play on Commune banned.

There is a certain method in the way which plays are censored in Czechoslovakia. In the current phase, all allusions to fascism are verboten. The "normalized" head of one of the nation's theatres explained recently, not without a certain ingenuousness; "Contemporary Western plays? Out of the question. Either they are pessimistic or else they are antifascist. So they are not for us. Those people take things too seriously..."

The television is currently breaking all records for silliness. A play dealing with the Paris Commune was banned at the last moment before it was due to go on the air, and replaced with an arrangement of poems which was afterwards severely criticised. A few minutes before another programme, a well-known actor was expelled from the show. He made the mistake of turning up wearing a roll-neck pullover which was reminiscent of the style of dress of a very popular television commentator in 1968 and who is currently serving a three-year prison term. And last January, at the time the Brussels Congress of Jews was discussing the lot of Soviet Jews, a programme was abruptly cancelled at the last minute, when it was discovered that the four actors who were to take part in it were all of Jewish origin.

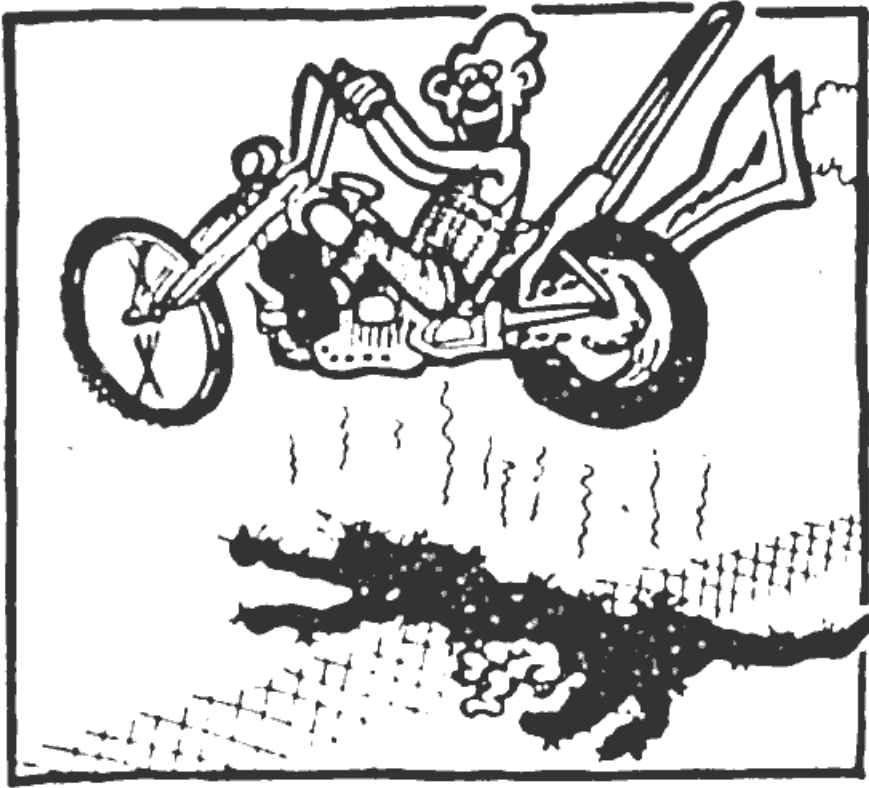
Radio listeners have recognized the present director of political programmes - noted for his attacks on Zionism - as the onetime editor of the fascist broadsheet *The Aryan Combat* published in 1938 and 1939. A number of variety programmes, dating back to the German occupation of Czechoslovakia have been dug out of the archives to fill in radio time, since they can hardly be politically damaging.

Nonetheless creative people are still working and writing. Those in the know say that never in the course of the past twenty-five years has there been such a glut of excellent manuscripts as today, although their authors have no hope of having them published now.

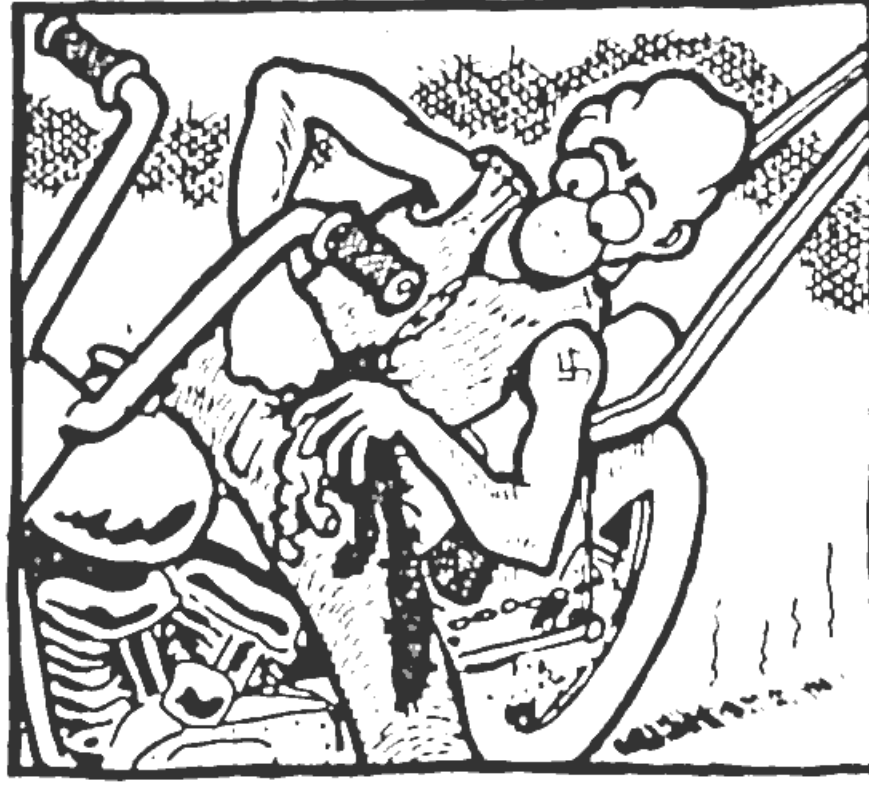
Nearing the end of this letter, or rather, this cry, I wonder whether anyone is still really interested in all this. Can people be aware that this "Biafra of the spirit" to which Aragon has referred is a condition typical of all fields of endeavour, and that a culture which all of Europe admired during the past ten years has been assassinated, without anyone lifting a finger to defend it? The Right may have a point when it says; "They wanted their socialism, now they can see what it's like..." Yes, we did want socialism and we still want socialism, not this fascism imposed through a foreign occupation.

So much for the Right. But what of the Left? Does the international unity of the Left stop at the Elbe, merely because Czechoslovakia's problems are not the same as those with which the Left in the West is concerned? Let us hope that it is not so, for it would be too stupid, and even too dangerous, if it were.

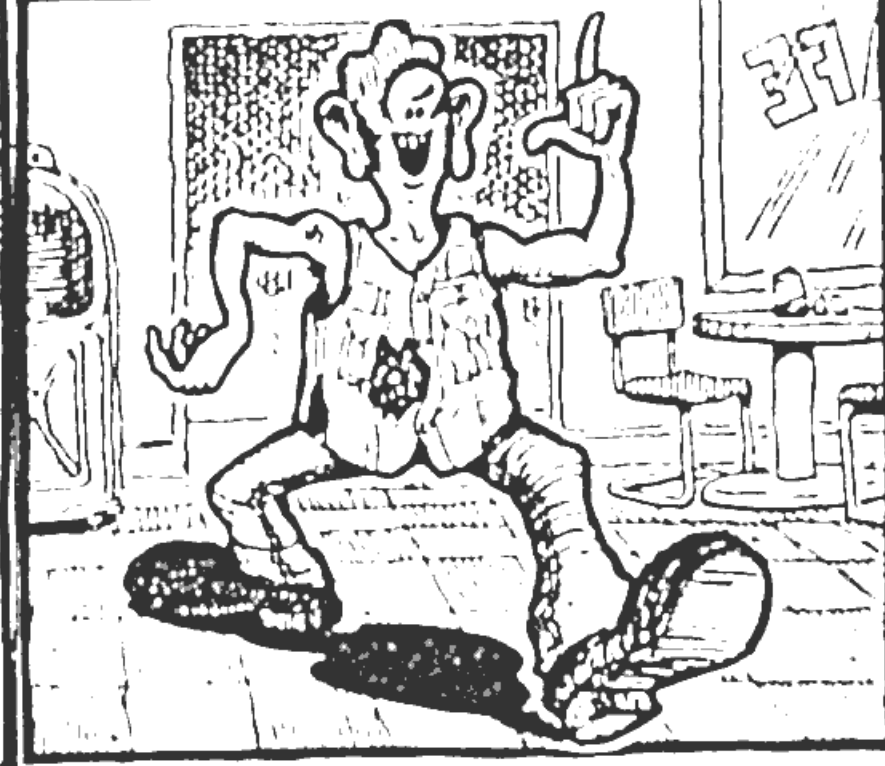
WELL, ONE DAY, RIDIN' ON MY HOG,
I SPIED THIS OL' SQUASHED DEAD CAT;



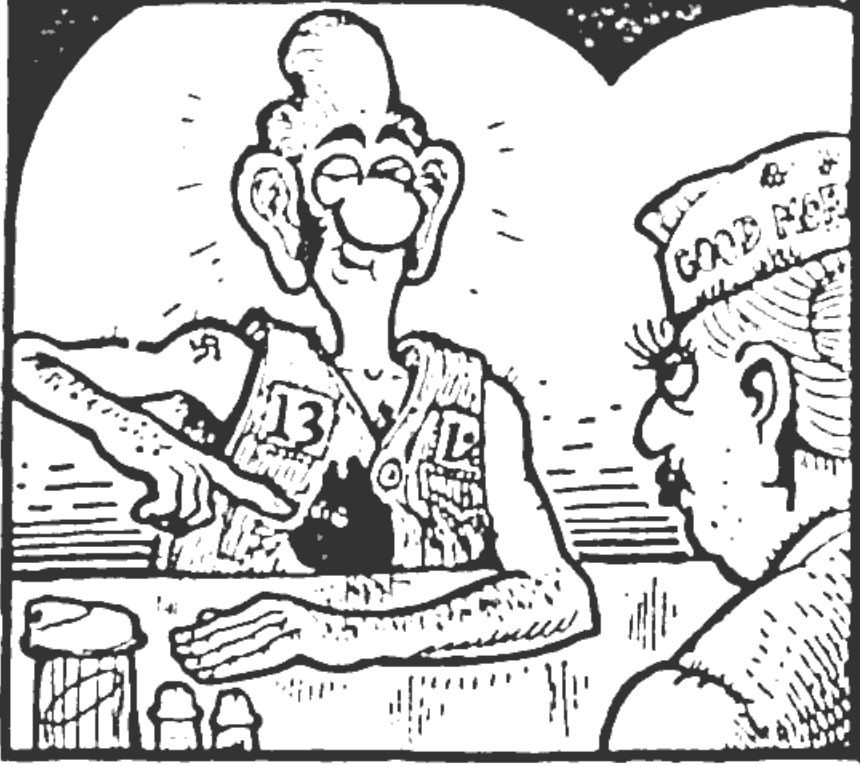
SO I STUCK IT IN MY COLORS
WITH ITS HEAD LEFT OUT TO PAT;



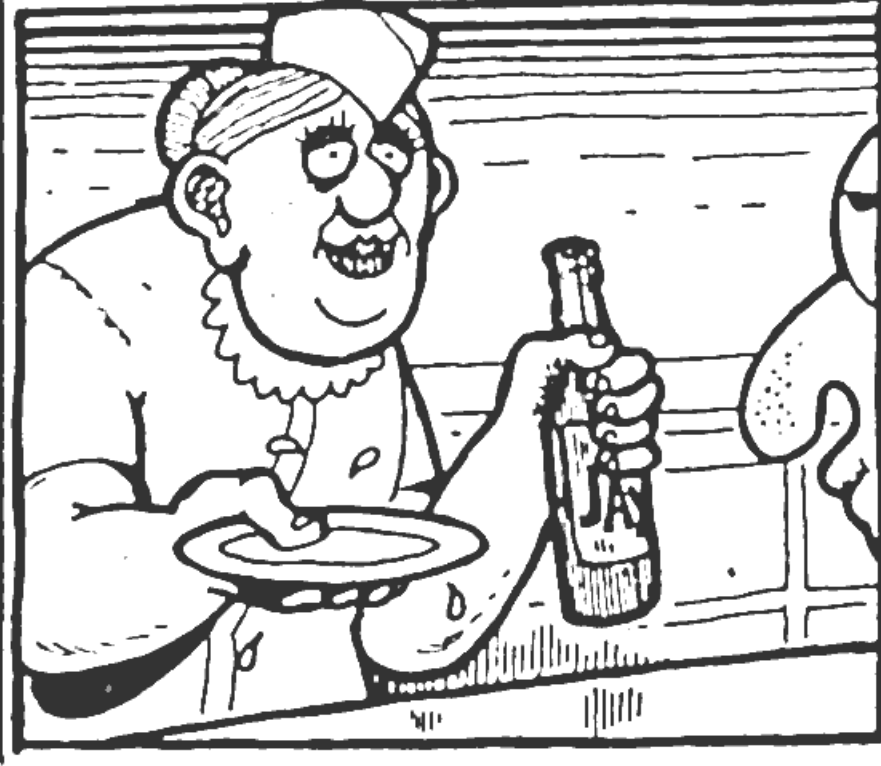
I WENT INTO A RESTAURANT
AND I SAID, "GIVE ME A BEER..."



AND A LITTLE SAUCER FULL OF MILK
FOR MY KITTEN CAT IN HERE!"



WELL, THE WAITRESS BROUGHT IT TO ME FREE
JUST BECAUSE I WAS SO KIND...



AND WHEN I SHOWED HER THAT WASTED
CAT,
IT REALLY BLEW HER MIND!



POSTER SHOP

Up the Commonwealth

Join the E.E.C.



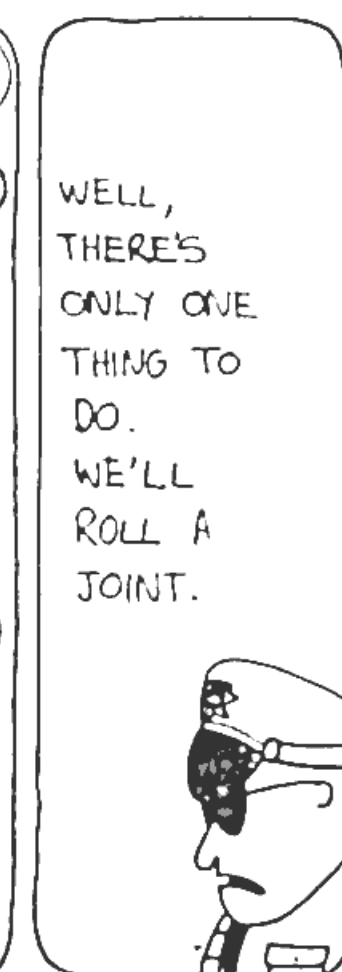
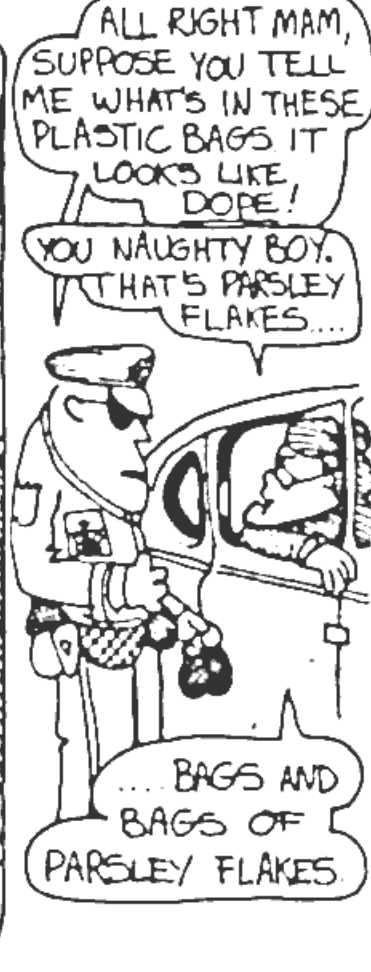
Pioneer coffee lounge

above Wardle's Wills St.
Specialising in
morning and afternoon teas.
Try our hot lunch
and tea meals.

Relax Midst Our
Old World Decor
Open Mon-Thurs 10 a.m.-8
p.m.

Friday 10 a.m.-12 mid-
night
Saturday 6 p.m.-12 mid-
night

THE CONTINUING STORY OF G.B.



YOU CAN TAKE IT ANYWHERE

handy, easily chilled,
reasonably priced,
great beer in the
go anywhere can!





Rich Weaver, 25, stocky, dapper in double-breasted blazer, yellow razor-styled hair in place despite the breeze, stands on a wooden platform in the shadow of the California state capitol columns, alone but for a battery of microphones. He squints in the mid-day glare, surveying the scene before his eyes. A quarter-mile away, thousands of young people massed into ranks are heading towards the capitol mall where Weaver is waiting. He hears them singing, only faintly; and he sees the placards they wave, too distant to read, though Weaver knows them by heart. They say: "Jesus Loves You," "Jesus Lives," "Dynamic Duo; You and Jesus."

He adjusts a cufflink and clears his throat; now the procession is much closer. Here and there Weaver



When he was a youngster in Mississippi, Blessit dreamed of being an evangelist like Billy Graham, preaching before enormous crowds at the Sugar Bowl in New Orleans, turning them on, thousands baring their souls for Christ. Instead he was called to the fount of American popular culture: "Everything from the way you dress to the way you kiss is set by Hollywood standards, and if any place needs the Gospel, it's here."

His parishioners aren't the easy-going southerners of his fantasies. "Most of the people who walk through these doors," he said, "are either involved with drugs, or just empty and lonely, trying to get their heads together. They've looked at most things the world has to offer and turned them down."



the artists and writers of the Liberation Front crank out buttons (I'm a Jesus Freak"), bumper strips ("Super Soul Shepherd Jesus"), psychedelic religious posters, and an offset tabloid, Right On, filled with accounts of conversions, evangelistic editorials, even reviews of "inspirational films". Additional the Front peppers Berkeley with religious tracts, among them a series entitled "Letters to the Street Christians", which spreads the Gospel with a heavy sprinkling of "right on" and "dig it."

Personal testimony still wins more converts than anything else. Without much prompting converts recite a litany of horrors from their past - broken homes, suicides, drugs, jail, minds blown by acid and desperation. Now, they tell you, they have found



jesus

saves



can distinguish a rapt face. Jesus on their lips. Then the parade reaches the edge of the mall and the first ranks of marchers, pressed from the rear, rush the last few yards to the capitol steps. Suddenly, the plaza is alive with kids, and the late-comers overflow onto the capitol lawn.

Looking down into the swarming mass of faces from his wooden island, Weaver comes to life, grasping the microphone, and cries: "They're still coming, they're still coming. Can you believe the revolution is on?"

A murmur from the crowd. All eyes turn to Weaver, everyone anticipating what will follow. A hush. "What revolution?" Weaver inquires casually, waiting to hear.

"The Jesus Revolution," roars back the crowd, and Weaver becomes more animated, eyes blazing, darting from face to face.

"That's right! The revolutions of hate and drugs are antiquated revolutions. It's time for a spiritual revolution. It's time for Jesus people to carry the banner high and scream it - 'Jesus is alive' - up with the Jesus revolution!"

"Right on, praise the Lord!"

Any of the 8000 young people who assembled in Sacramento that sunny day in February - on a day the Californian state legislature proclaimed Spiritual Revolution Day - will tell you that Jesus is indeed coming bringing with him a revolution of earth-shaking proportions.

"We're marching for Jesus to show we love him and that he is really here," declared a teenaged girl with a portrait of Jesus silk-screened on her T-shirt.

"We've tried everything and only Jesus Christ lasts," said Trusty, 19, who, with four companions, walked the last fifty miles to the rally lugging a 150-pound cross. "You're seeing the beginning of one of the most massive religious movements in 2000 years," he said.

This new-style fundamentalist revival has spread rapidly across the country. "Every day with Jesus is sweeter than the day before," say these mostly young, long-haired children of America: Middle-class teenagers from the suburbs, ex-drug addicts and acid cultists, blacks from big city ghettos, and baby-faced veterans of Vietnam. All of them born-again Christians.

Hollywood, always cordial to evangelists, has been ripe for another attack of Jesus fever. Today, much of it emanates from "His Place" an unassuming two-story frame building on Sunset Strip where Arthur Blessit conducts nightly "soul-sessions" at midnight for his flock of speed freaks, acid heads, and left-over flower children. Blessit, who wears leather vests, bell-bottoms and beads, is known as the "Minister of Sunset Strip." He didn't leave the deep South until he was 20, ten years ago, and he speaks with a rich drawl.

Blessit, who once trekked across the country carrying a wooden cross, has developed special programs and rituals for his converts. When an addict "accepts the Lord," Blessit leads him to the toilet, and as the newlywon sinner flushes away his dope, Blessit and the other Jesus people sing a chorus of "Down, down, down, all my dope is gone."

Another of his stunts is to sweep through topless clubs on the Strip, posting "Turn on to Jesus," stickers on walls, glasses, chairs, anything he can reach before the bouncers arrive. Or he and his flock station themselves outside the clubs and talk about Jesus to redfaced conventioners who stumble out. At midnight, Blessit walks a few yards from his office to the narrow, main room of "His Place". He passes a knot of young blacks gathered around a pool table, walks past a multi-hued, plastic Jesus that throbs from the wall, and onto a low stage. The pool game stops, 40 hard-looking young people give their attention to Blessit. He smiles, and in a friendly huckster's voice begins:

"Awright now, let's hear it for Jesus!"

"Gimme a J!"

"Gimme a E!"

"Gimme a S!"

"Gimme a U!"

"Gimme another S!"

What does that spell?"

"Jesus!" Everyone shouts it for the first time that night...

Berkeley, where religious taste usually leans towards Meher Baba or Curdji Jeff, boasts a growing community of Jesus freaks (their term). At the fringes of the Berkeley campus, an evangelist in a raincoat buttoned to his chin runs down a fiery sermon to a crowd and ends it with:

"Dear Lord, save these sinners from the ways of hate and evil. Open your heart and pluck them from the eternal fires of hell. Show them your love, Dear Jesus, like you have shown it to me a thousand times over. Come into their hearts, sweet Jesus, come into their hearts." A few feet away, the Krishna monks chant and pound away at cymbals. A brave effort, but the Christian clearly has the crowd.

A few years ago, the sole evangelist in Berkeley was probably Hubert Lindsay, a former auctioneer from Arkansas. Lindsay, a gap-toothed middle-aged little man shouted himself hoarse haranguing spectators at political rallies with messages of doom and damnation.

Hubert disclaimed credit for the rapid spread of the Gospel in Berkeley, saying it has taken him by surprise. But some street Christians swear to his effectiveness. A Jesus freak at one of Hubert's sermons - who had been without food for two days - said he was converted on the spot when a loaf of bread mysteriously appeared in his hands.

The Jesus people are tireless prostelytizers, and

love, companionship and peace of mind. "I want to tell everyone I meet about Jesus," a street Christian named Roger said, followed by the inevitable question, "Say, brother, are you a Christian?"

The old-time religion it may be, with heavy reliance on scripted authority, but worship is likely to be communal, free-form, or otherwise unorthodox. On Sunday mornings, hundreds of young Christians gather in Convina Park near Los Angeles for a religious service complete with rocking paens to Christ provided by a band called Agape. In Berkeley, a regular Monday night biblestudy and worship service draws about 100 street Christians and students. They sing religious folk songs and take turns reading aloud from the Book of Acts.

Leading the activities one evening was Koala Bear, a hefty, amiable nouveau preacher with shoulder-length hair who looks strikingly like paintings of Jesus Himself. At one point, talking about the apostle Paul, Koala asked, "Did the Jews dig what Paul was laying down?"

"No man, they stoned him."

"Right on," Koala Bear said. "Now here's this dude Paul coming into town, bow-legged and bald, and the people - they're digging on Zeus..."

"What happened to change their minds?" a worshipper interrupted.

"I don't know what he said to them, but it must have been pretty good. I think he laid it right on them."

Revival in old-time religion brought with it a revival in the old American custom of public baptism. West Coast Jesus people are likely to be baptized in fountains, swimming pools, or the icy Pacific. Each month, thousands of young people gather for a public baptism in a sheltered cove near Laguna Beach in Southern California.

A more private ceremony was held at the beach near the Santa Monica Pier for a recently-converted young lady trapeze artist and her muscular partner. The only spectators were a knot of people from Hollywood's community of Christians, and fishermen casting in the nearby surf. Twenty feet offshore, Duane Pederson, a former night club magician, now a street minister and publisher of the underground Christian Hollywood Free Paper (circulation 260,000), tipped the pretty, dark-eyed lady once, and again, into the chilly water. Next, her partner.

Afterwards, a spectator rushed over with a blanket but the girl shrugged it off despite the cutting breeze. Her lips were turning blue but she was beaming.

"How does it feel?" someone asked.

"I feel so good, so good inside."

"Are you cold?"

"Not any more, I'm warm. The Lord keeps me warm."

At last count, there were an estimated 150 Jesus communes on the West Coast, perhaps 600 nationwide, with names like Tree of Life, Port of Call, God's Love, Ecstatic Umbrella, Green Rainbow. One congregation in Ohio calls itself Alice's Restaurant.

The fish was the early Christian's secret sign; the Jesus people have one too - index finger pointed to the sky. Each commune has a style of its own, as well as a "ministry," or mission. For some, it might be as vague as "grooving on the Lord." Others operate drug hot-lines, or religious coffee houses. All the commune dwellers practice evangelism from time to time, roaming the campuses and the streets alert for potential converts.

Clayton House, in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury, is furnished a lot like a Holiday Inn; turquoise couches and gold rugs. The people lean toward a middle American homogeneity. Sweaters, modest-length skirts for the ladies; the men wear ties. Kathy, who used to deal acid, displayed a photograph from the San Francisco Police Department blotter taken a year ago. It shows her with long, straight hair. Now it is arranged in a Bouffant, and held in place with hair spray. "When I cut myself off from my godless life, I cut off my hair to show I was really free," she said.

Hair is long and ample at God's Love, Berkeley's principal commune. Many of them are ex-street people and dopers. They don't look any different as Christians. "We're not hung up on material things," one of them explained.

God's Love takes up an entire three story apartment house in a grim neighbourhood of bars and laundromats near the Berkeley-Oakland line. Founded three years ago, it shares some of its 25 rooms with the Christian Liberation Front. Inside is a spacious common room created by knocking out interior walls. The furnishings were all donated or salvaged: a half-dozen stuffed chairs and couches arranged around the perimeter of the room. Pinned to the front door, a reminder: "Did Jesus OK it?"

The building's rent is a modest \$85 a month because the landlord is sympathetic to the commune's religious outlook. During a visit to supervise repairs, however, he scuttled nervously through the house, smiling wanly. How does God's Love pay its uneasy landlord? "We live on grace," one of the elders explained. "We're in a temple of the Lord. He promised to feed his faithful, and he does." That grace is augmented by the few members who

have jobs, and the contributions that sometimes come in from sympathetic churches or from Christian businessmen.

One young black man who had arrived at God's Love the day before to spend the night was attentive to the efforts of a pair of Jesus people telling him about rebirth. "Listen friend," said a bearded Texan named Joe, "man is sinful by nature, because man chose to go his own way. Without God, you're spiritually dead."

"I can dig it man, only sometimes, you know, I'm hungry. Then I think it's all right to rip off somebody. Je us didn't say nothing about that."

"You're dealing with Satan and the forces of evil and you've got to fight him off" said Joe more earnestly. "This is a revolution. You've got to ask for Jesus Christ in faith."

Then a girl with sleepy brown eyes and long red hair chimed in: "God has the power to fight the powers of darkness. But you have to accept him first. Accepting Jesus doesn't mean that a bolt of lightning is going to come down and strike you or anything. It's a wonderful feeling. You know that your life isn't your own. It's in God's hands. Life is a gift the Lord has given me. He wants me to put all my cares and problems in him. The more I depend on the Lord, the more satisfied I am."

"Praise the Lord," said Joe. He's from Crosby, Texas, from a family of Primitive Baptists, a sect, he says, more conservative than the Southern Baptist Church. "I've always been a Christian," he said. "I've always related to Jesus. What my parents told me made sense. I never doubted it."

At Texas Tech where he studied advertising art for a year, his fundamentalism went unchallenged. Not at a worldly Denver art school where Joe's preaching and witnessing made him the target of a campaign to make him "drink and go out with women." He resisted both vices. At 26, he's still resisting, although he's hung up because "God hasn't seen fit to send me a woman. People tell me it's not natural. Well, a Christian is not a natural man. The natural man died with Jesus on the cross. Sooner or later, divine grace will send me a woman."

Now he's art director of Right On, preparing himself for the end of the world, a belief he shares with most Jesus people. What if he hadn't become a Christian? 'd be a mess without Jesus, probably gay or maybe a gigolo. I know the desires of my flesh - money, fame and girls.

With the young supplying the Jesus movement's style and language, it's no wonder that a sizable Christian rock gospel scene should have emerged. One entire band in the Northwest - Wilson McKinley recently declared for Jesus.

Every week, the Christian street newspaper lists events billed as Jesus People Concerts, Sounds of Soul, or Gospel Rock Concerts, featuring groups with names like Agape, Simple Faith, Kentucky Faith Blue Grass and the Love Song.

What is the music like? In many cases, content outweighs style, which leads to such lyrics as "I don't worry, I don't fret, God ain't never failed me yet."

"Jesus people have a different concept of music," explained a street minister and amateur musician. "The music isn't always great quality but it's funky because it's about Jesus."

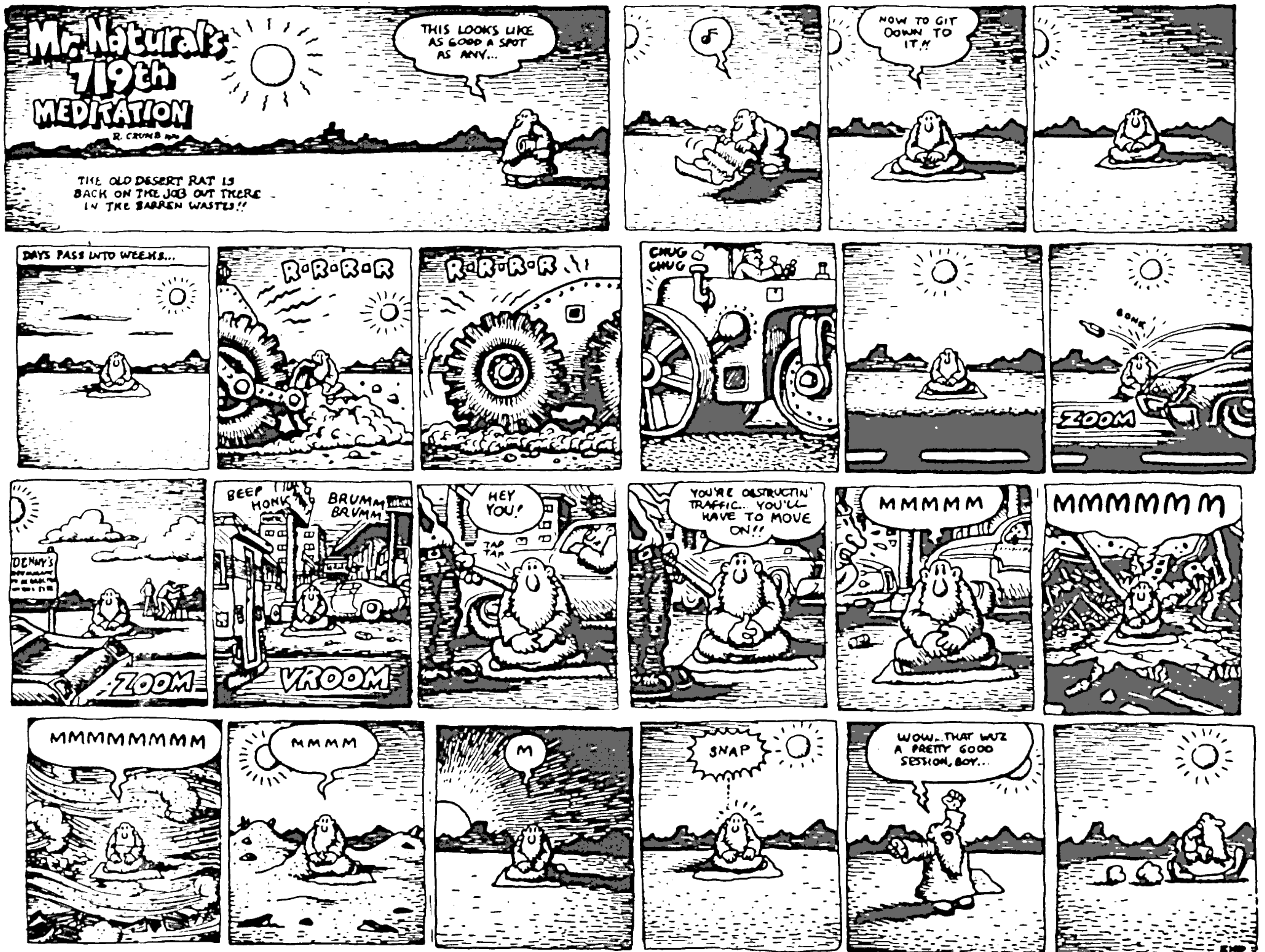
But a few professional musicians are playing Jesus music too. Chuck Girard's group, Love Song is now an acoustical "contemporary gospel" band. A few years ago it played the acid-rock night club circuit. Its members, at one time or another, went through eastern philosophies, vegetarianism, religious cults, and drugs - all, they say, in a quest for "truth and spiritual fulfillment." Girard started singing in high school, free-lanced as a studio background singer, and became involved with one hit, the Hondell's "Little Honda"

"The Jesus rock scene is pretty limited right now," Girard said, "because there isn't a lot of musicians and music, and most of the kids who play don't come from a professional background."

"When you ask somebody what our songs are about there's no ambiguity. It's right there in plain simple language with no deep intellectual vibes. What we're saying is Jesus, one way. If you want the answer follow it."

A musician also feels different playing Jesus music, Girard said. "There's a completely different purpose to it. It's not glorifying yourself or feeding your ego so people will say what a great musician you are. It's glorifying the Lord through the music. When you're really singing you can feel the Lord working, feel Him working through you, so that you're reaching the kids. I've seen kids come up to the altar and give their hearts to the Lord because the music affects them."

"It's not us, it's the spirit that comes through to them and speaks to their hearts."



RELIGION

and the Crisis of

The slogans 'Away with all religion and superstition', 'Man is at the dawn of a new era', 'Science is our hope' as they were bandied around at the beginning of this century are a far cry from our contemporary scene. Indeed, to read a copy of the 'Rationalist' Magazine today gives one the feeling that this style of thinking is more antiquated than the religious superstition it sought to overthrow. For the resurgence of interest in religion would seem to be one of the main features of our contemporary cultural crisis. One finds evidence from this from some seemingly unlikely sources. The February issue of *Affairs Magazine*, 1971, informs us that when its sample of New Zealand students was asked about what they wanted in the magazine, by far the most popular response was 'religion'. The Pop Music of our day touches upon religious themes with an obvious questing, whether it be from the Zen of John, the Hindu Mysticism of George or the Existentialism of Paul Simon. Drugs and Mysticism are a part of this scene (the relationship being suggested by Aldous Huxley; now advocated by High-Priest Timothy Leary.) It is very interesting too, that perhaps the most ambitious work in Pop Music to date has been the effort of two men, neither claiming to be Christians, to produce a version of the passion of Jesus Christ. Although the general mood that is echoed by those who would seem to be in the vanguard of today's Youth Culture is far from being pious or concerned with individual purity (although it is interesting to note that a recent interview with Marianne Faithful by *Nova* magazine discloses something of a problem when she says, with reference to the wreck of her personal life, 'I've had so many fuck-ups; but I wish I were clean.') there is at the same time a genuine searching after the all consuming questions of life; Who is man? What is the nature of God? What is justice? Why are things so unjust? What can be done about it? But perhaps most interesting of all within this context, is the fact that the arch-humanist Julian Huxley is now advocating religion - provided that it is scientific, and, in particular, provided it fits into his framework as the organ of the Psycho-Social Evolution of man, and gets rid of those vestigial organs of Theism and Revelation. Meanwhile, within the framework of more traditional religion, as it is found within our established churches one senses very little in the way of genuine spiritual and cultural life; on the contrary, one gains the impression that a large part of it is merely a memory.

One wonders sometimes, too, that if this is the only area in which our present culture is living upon memories. The way many of our political discussions are conducted, and the basis upon which policies are formulated would lead one to ask the question whether those responsible are merely carrying on a memory which they were brought up to value and even fight for, but somehow the real centre of the thing has been lost, and principles have given way to expediency. (And perhaps some of the really valuable things from the past, as for example, the benefits of our social security system, are being lost.) In artistic spheres too, the lag between contemporary art and the world it presents, and the general public has never been so great as it is today. Indeed, some people would seem to be still living on the culture generated before the turn of the century, and perhaps, too, are still living upon the memory of the world it presents. To live upon memories is a sign of old age, and might it be, culturally speaking, we are dying - if not already dead. The only areas in which we seem to be making headway is in that of increased Technological sophistication and possibly Economic

Efficiency, but that, too, is becoming doubtful. In any case, these are but the signs of life of a machine, well tuned - for what? Surely, one of the leading themes of the art of today is correct when it points to the death-like absurdity of our present condition, which rather than be described as having come of age, should be that of approaching senility.

Is it surprising then, that many would have us think in terms of two basic alternatives; to align ourselves with the Establishment and the Status Quo, with its lack of real base, except in terms of Technocratic Status-Seeking values or to take up a stance in opposition to it and all it stands for. The ways in which this opposition is exposing itself are essentially two, with major and minor variations. The first is to seek for some Mystical, Mind-expanding or perhaps even Pietistic Experience, which has on the one hand, the effect of filling up the individual's existential vacuum, and on the other can provide a means of relief (even to the extent of coping out) from the ever increasing complexity and apparent futility of modern life. (It is interesting to note the various art-forms that are attempting to provide situations in which this existential vacuum might be filled up by some 'medium is the message' type arrangement. The recent 'Collusion' effort on the University campus might be cited here, as an attempt upon the local scene.) The other direction is the one in which the outward form of the Establishment is to be challenged on more specific social and political issues, and radical activity is seen as the answer to the contemporary crisis. It is interesting of course, that with some this act of demonstration has definite religious connotations as it becomes a means of validating the will, or giving the individual the feeling that something matters after all, even to the point that with some, demonstration becomes a way of life. (I am not disputing the validity of the causes as just of moral causes; but however just or moral a cause may be to turn it into a religion could lead to disastrous results, particularly within a climate that has no real basis for distinguishing real justice from personal or social revenge, as one is confronted, for example, in Bergman's film *Virgin Spring*.) It would be an important point to note that in which ever direction the protest is made, there are those who would argue that the 'Generation Gap' is not just a slogan but has deep-seated cultural and religious roots. Theodore Roszak in his recent book *The Making of a Counterculture*, argues with particular reference to the American scene, that it is not just at the level of particular issues be they political, social or religious, that the real protest is being made but a 'Total REjection' of the system, as it is embodied in Technocratic values and their concrete destruction of human lives and the environment, as well as the dehumanised philosophy it sets forth. Furthermore, he argues that the whole thing is very deeply seated in our current orthodoxy; 'the Scientific World View'.

It is interesting within this context to note that what may be called the defining characteristic of the Secular Theology as it has become known, is the acceptance of the principles of the Scientific World View as defining what is real and knowable. At the same time they radically see its inadequacy with reference to the more central issues of life and endeavour, in their different ways, to say why and to provide some place for Christian terminology accordingly. Professor Geering has spoken about our culture as having Judeo-Christian roots and he has discussed our contemporary crisis in terms of our failure to recognise the current Secular Outlook as the fruit of the Judeo-Christian heritage, and also that

we have lost the faith that lay at the roots of this heritage and accordingly has diagnosed our contemporary dilemma: On the one hand there are those committed to a secularism without any long term or Ultimate Concern and on the other hand there are those who are still committed to the particular kind of Mythological World View of Christian Orthodoxy. What is required is a renewal of faith in our culture and that this must take a secular form.

Now while I agree that there is a great void in our culture due to its lack of base, I disagree with the diagnosis and the cure. This is not the place to go into a detailed examination of the Professor's views, but suffice it to say that I would find many difficulties in applying these views. For example, if the criteria for distinguishing between the Christian direction is in terms of a concern for 'history' rather than 'mythology', then how does one decide to act in a revolutionary age? Do we go the whole way with the Radical Priests in France and the Americas, and if not, why not?

Moreover, even if it could be decided that this is the distinguishing feature of the Judeo-Christian Tradition, would there not be a strong case for rejecting it outright - because of the evils of the Technocratic Society, for which this same tradition is presumably responsible? (Of course, these may be attributable to something else, but I have not been able to discern such a possibility from Professor Geering's thought) In any case, if I understand him correctly, 'history' and 'mythology' share the same 'Mythological' Language and, in this sense the way the words 'God' and 'Jesus' are used by Professor Geering amounts to a mysticism of a certain kind, because they are used to express a certain consciousness of faith, and not rooted to any discernable Object of Faith, for all such possible candidates would appear to be deemed idols.

Now, it would seem to me that in understanding Our Cultural Heritage, we should understand that as well as the Judeo-Christian strain, there has been a strong Humanist strain - gaining its inspiration, initially, from Greece and Rome. I would like to suggest that the real problem in all of this is not so much science or even the technical applications of science, but rather the general principles of a World view that are attributable to the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century intellectuals who really laid the foundations for our current secular orthodoxy on so many different fronts: including Philosophy, Art, Politics and Theology. Their main source of inspiration was Periclean Athens, and it might therefore be called a cultural movement with humanist inspiration and objective. In religion, Deism substituted the far-off God of Reason, for the Judeo-Christian God who had revealed Himself to men in His acts and in His Word. In the principles of what was real and knowable: (i) Reality was divided between Subject and Object (ii) The external object was real, and its reality was known by the subject only insofar as he could perceive it with his senses and give these coherence by the thought processes of his mind. The problems upon the subject side have been those with which many thinkers have grappled since the Enlightenment Period - to give significance to the specifically Human Enterprise - as opposed to the Enterprise within the natural arena and in many ways, they still provide the focus of the problem with which we are forced to deal. That the above principles of knowledge are woefully inadequate to deal with the Personal aspects of the universe, namely with the acts and purposes of Persons is the

Culture

d. i. roper

main theme of R. Blaikie's book *Secular Christianity and the God Who Acts* [The fact that we know what these are depends upon the assumption that the other person has them and is able to communicate them to us] There are, of course, many other aspects of the Enlightenment mentality which we could consider, such as the belief in unqualified progress the innate goodness of man; its affirmation that through the application of Science and Technology lays the means of achieving these goals.

Now, it would be important to distinguish the Growth of the Scientific Enterprise from the formulation of these wider Enlightenment Principles, although, of course the two are not unrelated; I would wish to take issue with the view that Science has forced these wider principles upon us. If anything, I think it is the other way round; that the Enlightenment - or a Secularising mentality - imposed the principles of the Scientific World View to such an extent that it now defines with is orthodox, and, of course in the day of the knowledge explosion, this means we all bow down to the expert.

Of course, the Enlightenment thinking has not been without its critics, in particular the twentieth century Existentialists and the nineteenth century Romantics, but their influence was limited only to an intellectual or cultural elite. I would suggest that the constant ebbing away of the secular forces, as these principles increasingly became accepted as defining that which was orthodox, have played a large part in the breakdown of effective life within the Church, and cultural life generally, and has had the effect of bringing the current crisis to a sociological one. For, it is apparent that the view of life as it was defined and worked out on the secular basis of the Enlightenment just cannot bear the load that it was supposed to carry, and it is this fact which lies at the centre of our present cultural crisis.

Some of the most influential ideas in the realm of general culture have been those which originated with the Dada and Surrealist movements in the early part of this century, and these were understood to be revolutionary movements and one of the central points with which this revolution was concerned was the revolt against that which was rational, and in its place to set up the cult of the irrational, the absurd, the mystical, the surreal, the dream, and the occult. In so doing there is a definite sense in which these cultural innovators were challenging the whole Western Tradition, both Judeo Christian and Humanist, and, of course, the interesting thing is that these ideas have spread through art and religion in all sorts of ways, frequently under the guise of the psychology of Freud, and Jung. There is a definite sense in which the Pop surrealist themes.

Furthermore, the fact that many of the Surrealists, particularly Andre Breton, were active in Communist Party affairs (although they were critical of its bureaucracy) is interesting because it is precisely this seemingly bizarre combination of Religious and Political ideas that is discussed by Theodore Roszak in the context of the Youth Counterculture.

Now, I have already suggested that the Secular Theology, both accepts the orthodoxy of the Scientific World View, and also senses its accepts the orthodoxy of the Scientific World View, and also senses its the Bible.

The Bible clearly makes the claim, at many points, to speak of things which God has revealed and also claims that God has acted in history. Now, which God has revealed and also claims that God has acted



The Thinker — Vilmos Czetenyi

in history. Now, of course, there is undoubtedly cultural features relating to the message and acts involved, and it is important and interesting to know what these were, but to go further and say that the whole idea of an existent God revealing Himself to a particular people in a special way, in order that they may be the vehicle of blessing to all people is simply a cultural way of saying that Israel had faith to move in a direction which would ultimately demythologize the Mythological World View, is to my mind a capitulation to the Enlightenment Principles, and a rejection of the Christian Idea of Revelation. However, the tension I mentioned is expressed by saying that despite all appearances, to the contrary, there was something of real value that was experienced back there and although we don't know what its content was, it was of sufficient value to be rediscovered by means of Existential Faith, and the relationship of this faith to that which is knowable is based upon the person of Jesus Christ. The only trouble is that it is here that the tension is really felt because the Christ of Faith is divorced from the Christ of History. Such is the dilemma to which we are led, if we accept as normative the Enlightenment Principles of what is real and knowable.

I would therefore, on these counts suggest that these Principles as they were embodied in the Secular Outlook of the Enlightenment, and have been subsequently worked out in various ways, have been responsible for many of our contemporary problems. Perhaps too, they were not unknown to certain sensitive men of that time. Maybe Goya, with his painting 'The Dream of Reason Produces Monsters' was the first modern prophet.

What is needed I suggest t is a basis upon which the empirical facts of man; his conscience his rationality, his aspirations toward love; meaningful interpersonal communication; freedom; normative morality and justice; the sense of wonder, mystery and the Transcendent, together with empirical facts of the natural aspects of the universe may be held together in a Unity, and I would wish to argue that such a World View is provided by the Bible, understanding it as God's special revelation to man setting out the situation in which a Truly Personal God has created a universe and Man in His own image within this universe with the task of bringing forth culture and understanding and controlling his environment but that this was not in and to man

himself but rather to glorify God his creator. (We need not get hung up here upon the precise means etc, would ultimately demythologize the Mythological World View, is to my fforth from both sides are inadequate).

Augustine said that he believed in order that he may understand and it is in this sense that I am endeavouring to set forth these ideas. They provide a basis upon which we may understand ourselves in relation to the total universe, not just to the natural aspects, if they are believed. In this way, I would suggest we have a proper basis for understanding.

- (i) Man's responsibility to ward a Transcendent God
- (ii) Man's responsibility toward other men as actual historical situations confront us. dilemma to which we are led if we accept as normative the Enlightenment
- (iv) The value of art and culture
- (v) In the way we are called to work out history, there are principles and values worth struggling for, and it is important to see justice, freedom and righteousness established
- (vi) The Basic Dilemma of Man is not that he does not know, but rather that he tends to suppress even that knowledge of God and of what is right that he does know, and therefore is morally guilty before God and is in need of a restored relationship with God upon that basis.

I believe that many of these principles once had a consensus in Western Culture, and that they brought forth things for which we can be thankful. (For example, the dignity and value of the individual person; the separation of the Powers of Church and State, neither of which could by the Bible, understanding it as God's special revelation to man; upon the basis of the Fallen Nature of Man, a distinction between justice and personal or social revenge.) I would like to suggest that before we jump blindly off into some form of Eastern Mysticism, take a plunge into Existentialist Faith radically overturn the Establishment. or continue the Rat Race, we at least think carefully about the possibility that the change of thinking during the Enlightenment may have been a wrong move and that may be that in our claiming to be wise we have become fools, and that perhaps we might be looking to Gods that are not, and to answers which are not.

HOW IT WILL HAPPEN HERE!

Training Wing: Papakura Camp Methods

INTERNAL SECURITY

Methods of Suppressing Unlawful Assemblies and Riots

Introduction

1. This precis explains in detail the action which should be taken by armed forces when suppressing an unlawful assembly or a riot in any country where the English law applies. In countries where the English law has been modified the instructions given in this precis will have to be adapted to meet the requirement of the local law. It is essential therefore that all military commanders should acquaint themselves with local law. Wherever possible references from the NZ Crimes Act will be given so a comparison may be made.

Outline Plan

2. If widespread disorders are expected military intervention to deal with unlawful assemblies and riots need to be preplanned and rehearsed by the civil police and military authorities together. Outline plans should cover the following:-
 - (a) An assessment of the different types of disturbance likely to develop, their probable locations and strength and action needed to suppress them.
 - (b) An assessment of what troops will be required for each locality and the earmarking of a specific unit for each task.
 - (c) Arrangements for establishing joint Military/Police operational HQs.
 - (d) The channel through which requests for military assistance will be made.
 - (e) Preparation of special stores e.g. banners in the appropriate language etc.
 - (f) Arrangements for joint and secret reconnaissances as necessary.
 - (g) Training and rehearsal of all concerned including the testing of communications and the procedure for handing over/taking over a riotous situation.
3. It is essential that when the armed forces are called upon to deal with an unlawful assembly or a riot the following points be noted:
 - (a) That it is desirable for each body of troops to be accompanied by a magistrate or his representative e.g. Police Officer.
 - (b) That the military commanders must be prepared to intervene on their own authority if necessary (NZ Crime Act 1961 Sec 46).
 - (c) That the troops should be ready to intervene immediately on arrival at the scene of a disturbance for if there is a delay it tends to allow a build up in front of them.

Dispersal of a Crowd

4. Once it is deemed necessary for armed forces to intervene the military commander is entirely responsible for deciding the course of action to be taken. At the same time he should be guided by advice given by the police or civil authorities.

Methods

5. If possible a commander will use non-violent means e.g.:-
 - (a) Verbal and visual persuasion bugles etc.
 - (b) The reading by a magistrate under the Riot Act (or its Sec 88).
 - (c) Producing of cameras to photograph others to enable them to see the truth of the peace.
 - (d) A steady advance of soldiers in this form of threat must be quite certain that the troops will charge the crowd and hand-to-hand.
6. If all these methods are ineffective drastic action will have to be taken.

Opening Fire

7. The responsibility for deciding when to open fire rests with the commander on the spot. He is not responsible for an opinion given by civil authorities for an opinion given by the commander is the responsibility for his actions under sections 89 (3).
8. When the commander decides that it is necessary to restore a situation as far as possible to normalcy the following will be as follows:-
 - (a) The crowd will be warned that if they do not disperse fire will be opened unless they do so.
 - (b) The order to fire will be given by the commander himself to the fire unit in a loud voice indicate that the fire is to be fired (minimum force).
 - (c) Marksmen should be used to fire from a distance but an effort should be made to fire from the front.

Types of Weapons "Fire" to be used

9. When fire is produced the following points should be noted:
 - (a) That it must be effective.
 - (b) That no firing of blank cartridges should be used.
 - (c) That fire should be directed at the front of the crowd and not be seen to be taking aim at individuals.
 - (d) That by firing low on targets innocent people behind or even killed by ricochet.
 - (e) That the rifle is the best because its fire is easy to control.
 - (f) That rapid fire from rifle should be used in the gravest emergency if shots have failed.
 - (g) That in a really serious case an armoured vehicle is a powerful weapon if such a vehicle is present in the area of the riot.

Action after firing

10. The effect of the firing must be noted and the number of casualties but by the subsequent action taken as soon as it is considered that the following action will be taken.



try to disperse the crowd by using loudspeakers, banners and (police) of the proclamation (bivalent)(NZ Crimes Act 1961)

graph ringleaders, agitators, and identified later as disturbers

with fixed bayonets. However be used if the commander is will not come in contact with rioting breakout.

ve or impracticable then more en. (NZ Crimes Act 1961 Sec 89).

open fire is solely that of ask representatives of the but he cannot ask them to share (NZ Crimes Act 1961 Sec 43)

must be resorted to in order possible the subsequent action

l available means the effective disperses at once.

n by the military commander rned. He will clearly and in a , and the number of rounds to

vide fire. One man may be used o conceal his identity.

g points must be noted:-

e ordered.

ely directed at persons who can part in the disturbance.

oads or other hard surfaces cent to the crowd may be injur.

pon to use against a crowd ntrol.

automatic weapons should only cy and only when individual

the threat of fire from an errent to a hostile crowd but t must be closely protected by

be judged by the number of eactions of the crowd. As desired effect has been achieved

- (a) Firing will be stopped at once. Empty cartridges cases will be collected and checked.
 - (b) Immediate assistance will be given to any wounded.
 - (c) Any necessary steps will be taken to facilitate the clearing of the area. In this operation it is essential that exits are not blocked, that the crowd on the move in the right direction is not stampeded and that NO action involving violence is taken against persons while attempting to disperse.
 - (d) If practicable efforts will be made to obtain names and addresses of neutral witnesses who saw the military action and firing.
 - (e) Any dead bodies must be collected and held until they can be handed over to the police. They must not be allowed to be removed by relatives or friends.
 - (f) Any persons who have been apprehended will be held until they can be handed over to the police.
11. Finally the armed forces and police or rep. must remain at the scene of the disturbance until it is clear that the situation has been restored.

Records

12. When armed forces are called upon to operate in support of the civil power it is important that complete records are made of all the happenings as they occur. Therefore commanders at all levels should arrange for a form of diary to be kept in which is recorded such things as:-
 - (a) Important events in their chronological order
 - (b) Brief details of any orders received and issued either in writing or verbally.
 - (c) Factual information such as the names of civil representatives, police officers with whom the commander has consulted etc.
 - (d) Brief details of any requests, proposals and advice given by civil authorities.
 - (e) Reasons for decisions subsequent action taken and results.
13. Photographs form a valuable record of the situation. Military action in support of a civil power is often subject to an enquiry therefore it is essential to be able to establish the facts.
14. Attached at Annexure A is a detail plan for platoon crowd dispersal.

Employment of Troops in a Police role

15. In the above paragraphs are described the NORMAL methods by which troops will assist the civil power in dispersal of unlawful assemblies and riots. They are armed and equipped as soldiers and act as such. However in certain exceptional circumstances overseas a governor or commander in chief of his equivalent may decide to authorise troops to be used in a Police role e.g. armed with batons and shields to reinforce the local police force. It is emphasized that this is not a normal method of aiding civil power and will not be used without direct orders from a governor or Commander in Chief.

Conclusion

16. It must be remembered that whatever the circumstances or the method used the principles must always be the guiding force.

Necessity
Minimum Force
Impartiality
Good Faith

Extracts from the prophecies of Nostradamus

Nostradamus lived in Provence, in Southern France and first published his book of prophecies in 1555, calling it *The Centuries*. At first sight these verses are obscure and difficult, written in a doggerel mixture of French, Latin and Old Provençal. They seem to tell of nothing but the usual gloomy forecasts of death, destruction, famine, plague and pestilence — just like any other crank. But suddenly, a line catches the eye: 'The London Parliament shall put its king to death,' 'The great fire of three times twenty and six,' 'An Emperor shall be born near Italy,' 'Hister, Captain of the Greater Germany,' 'A king who shall abdicate because of a divorce, Three brothers who shall come to power in the New Land of America... 'A wall dividing a city'... yet a third antichrist to come after Napoleon and Hitler whose war shall be more dreadful than any yet known... All these references mean something to the present day reader, and if they do, isn't it reasonable to assume that some of the other things that Nostradamus foresees for our future may also come true?

Nostradamus writes of generalities such as the failing of Christian beliefs and financial inflation in Europe, but he also sees much more specific things as the changing of geographical boundaries, new people in power, new alliances and new wars to come. Writing over 400 years ago he tells of Israel's fight for her newly created country, and an eventual defeat for the U.A.R.

'A new law shall occupy a new land near Syria, Judea and Palestine. The great Barbarian Empire (that is, non-Christian Empire) shall crumble before the century of the Sun is finished.' Astrologically the 20th century is the century of the sun!

The present Vietnam talks in Paris, started when de Gaulle was still in power, seem to be clearly seen, together with their outcome. Nostradamus even realizes how the Vietnamese will travel — by aeroplane! 'The man from the East shall leave his land, cross over the Appenines (Italy) to see France. He shall pass through the sky (over) the seas and the snow, and with one blow shall strike each with his staff.'

Many of the prophecies that have not obviously been already fulfilled are concerned with a third war in this century. This is linked with the birth of three brothers in America, a wall across a city, a Pope named Paul and an alliance between Russia and the West which shall so terrify the East that it shall be forced into declaring war. Maybe this all sounds very general, but what about this verse?

Nostradamus clearly foresaw the installation of the Polaris missiles at Holy Loch, and even the influence brought to bear on Macmillan at the time. 'The London premier, through American power shall burden the island of Scotland with a cold thing... which shall lead everyone into trouble.' There isn't much need to comment on the fact that this last line expresses the views of many people, not least the C.N.D.

Certainly the Cuba crisis, followed by John F. Kennedy's assassination was clearly seen, as Nostradamus visualises these two things happening before the removal of the Berlin wall and the next war. 'Before the war the great wall shall fall. A great man shall die, a very sudden and grieved death. The fleet, incomplete, shall travel the greater part of the way.' Could this line be bettered in describing Khrushchev's fleet carrying the remaining missiles to Cuba, and its subsequent turn-about when faced with the American blockade? And this was indeed closely linked in time with John Kennedy's assassination.

Edward Kennedy shall come to power in America within the next decade. He will, inevitably, be accused of seeking office and power on the strength of his late brothers'

Cromwell and the Roundheads
VIII 76 "Plus que Roy en Angleterre Lieu obscur par force auto l'Empire."

A man who is more of a butcher than a king in England, from obscure origins shall gain the Empire by force.

V 60 "Par testes rase viendra bien mal eslire."

Through the shaven heads (Roundheads) (England) shall have chosen very badly. Some people say that testes refers to Napoleon.

VII 13 "De la cite maritime et tributaire La teste raze prendra la satrapie."

The short-haired man shall assume power in the maritime city as London was then called



Napoleon Buonoparte

IX 20 "Un Empereur naistra pres d'Italie — Qui a l'Empire sera vendu bien cher."

An Emperor shall be born near Italy (note Emperor and Corsica) who shall cost his Empire dear.'s,

VII 57 "De soldat simple parviendra en Empire De robbe courte parviendra a la longe."

A simple soldier shall attain to the Empire from the short robe (of a Consul) he shall attain to the long (the Imperial robe was long).

IV 26 "Lou grand eyssame se levera d'abelhos (De nuech l'embousz lou gach dessous las Freilhos) Cuitad trahide par cinqu lengos non nudos."

A great swarm of bees shall arise. A city shall be betrayed by five speakers officially dressed.

1. Napoleon's coat of arms was a swarm of bees.
2. The coup d'état of 18 Brumaire when Napoleon took over power from Directoire was organised the previous night (1779).
3. The jay is Napoleon — popinjay — shall live in the Royal residence.
4. The five speakers, the five members of the Directoire, who, in official robes, handed Paris over to Napoleon.

Hitler. IX 90 "Un Capitaine de la Grande Germanie Se Viendra rendre par simile secours."

A captain of Greater Germany (ie Third Reich) shall come to them (Poland) with a pretence of help.

II 24 "Plus part du champs encore ister sera (u cage de fer le grand le fera treisner) Quant rien enfant de Germain observa."

Hitler shall be in possession of an even greater area (the great one shall be dragged in a cage of iron prison when the child of Germany observes no law. Note. Allowing for the confusion of old l and s, Hister is even closer to modern Hitler and is mentioned in several quatrains. The Hister

name. 'The successor shall avenge his handsome brother and take power beneath the shadow of vengeance.'

It is during the era of the three brothers that Nostradamus sees America as enjoying a time of great prosperity, as indeed it is. But it is also at this time that the seeds of war shall be sown — 'The nation in comfort shall suddenly be cast down — the world put into difficulties by three brothers.'

Nostradamus seems to foresee the escalation of the tensions of the cold war during this present time leading to a gradual shift in the balance of world power. The three brothers are also linked with a Pope Paul, the present Pope is Paul VI, and with France. He can't refer to other than this Pope Paul and Paul V ruled in the 16th century. Could the link with France refer to Jacqueline Kennedy whose maiden name, Lee Bouvier, is French? Here is the quotation: 'Pope Paul shall die three leagues from Rome (or Rhone, the texts vary); then war shall take on its most terrible aspect. The cock and the eagle, France and the three brothers.'

He also links the Kennedy's with trouble in the East. In their lifetimes we have already suffered the Korean War and Vietnam and there is probably a future war with an expanding China to come. 'Near the water shall three be born; their full fame shall grow and cause terror in the East.' A political motive seems to lie behind the deaths of all three brothers. It is interesting to note that Nostradamus sees clearly that only two of them shall actually come to power, but all three shall be assassinated. 'L' antichrist trois, bien les trois annichiliz.' 'The third antichrist shall indeed kill the three.'

Nostradamus is quite certain that war shall start in the East as the result of an alliance formed between Russia and the West, which shall cause China's leader to reassess his situation and allies. 'One day the two great leaders shall be friend; their great power shall be seen to increase. The New Land (America) shall be at the height of its power and the man of blood shall reassess his allies.'

It has often been said by both political and military commentators that too great a build up of defence forces creates an aggressive situation. Nostradamus certainly thinks that the West should diminish rather than increase its nuclear build-up. 'Those of the Arctic Pole shall be united together. There shall be in the East great fear and dread.' It is fear that shall force China into war. 'The East shall quake for fear of the two brothers of the North who are not brothers,' and so, 'Men shall be conscripted over all of Asia.' Even Africa shall be drawn into the war, surprisingly perhaps, on the side of the West. 'Black and white shall join together. But the red and yellow ones shall violate their people, blood, fire, etc. . .'

The war shall apparently break out three years after the formation of the Russian Western alliance. 'The power left to two men shall last a very short time. Three years and seven months having passed they shall make war.' Here we have a dating problem because elsewhere in *The Centuries* Nostradamus states that the next war shall begin in 1999. I think that like all medievals he was greatly influenced by the idea that the end of the century would bring the traditional end of the world, or at least, the end of our civilisation. After all, what is thirty years or so out over a period of more than four centuries? I feel that a truer date is in the 1970's.

'When Edward Kennedy is in power' in America, Britain's relationship with France shall greatly improve and this new state of affairs will last for an appreciable time. With the British entry into the Common Market. 'For a long time Britain and France shall

become allied' and France shall be criticized by the other members for her refusal to let us join earlier 'France shall be accused of neglect by her five partners.'

Although Nostradamus gives us the names of Napoleon and Hitler almost exactly (Napoleron and Hister) the name of the third Antichrist doesn't seem to be in The Centuries, or if it is, it isn't one that is immediately recognizable. But this was often the case with other predictions interpreted in advance of their time. Until the 1930's all commentators thought the name Hister to be meaningless and usually interpreted it as the river Danube — from its old name Ister, or as meaning a comedian, from the Etruscan word. I think the name is probably somewhere in the verses as Nostradamus refers so often to the antichrist from the East.

Nostradamus visualises the war quite as dreadful as we know an atomic war will be, one that escalates as each side strikes in turn. This is exactly how the American nuclear expert Kahn predicts that modern wars will develop, each side making a strike in exact proportion to the damage inflicted by the other.

'Twice on top, twice cast down, the East shall also weaken the West.' Apparently lack of sea power shall be an important factor in the final defeat of the East. Finally, however 'the victor shall be born on American soil.' Then the principal Eastern ruler being moved for the most part by men of the West and North, shall be conquered. 'The Eastern ruler shall be driven away and brought to nothing, not altogether by means of the strength of the North.' What this last cryptic line refers to we can only guess — internal political struggles, natural disasters, some new factor has yet to appear.

There are too many linking factors that have already happened. Pope Paul, the wall across Berlin, the two Kennedy brothers who are already dead; all we have to wait for is the Russian Western alliance and the emergence of the third antichrist whom he states is responsible for the Kennedys' deaths. Then we shall know exactly how close to war we may be. After all, even five years ago President Nixon's diplomatic visit to Rumania would have been unthinkable. One realises how quickly we are moving towards this new balance of power as predicted by Nostradamus.

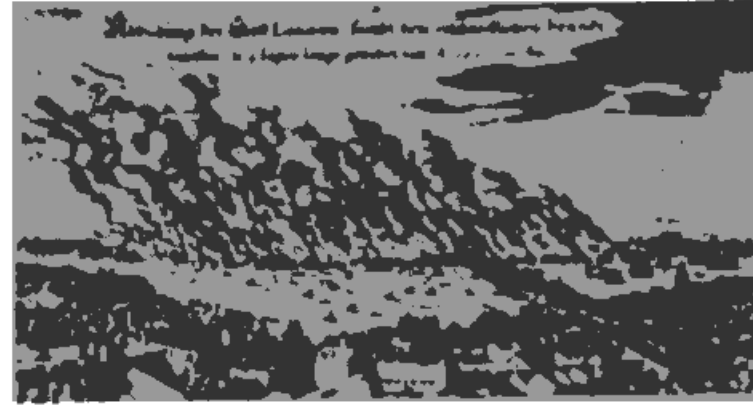
Conditions during the war period are bad and seem to describe our nuclear age and fallout very vividly. Nostradamus talks of a pestilence raining down upon the northern areas of the world, which brings to mind the deadly black atomic rain which fell over Nagasaki and Hiroshima, an after effect of the atom bombs.

There shall be great famine because of a pestilence that shall rain down for a long time along the Arctic Pole. And again, 'the dreadful war that is being prepared in the West, the following year shall come the pestilence so very dreadful that neither young nor old nor even animals (shall survive).' You must realise that by pestilence Nostradamus couldn't mean Bubonic plague. He worked as a doctor among the plague-stricken towns of southern France and was renowned for his famous cures. As a doctor he would know that normal diseases do not kill large animals (beste) as well as people.

New York seems likely to suffer an attack though its main water supply — an idea more natural to James Bond than a sixteenth century seer! 'The Garden of the World, near the New City, in the road of hollow mountains, shall be seized and plunged into trouble by being forced to drink water poisoned by sulphur.' I wonder if the hollow mountains are sky scrapers — it seems a pretty apt description of them.

The northern part of the world shall suffer greatest devastation and the northern governments shall be forced to shift their seats of power to the Southern Hemisphere. 'The new world in desolation shall be moved to the Southern Pole.' Apparently due to the rotation of the earth and the consequent winds and ocean currents any radiation would be carried in definite bands around the earth, and the Southern Hemisphere would be comparatively much safer. When eventually the war drags to an end after 27

quatrains were used by German astrologers to indicate the rise of Hitler before the war began. The orisoner is usually interpreted as obtain.



Great Fire of London and Plague 1666.
*II 51 "Le sang du juste a Londres fera faute
 Brulez par foudres de vingt trois les six."*

The blood of just men shall be lost, burned in the great fire of three times 20 and 6 (ie '66).

II 53 "La grand peste du cite maritime ne cessera que mort ne soit vengee Du just sang . . ."

The great plague in the maritime city shall only cease when the blood of just men has been avenged.

Note. Two points here, "Cite maritime" is always London; the linking of the theme of innocent men "sang juste" in both the plague and the Great Fire of London.

John F. Kennedy and Cuba (these predictions are linked with a third world war and the Berlin Wall.

(Avan le conflict le grand mur tombera) II 57 "Le grand a mort trop subite et plainte Nef imparfait, la plus part nagera."

Before the war (3rd) the great wall shall fall. A great man shall go to a sudden and bewailed death. The ship — incompleated — shall go the greater part of the journey.

VIII 46 "Car Mars fera le plus horrible throsne De cog et d'argle — de France — freres trois."

War shall take on its most fearsome aspect. The cock (France) and the eagle (America) France and the three brothers . . . Note. There is always the linking of this theme. Possibly France here is Jacqueline Kennedy who came from French Canadian family, Le Bouvier — or does this tie in with Vietnam peace talks?

V 81 "Sept mois devant fera nochine augure Mur d' Orient cherra."

Seven months there shall be a sign by night — the wall in the East shall fall.

Bombs

V "Serra laisse feu vif, mort cache, De dans les globes horrible espouvantable."

There will be let loose living fire and hidden death in globes of dreadful fear.

Fallout.

IX 55 "L'horrible querre qu'en occident s'appreste L'ensuivant viendra la pestilence Si fort terrible que jeune vieil ne beste . . ."

The dreadful war being prepared in the West shall be followed by a pestilence so dreadful that neither young nor old nor beast (shall survive it).



years of sporadic fighting, Nostradamus predicts an era of peace for a united mankind. Perhaps those of us who are left 'two parts out of three of the world having failed' shall have learnt some sort of lesson?

It is hard to see much further into the future other than in a very general way. Nostradamus may foresee space travel in these lines. 'The great motor (moteur) at the renewal of the century . . . in the sky shall be seen flying a long shining tail of light.' But equally, this could apply to Halley's Comet which is due to reappear towards the end of this century. Having foreseen aeroplanes perhaps 'machines of flying fire' are bombs, or rockets. These visualisations, general though they are, are pretty remarkable when one thinks of the date when they were written.

I am sure a lot of people will want to dismiss Nostradamus and The Centuries as rubbish, to regard any interpretation of them as wishful thinking. I admit that it is easy for any one who studies them to be tempted to read more into the verses than is there. But very few people realize that several 20th century governments have taken his writings very seriously indeed. During the early part of the last war Goering and Himmler believed strongly in astrology and predictions, and they financially subsidized a man called Ernst Krafft who published his authorized interpretation of Nostradamus' Centuries early in 1940; paying particular attention to the Hitler verses. This publication was taken so seriously by British Intelligence that at the advice of Sefton Delmer 50 fake Nostradamus quatrains were printed in Britain and dropped over Germany — interpreted as predicting Germany's final downfall. France herself was so afraid under the Petain government of offending the occupying German forces that it suppressed all publications of Nostradamus, and neutral Switzerland would only publish them without a commentary, on the grounds that the verses were 'too specific.'

Nostradamus was important in his own lifetime too. He was a renowned European scholar, he had a doctorate at Montpellier University and he wrote a paper before Galileo stating that the earth was round and circles round the sun. The Queen of France, Catherine de Medici, consulted him on several occasions because of various prophecies he had made concerning her husband and children — all of which came true. Many people were present when the royal family travelled Southwards through France and heard Nostradamus predict that the young page in the Queen's retinue, Henri de Navauae, would one day be King of France. At that time Catherine had six children living!

Nostradamus's predictions were quoted by ambassadors in their dispatches — he probably influenced various foreign policies — and the people were so afraid of him that he was burnt in effigy in Paris when advising the Queen. During his lifetime forgeries of The Centuries were already appearing in France, and many editions of The Centuries also appeared in England. One cannot just dismiss Nostradamus simply as a crank who dabbled in magic. He was surely a prophet of some kind, possibly in as much as we can explain prophecy by telepathy, clairvoyance and extra-sensory perception. Nostradamus tells the reader in the preface that he has deliberately muddled up the verses and the chronology to protect himself against charges of witchcraft.

Some of his predictions are very obscure, but others seem to me to be extremely clear. The amount of predictions that have come true certainly exceed the mathematical bounds of probability. He would have had to have written millions of verses for that not one thousand.

Will this gloomy future that Nostradamus foretells come true? Most fortune tellers believe that the future can be changed and that predictions are only to be understood as warnings. If the person involved takes heed he can change his future. It seems too much to hope that the world, having obligingly fulfilled so many of Nostradamus's predictions to date, will pull itself together and change the possible course of history.



INTERVIEW

with

CHARLES REICH

"There is a revolution coming. It will not be like revolutions of the past. It will originate with the individual and with culture, and it will change the political structure only as its final act. It will not require violence to succeed, and it cannot be successfully resisted by violence. This is the revolution of the new generation."

—Charles A. Reich in
The Greening of America.

This modest observation introduces a recent book called "The Greening of America." Many readers will find nothing very startling about Reich's thesis that much of society's hope surely lies with its youth, but this idea has nevertheless plunged its author, a mild-mannered Professor of Law at Yale University, into an enormous controversy.

Meanwhile, however, camps formed: "The New Consciousness, of course, was a cliché long before this book" Joel Kramer wrote in The Village Voice. "What is new and subversive about "Greening" is the thesis that the style is a necessary historical outgrowth of this society gone amok." This was reasonable criticism, but what has been truly remarkable is the reaction of the straight press. "A BAG OF SCARY MUSH", headlined Stewart Alsop in Newsweek ("The book is profoundly anti-intellectual . . . obvious fascist overtones.") Time Magazine was most upset because "He slightly compares Beethoven's Ninth Symphony with the Rolling Stones . . . his assumption that man is inherently good until corrupted by society is simply a disastrous philosophical cop-out"; of an unprecedented seven reviews and articles on the book in The New York Times, one pundit was most offended by Reich's aversion to homogenized plastic peanut butter: "A man of Professor Reich's eminence should not stoop to include this in his indictment of our power structure."

"The Greening of America" has obviously struck a nerve. Reich gets 30-40 letters a day from adults who thank him for helping them understand their children and straighten out their own lives. But many "social commentators" seem to have been offended that a bona-fide, impeccably credentialed, over-40 Yale Professor should suggest that young folks may be on to something.

Hiding out from the Eastern Media (he's so far refused the night-time TV talk shows), Charles Reich recently came to Berkeley where we met in a small motel off Telegraph Avenue. He wanted to get to Bolinas Beach, but over the next few days we wandered around Berkeley in the rain, shopping, seeing how the book was selling in various stores, eating some good Organic Chunky Food Mill Peanut Butter we bought him, and generally having a fine time.

It's plain to see that Charles Reich has it all together for himself at least, and that one of his greatest gifts is the loving zeal, good energy, articulation and persuasiveness with which he presents his own vision.

A number of critics have attacked you for saying "Oh Wow!" in your book...

I know a lot of people have attacked me for saying "Oh Wow!". But I knew just what I was doing. I've been through so many bad places in my life! Now I've found someplace good and I feel like saying "Oh Wow." If anybody wants to laugh they can, because I'm still going to say "Oh Wow." Nobody is going to make me retreat from my happiness.

You seem extraordinarily happy. Happier than anyone I've met lately. Does this have anything to do with the publication of the book?

No. No. Well, the book was a nice thing to happen. But I was happy before the book. I've been happy ever since I found out there was going to be a new community, ever since I began to realize the existence of this new consciousness and just how widespread it was getting to be, how much it was growing. I'm really grateful to the kids for making a happier life possible for me. I'll never get over that sense of gratitude and in a way the book was my gift back to them for what they've done in terms of my own life.

There are several ways you can write a book like this. One would be the outside observer, a sociologist, right? A professor writing about some phenomenon like creatures in a zoo. I couldn't do that. Another way would be to pretend to be a spokesman for another person and I wouldn't presume to do that any more that I would ever say that the Beatles or Dylan or any artist is a spokesman for anybody but themselves. But the third thing you can do, and this is what I did, is to share my life with them. The book takes you through all of the bad places I've been to, takes you through the whole horror of my life in Consciousness II. Listen I wasn't writing about somebody else when I wrote about the old consciousness, that was me!

So I'm really grateful to young people for what they've done and for what they continue to do...Monday, for example, was a really sunny day in Berkeley and I was thinking about going to the beach. But all of a sudden I was invited to visit a whole bunch of kids at a high school in Walnut Creek. They wanted me to come because I mentioned them in an article. They put out a yearbook which got them into trouble with the Administration and I wrote that up. Anyway, I went to Walnut Creek instead of going to the beach and for four hours I talked to 15, 16, 17-year-old kids. And it was just wonderful, just answering questions, we talked about everything.

What did you say to them?

Well, we talked about the whole change that's happening in America. But first I want to say; everybody that's pessimistic about this revolution or doesn't believe in it, should see those kids. Because here they are from a rather conventional suburban town, Walnut Creek, and they are the most beautiful kids - I just couldn't believe it! For example, I was telling them about how among my generation, if you lost your job or were accused of being a Communist or something, probably you would lose your friends as well. One of them was very startled and he said "What are you talking about? How could you lose your friends? You're just a person who doesn't have any friends to begin with." He couldn't even imagine how the word friend could be used to describe a person that would leave you when you were down and out.

Then I talked to them about communicating with their parents. I thought I could talk to them usefully about that. I talked with them some about drugs; I talked with them some about the progress of the revolution. But I couldn't tell them anything important they didn't know already.

How are they getting along with their parents?

Most of them don't really believe that their parents want to understand or communicate with them. I tried to say that they'd given up too soon, that there was still some possibility, some hope for that. You see, one thing that I know that the kids don't is that the older people are still human beings too and that they want to be part of this thing. So I talked to them about how I propose just making the parents listen to the words of their songs - my theme for the four hours was to get your parents a set of headphones. They've got to hear the words of an actual song like "Teach Your Children" or "Wooden Ships" to understand what kids feel and are singing. Over and over again songs express relationships to parents that ought to be talked about.

For example, I was thinking about "Four Days Gone" by the Buffalo Springfield. "Four Days Gone" seems to be an encounter

between a young man running away from some government madness and two older people who pick him up as a hitchhiker and are nice to him but don't really understand him. But that's a very superficial understanding of the song. The really deep message of the song, it seems to me, is about a boy and his parents, but they can't really help him and finally he's got to leave and go running off on his own. That way the song becomes something profound about kids and their parents. "Draft Morning," for example, that song by the Byrds. It says in effect, Mother and Father, you want to know why I don't want to go to work. Because they're going to teach me to kill!

What did you say to them about drugs?

Well, first I got the hard stuff out of the way. Heroin seems to represent nothing but a desire to escape from a society so horrible that you can't even look. So I said I really want to talk about the psychedelic drugs and those I conceived of primarily as tools. They're as good as the use you make of them or as bad as the use you make of them. If you use drugs to increase experience or awareness, knowledge of other people or to find something out about yourself, if you use them in such a way as to discover truth, then I think you're making good use of drugs. If, on the other hand, you're using them just to get zonked out and end up like some of the glassy-eyed kids you see on Telegraph Avenue who can't relate to any other human being, well that's pathetic. It seems to me to be a case of knowing what you want to do with drugs. If they are used by a very unstable person they are likely to drive him off to the psychiatric ward. So I don't go around preaching the use of drugs, but drugs like grass and hashish are good things for those that are using them well. And they ought not to be banned.

Now in the book I say drugs are a truth serum. It sounds a little evangelical - more than need be, maybe. But it's necessary because our society has kept people in prison by the use of false consciousness. Back to Marcuse, who says that people's minds have been messed up by the media, by the schools, by all this phoniness they've been conditioned with. And so, when there's a moment of truth that sometimes can be brought to a person only through drugs, it works as a truth serum because it reveals all the falsity. To use a great phrase that one of my good friends and students used, he said "All of us have a San Quentin in our minds" and if we could only break down that prison we'd just see out and know the truth.

And you think that drugs help...

They help some people. But I'm not going around advocating anybody to take any special trip. People have to find out what they want to do themselves. You know, find out what your trip is and do it. I'm an evangelist for the new consciousness but not for any particular trip.

What did you say in Walnut Creek about the progress of the revolution?

Well, to all superficial appearances, things are not going very well right now. I mean, you walk around Berkeley and I've never seen it so depressed. It's undoubtedly true at Yale, too, where students are terribly apathetic, depressed, down, gloomy.

Particularly in contrast to 1967

Oh yes, yes. Looking at politics, it looks like things could never have been worse, they're getting worse all the time. But I try to maintain my longer-range perspective and I believe the revolution is coming and coming very fast and that nobody should be discouraged. I think that there are several different reasons why it doesn't seem to be working just at the moment. The first is that there's so much to be learned. If I can put anything in italics now for this interview, I'd say *there is so much for all of us to learn*. We know only the most elemental things, like how to play the guitar, how to sit around in a circle in a room and listen to music. But learning how to do medicine, or law, or architecture in such a way that it is non-alienating, rewarding and good for the person that does it, good for the people you do it for - we haven't learned any of that. We have to help each other, we have to learn from each other.

Another reason why the students are depressed and frustrated is that the revolution is in no sense going to be political, so to all appearances nothing is happening on that front. The fact is politics in America today simply doesn't deal with the issue of how we live. You don't hear politicians debating anything that matters like whether it's good to use drugs or what makes a valid consumer society. No politician debates whether or not you should work under authoritarian discipline like in the factories. Nobody debates whether the school system is nothing but an obedience school or whether it really encourages kids to learn and think. Politicians have managed to exclude from their debate everything that is relative and important and interesting.

Ultimately I do believe in the democratic system. But for the moment what they've done is turned politics into something utterly sterile and meaningless: so it's going to be up to all of us outside of politics to develop our own debate and individual resolutions about life without the help of Senator this and Representative that and Secretary so and so.

If the revolution isn't going to be political, how would you characterize its progress?

The revolution is going to come up from below and it's going to be a change in our consciousness and how we live before it effects any political change. It won't be and isn't now the kind of revolution you can always read about in the newspapers.

Once in a while you may hear about something like the GIs who go off into the jungle and smoke dope instead of just killing people as ordered - that was in The New York Times actually - but most of it you won't read about because it's a very personal thing all around us. The real indication of this revolution are changes all of us are going through, changes we can feel and see in our own friends, people getting off the old tracks. So many of my law students and lawyer friends, people my age, are getting out of the old consciousness, the old institutions and structures and trying to use their skills and good work in a new way.

You use the expression "old consciousness" and "new consciousness"... Could you tell us exactly what you mean by this and how these different kinds of "consciousness" are described in "The Greening of America"?

Well, I started out to write about what has been wrong with America. Originally it was to have centered on a structural description of what I call the corporate state, the machine. A machine that is now out of control and in my view making war on human beings wherever one can find them; it is making war on people in Southeast Asia, it is making war on our own people at home. I wanted to make an analysis of how that machine works; I thought that I had learned how it works by being a lawyer in Washington DC for seven years.



Is the music reflecting or leading...?

Well, in the case of the greatest artists, it's leading. I'm sure that in the ones I've mentioned it's way out ahead. But I think we're in a period now of energy loss. The average artist, he can only do as well as the culture permits. At the moment many groups are experiencing the same down as that of their friends. The new culture isn't going anywhere very fast at the moment, the scene hasn't changed for the better in two or three years and so their music is sort of - you know, they can't transcend it at the moment, they're just sort of singing about where it's at.

We've noticed that as soon as something like Hendrix and Joplin happens critics like Albert Goldman of Life Magazine can hardly wait to badmouth rock and the new consciousness, to say it's over, it never was any good and thank God we're done with it.

Look, Hendrix and Joplin were victims of the bad old society, the exploitation, the de-humanization, the whole sick scene.

Look, Hendrix and Joplin were victims of the bad old society, the exploitation, the de-humanization, the whole sick scene, and it's a tragic thing that each of them took that whole bad trip. Some people can handle stardom and the excitement and the pressure, and the esteem, better than other people. Dylan can handle anything; the Beatles can handle anything, maybe Mick Jagger can handle anything. But for some reason that you and I don't know, Janis Joplin and Jimi Hendrix couldn't. It was too much for them, but their tragedy was the same tragedy that happened to people in the past - it has nothing to do with the new consciousness.

What other cultural manifestations of the new consciousness do you see besides music? You haven't said anything about, let's say film.

Listen. What we've had in America in the last forty or fifty years, after the age of handicrafts had ended, is a people without a culture. We didn't make anything of our own, we've had songs imposed on us, music imposed on us. It's fine to listen to Irving Berlin but unfortunately it isn't you that wrote it. Mass culture was completely in the hands of mass producers - the record companies, the film companies and so forth. The growth of rock has represented a battle to retrieve the mass culture from the people who owned it and were putting it out. Now it's a seesaw battle and I sure that we feel sometimes that the record companies have captured it back. Many times a young artist will start out really fine but maybe he'll find out that he's been taken over by the exploiters, maybe he's been taken into the bad old system. But look at the Beatles and the Stones. If either of them give out it will be because the artistic thing can't run on forever in every person. It won't give out because they've sold out. So what we're learning to do in many different ways is to make our own culture out of the phoney mass culture that used to be.

I worked out a theory, which is heavy, but if you don't mind a heavy moment in this interview, it goes like this: Marcuse said that in the first stage of an industrial society there is repression made necessary by scarcity. In order to make everybody work harder, to have enough to eat, you've got to repress. In the second stage, which he described in *One Dimensional Man*, social repression is carried out with consumer goods, surplus goods you don't need, refrigerators, or frozen foods. By making you take all those trips, we're kept from finding out the truth about ourselves because we're so busy opening and closing the refrigerator, so busy unpacking those frozen foods.

But my theory, and I hope it's right, takes us one step further and says: this kind of repression is a mighty dangerous thing for the repressive society to engage in because all of a sudden a new generation can come along and can say we're going to take all these things, the stereo, the motorcycles, the things in the supermarket, and the music above all and we'll command them. Now they'll be tools of revolution instead of tools of repression because we'll use them as we wish. So what I see happening, in both films and in music, is that people are now making their own culture right in the heart of the repressive machine. They're taking the music and they're palying what they want to play and want to hear. They're taking the films now and making films that they want to see. That's the miracle of it. They don't have to go outside, they can make money and laugh at the machine and that's what's so extraordinary. The machine is prepared to destroy itself through people using the culture in their own way.

There's something else which I sense in America. The blacks started it but some Italians and Irish and Indians and Jews are picking up on it too. America never really was a melting pot. We're all from different kinds of cultures. Each of us has our own consciousness, our own cultural tradition, and in some places this is being revived and restored.

I think America was a melting pot in the worst sense of that term and it was a very bad thing. In the 1890's America began a process of trying to make every person hate himself, his own background, his own culture. The blacks learned to hate themselves long before, but it wasn't just them. The worst thing you could be if you were an Irishman was the kind too close to Ireland, too Irish, too Jewish, too Polish or Ukrainian, or German, or Swedish, or Italian - speaking the mother tongue, cooking the mother dishes. That was a tragedy for all of us. We all learned self-hatred.

Now I'm Jewish and I know all about Jewish self-hatred because we were ashamed of being Jewish. Jews don't conk their hair but they did everything else to pass, to look as unJewish as they could. And one of the things that I hope to see as a result of the new consciousness will be that each of us recovers our own past, our own ethnic heritage, that we start remembering our past, that we find out about where we came from. And of course that's one of the most important keys to communication between kids and their parents; their grandparents. It's going to blow their minds, the older people, when parents find out that their kids say now, meher and father, you came over from Yugoslavia, tell us about that, tell us about the dances, tell us about our grandparents, tell us about what kind of food you cooked, sing us some of your folk songs. Rock is the new culture, but look, rock is made out of black blues and white country music, two authentic kinds of culture. Now if it doesn't seem too far out for me to say it, rock is a protean music that can absorb any new ideas, and I'd like to see it absorb all the cultural ideas that are still waiting to be rediscovered. I'd like to see it absorb the folk music of Eastern Europe, or the songs of France or the folk music of England. In other words, I see no reason why rock can only take its material from our Southern blues.

The Beatles have already absorbed and made use of several cultural backgrounds - American, English, European, Eastern.

Right. But it's strange that our own kids are more ready to go toward Oriental or Eastern traditions, than to Hungary or Poland or Germany. All of this might be because of their parents, because older people in this country have no culture of their own. I still hate my own past, I fear and I won't get over it until I work it through a lot more than I've done yet.

To what degree is it necessary for people to go through certain experiences before they can realize this consciousness, experiences like drugs, political confrontations...

Political confrontation is only a small part of it. A much more important factor, particularly for older people, is that the absurdity and sterility of their life comes home to them in one fashion or another all of a sudden. Each person has his own experience and reality. Probably the most important factor for change is the model that the new consciousness is supplying people who are still in the old consciousness or on the borderline. And this model speaks louder than any media, any word, any magazine article. Everybody knows what long hair means, what the clothes mean, all the kinds of bad reactions to my book for reviewers is even more an indication that they all do know but just won't admit it. Long hair means freedom: some are frightened and angry; some come over.

Many people are depressed today because this consciousness may be expanding, but at the same time everything else is coming down and it may just get to be too late.

Well, we are in a race between the police state and the new consciousness. It's a nip and tuck race. My book is not a cheerful book, I'm not a silly optimist. It's a love book or a happy book, but not a cheerful book. There is clearly every sign that fascism is coming. Why didn't I talk about it more in the book? Because so many people are talking about it. Because we all know it, I don't have to talk about fascism - just ask any black man, ask anybody who's been in jail, I assume that people who understand the book would know I've been to that place already.

OK. It's a race. Where I differ from most people is that I think there's no question about the outcome. To begin with there cannot ultimately be repression of a group which constitutes an entire new generation. You can repress a class of society, or a race, or something like that - a particular race - but you can't repress your own children. First of all because they will ultimately be adults themselves and you'll be dead. And secondly, more immediately - and for some reason every commentator who has talked about this whole thing has missed this point - because most parents love their children.

Do you think there is any chance that the consciousness will change as this new generation grows older?

Well, the kids at Walnut Creek said, what are we going to be like when we get older? Are we going to be just like our parents? No, I said, there's not a chance in the world that you'll become like your parents. In the first place nobody who's ever tasted something better is going back to something worse. The new consciousness is not reversible. If I experience a really genuine relationship with another person, friendship and trust and love, do you think I have time anymore to go to some cocktail party in New York?

Secondly, when I was in high school, I told the students I was just so plain scared of the other kids that it dominated my whole experience. I felt if I ever dressed wrong, if I ever tried to shoot at a basket and missed awkwardly, if I wasn't some kind of a hero on or off the sports field or a success in class, that they would despise me, they would have no use for me they would kick me out of their group. And because of fear, I was willing to forget my dreams and the things I believed in. But kids today cherish and love each other and are not going to treat each other badly because one of them can't shoot a basket, or one of them can't play football very well. They're going to support each other, reinforce each other, hold each other up. Because it's aloneness that makes you give up your dreams. It's the fear of being out there all by yourself that makes you quit

One morning I went down to the Oakland Induction Center, just to see what it looked like and by pure accident that day there was a boy who was going to refuse induction. That would scare me so much. The thought of jail and prosecution - I can't tell you how it would scare me. But out on the street, gathered there, were about 25 of his friends. Some older, some younger including the minister of his church, a Lutheran minister. And they all stood there out on that street, all the time that he was in there, just to express their solidarity. They held a service, they put a table out that had bread, and California plain old red wine and they played the guitar and they sang "Get Together" and they played "Blowing in the Wind" and everybody tasted the wine and the bread. And I stood there and I was crying and I was feeling, well, if I had people like this who were my friends then maybe I would have courage.

Many of your critics have said it's terribly naive to think that the state isn't going to continue to repress this consciousness, to force it more and more underground, to make it less and less publicly acceptable.

Of course there is going to be more incidents - like People's Park like Kent State, of course there are going to be things like that. But I don't think that they will be like the massive repression of detention camps and like Hitler or Russia under Stalin; I don't think that it's going to get to that degree because the instruments of repression are turning against their masters. We're going to have an army that won't fight. You're going to have to look around for the National Guard? It's going to be young people and they may not be willing to shoot other young people.

That hasn't been the case so far.

No, that has not been the case so far, but I think it will be the case. Our National Guard example is from the midwest, a part of the country that is somewhat behind the times in many ways. I don't think it's going to be possible very much longer to count on the instruments of repression to perform their bad tasks. And let's see what's going to happen to the hardhats. The young men on the production line are revolting against discipline, revolting against strict authority, some of them are smoking dope right in the plant. How do I know this? I haven't read it anywhere. But many of my students who have spent summers working in a factory say lots of young workers there are starting to get into the whole new thing. Up to now, it's been possible to brainwash hardhats, to tell them the reason they're miserable is because of hippies and blacks. But how long can you hide the truth from them? And when they find out the truth, they are going to know it's the system, not the hippies or the blacks.

Where are the blacks now in your scheme of things?

Smiling at the whites for the first time and it's great!

Smiling?

I'll tell you - I had the enormous good fortune to have a long, long talk with Bobby Seale in prison in Connecticut. And he is just a fantastically beautiful person. He's a black hippie. And he'd be glad to be called a black hippie. He talked a lot about long haired white kids and how beautiful they are. And he said that one of the things the Panthers might like to do meday is to buy land and have not only black people on the land but white kids and anybody else who'd like to come on with them. And his whole conception is not separatist in any sense but rather that of all the revolution together.

Do you think the average black person is interested now in getting a piece of the pie, rather than any kind of fundamental change in consciousness or society?

Well, we're only at the very beginning of the new consciousness. I'm sure you could show me to some college where 90 percent of the kids are just interested in getting a piece of pie. You could show me many students at Berkeley who are just interested in getting ahead in the world. So it's true, the consciousness hasn't touched many blacks yet. But all I can say is that the thing is coming - that evolutionary thing - each year there are more people, black and white who represent the new consciousness.

Do you think it is necessary to have had a piece of the pie - to have achieved some kind of middle class status before you can afford the luxury of this consciousness?

The very first people to make it into the new consciousness were the losers. Now the second group are the winners, who have been through affluence. Now a third development will be skipping a generation or two generations and saying no we don't need to take somebody else's bad trip. We can see that affluence is no good and we don't have to go through 40 years of it to find out for sure. I say fewer and fewer people, white or black, will have to go the whole route in order to learn this.

The New York Times Book Review put you down for not coming to grips with the real terror and alienation that young people still experience today.

That reviewer well, like his trip is despair. He says at the very end that we mustn't evade the awful truths about where we are. He's trying to tell me about despair. So in a certain sense he really didn't understand the book. That is, you see, I've been there - to despair. I'm old enough to have had many, many years with just this kind of feeling. But this book is written on the far side of despair. I

was written by a person who thought the world was going fascist, who thought we were going to live in a closed society all our lives who thought that we were going to have to pretend to be different kinds of people than we really are in order to survive. Loneliness, alienation, terror - I've been to all those places. My book is hopeful because out the other end of the tunnel I started to see something better.

Another criticism of the book has been that it isn't responsible. Because - it said - what we have to do is pull together and work for political change. And if that doesn't work we'll try bombing; and if that doesn't work we'll leave the country. But we can't just do nothing, we can't just wait for this consciousness to expand because it's too awful all around us right now.

You think it's bad now, go back before there was even rock music, go back before there was any new consciousness - go back to the Fifties and McCarthy. All I can tell the kids is you maybe have to be my age to know how good it is now. They've got their music, they've got their friends they've got so many things that we didn't have.

Anyway, you're right, the book has been described as a cop-out, as Mr Marcuse says, an establishment version of the revolution. And although he said that, I still consider him one of my great heroes, a true prophet of the very revolution that I'm describing. His own books show the way, particularly *Eros and Civilization*.

But if what people mean is that you ought to go work in a ghetto or in a political campaign for Muskie or something like that, I say if that makes you feel better, go ahead and do it. But I don't think that's how change is going to come. Real change is going to come as individuals change their lives. I am by no means advocating a do-nothing program. I'm simply not advocating a program in the sense that a liberal would use the word: a strategy for new structures and new politics and door to door bell ringing and all that kind of thing.

I'm advocating that you strenuously and with a great deal of hard work and self discipline and struggle, that you change your own life, that you live according to the way you really believe in and that when you are ready to begin to help other people live their lives differently, then that's the revolution as I see it. That's not doing nothing, I think that is doing a great deal. There was an interview I read somewhere with Ken Kesey in which he said just this. They were asking him what he was doing to free John Sinclair. He said man, I'm doing a whole lot. What he meant was just this that he was working on his own life and helping other people live theirs. And that's no cop-out.

You mentioned that the next book would be more personal.

Well, what this book has done for me is given me some additional freedom, some money and some free time. I could take the celebrity trip and go to cocktail parties and stuff like that but it's no fun.

*It would really be a trip if you were still in *Consciousness II*, the penultimate trip.*

It sure would, but it's not the trip I want to take. I'm going to spend every cent of my money for education or consciousness in a wide sense - education of myself and my friends and whoever else can get into it. It's going to be learning in a communal sense.

Are you thinking of a commune?

I don't know yet, I really don't know. But whatever it takes that's how the money should be used. Maybe some of the money will go to help other people do their own thing - friends who want to try this or that. Some of it will go into changing my life - expand the many ways to live that I wouldn't have dared try before. I think that the only requirement of doing that is to record it for other people to read.

Most of the things you are talking about don't require money.

Well, that's true, but for a person like me who is still rather scared of this world it may require some money. For example another person can hitchhike to California but I can't and I never will be able to - I'm a cripple of the older generation in that way. I'm just scared. So there are things - it won't take much, but it'll take a little to do these things.

The thing I would like to write about eventually is one person's change of consciousness, what it means to go through these changes. I'd like to share my feelings with older people who can relate to the things that I've learned. I've been getting so much mail from people who say, "I'm 50 years old, my husband is 56, we have one son who is 5 and one who is 1 or 16 and we have felt and thought all of these things and we couldn't say them." I've learned this incredible thing about what people call Middle America. I've learned that Middle America has all the feelings that I've expressed in my book, but has not believed in them, repressed them, denied them. These people couldn't go directly to ROLLING STONE or even to their own children.

Now there's one lady who read the New Yorker article and she wanted to read it out loud to her husband. But in the middle she broke down and began to cry and then she described how he took the magazine away and he read it aloud to her and she said they both realized that their kids have been right about everything and what they've been trying to say all along is really the truth. She said they both sat there and made up their minds that they weren't going to hassle their son any more about his clothes or his hair. These letters, from small places in Massachusetts or Oregon or Colorado, these letters say you've given us a new vision of this whole generation.

Is there anything we haven't covered?

Well, I want to tell young people if that's who the readers of ROLLING STONE are, I want to tell them about what I've discovered about the older generation. The older generation is not the enemy and it is not hopeless and is not beyond having its own aspirations. I've sort of uncovered this whole goldmine of feelings in older people just by getting all this mail. It's blown my mind and I'd like it to blow their minds. Because the magazines and the newspapers don't tell you the truth about how many people there are who really groove on what the new consciousness is. There's a whole underground movement in this country and it's just the opposite movement from what Spiro Agnew is referring to - it's not a movement of fear and hatred and polarization, it's a movement of reaching out towards the younger people, reaching out toward their experience and reaching out toward new discovery of self - it's happening everywhere, not a mass movement yet but it's there all around, all you need is eyes and ears. This thing is as inevitable as evolution.

I wonder if it's evolution of just a flash, a little spurt in the history of man's overall suicide trip.

My own conviction is that in other periods the basic underlying material fact of life - and here I get back to being a Marxist in a way - was scarcity. You had to fight other people because there wasn't enough. And I think the basic, material fact of our lives now is that there can be enough - I don't say there is. God knows most people in this world still live in hardship and poverty. But for the first time in all of human history there can be enough.

We have the technology to produce more than enough.

Therefore man is no longer a wolf. Man is no longer the enemy of every other man because now there is material basis for a real human community. My book is an attempt to express that truth; we have arrived; for the first time we have the resources now to enable us to be totally human. You could say that we may yet throw away that chance. But I'm an optimist and what I did in the book was to project a vision - you might almost call the book utopian fiction, you know, like the three consciousnesses are like fictional ideas in a way - but the idea is I wanted to present a vision;

this is how it could be, this is how it can be, this is how it will be if enough of us feel the vision.

Not all of us are so optimistic. But it's really enormously encouraging to read your book. I had to stop once in a while when it brought tears to my eyes and say to myself, I sure hope he's right.

But isn't it part of making it happen to have the vision? No good world is made out of despair. Let's put it this way supposing for a moment that the vision is a mistake. What then have we got to look forward to: the police state, fascism, sterile art? So why not let's have the vision. The point is that the alternative is unimaginable. One of my greatest friends said that there used to be no future. She said that none of us used to believe in a future, in any future, that there was no such thing as a future. And now we have the chance to believe in a future and if enough of us do there will be a future. The book is an attempt to make it happen and I say there's nothing wrong with that.

Remember what John and Yoko said: war is over if you want it. So I say the vision is here if you want it, you know. That's the idea in the book. I'll leave it at that - the vision is there if you want it...

GRAND OPENING

by WHITCOMBES
of Wellington's first
PERMANENT BOOK
REMAINDER DEPT.

WHERE BOOKS AND PAPERBACKS ARE SOLD
AT A FRACTION OF THEIR NORMAL PRICE

THE TERM "REMAINDER" IS USED IN THE BOOK TRADE TO DENOTE THE FEW BOOKS LEFT OVER FROM A PUBLISHERS RUN OF SOME THOUSANDS OF A TITLE. WITH OUR OWN OVERSEAS BUYING OFFICERS AND LONG-STANDING CONNECTORS WITH THE PUBLISHING HOUSES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PURCHASE THOUSANDS OF THESE GOOD REMAINDERS.



VISIT US TODAY!

See our great range of substantially
reduced books in our new book remainder
department. We are on the first floor.

WHITCOMBE & TOMBS

LAMBTON QUAY WELLINGTON

With the armed uprising of the youth a new epoch has begun in Ceylon. The parliamentary process which had been accepted as a permanent way of political life by reformist politicians has been seriously challenged.

The almost idyllic picture that bourgeois reformists, including Stalinists, have sought to draw of Ceylon, as a country where no armed struggles to overthrow the state power are possible, because it is a land whose people are predominantly Buddhists, where violence is against their tradition and culture - ahllowed and nurtured for 500 years of their proud history, has been shattered with the armed struggle of the youth to seize political power.

This struggle of the youth, mainly from the Sinhalese Buddhist areas, which has continued now for over 40 days, has seen unprecedented mass slaughter of the youth and others by the government claiming to serve, especially the interests of the Sinhalese Buddhists - a struggle which has filled the jails to over-flowing, turned universities into concentration camps, and led the government to obtain armaments from seven countries - has in any event shaken to its very foundations the present coalition regime and also capitalist society.

Starting from 5th April, the youth - students, unemployed of both sexes, with young workers and school teachers launched armed struggle to seize political power. In the leadership of this uprising is the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front), a Maoist style youth movement which has had a clandestine existence for about five years to May 1970, and which, thereafter functioned openly till it was banned on 6th April. Among the known leaders are Rohana Wijeweera, a former student of Lumbumba University, and Mahinda Wijesekera, a student of Vidyodaya University, both incarcerated about two weeks prior to the launching of the armed struggle.

During its clandestine existence, the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna had attracted to its banner thousands of the radicalised youth spread throughout the country. This youth was composed, in the main, of both sexes in the age group of 16-5 years, drawn from University Technical and secondary school students, Sinhalese educated unemployed youth in rural and urban areas, and young Buddhist monks. Also included in the fold of the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna, were young militant workers drawn mainly from the State industrial Corporations and the State-agricultural sector - e.g. the Land Development Survey Department and the Colonisation schemes. Further, among those who had played an important part in this movement were school teachers including even head teachers and University lecturers belonging to the next age group - i.e. over 5 years.

Janata Vimukthi Peramuna;

The Janata Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front) whose membership is drawn largely from the rural-lower middle class and partly from the urban lower middle-class and includes elements from the working class, claims to be Marxist-Leninist in orientation. Its aim is to bring about an egalitarian society by the abolition of the colonialist export-import plantation economy, in favour of an economy based on rice cultivation and domestic agriculture. The Janata Vimukthi Peramuna has not clarified its views regarding the role of the working-class in the socialist revolution - and has discounted the one million plantation workers of recent Indian origin. In this regard they have not explained what they mean by "Indian expansionism", to which they stand opposed. The Janata Vimukthi Peramuna has not stated its attitude to Tamil and other oppressed minority rights. They have vehemently denounced imperialism, "Yankee imperialism" etc., but have not projected an anti-imperialist program in relation to the Ceylon revolution. In their view the peasantry is the strongest revolutionary force.

Youth Radicalisation:

The youth in Ceylon, the generation since the last War (1939-45), came into political consciousness and began to move in an anti-capitalist direction largely due to the influence of the Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the revolutionary oriented party of the working-class. The developing class-struggle under the leadership of the LSSP, and culminating in the great Hartal (one day's uprising) of 1953, was a further stage in the radicalisation of this youth.

However, since the mass-uprising of 1953, far from preparing for the next stage of revolutionary struggle, the LSSP leaned more heavily on parliamentarism. This meant that the youth that followed the LSSP developed parliamentary illusions.

On the parliamentary plane the LSSP found a serious rival in the SLFP, the alternative bourgeois party, which gave itself the image of the poor-man's party. With the SLFP's rallying slogans of "Sinhala only" as the State Language, and "rightful place for Buddhism" combined with the "progressive" colouration given to this party by ex LSSP Philip Gunawardena, the youth of school-leaving age in 1955-56 went directly into the camp of Bandaranaike.

The two Bandaranaike governments, 1956-59 and 1960-64, brought only disappointment to the youth in regard to their problems of unemployment and lack of educational and other opportunities. They soon found that the adoption of Sinhalese as the State-language and State

This article was one of the first to come out of Ceylon after the recent fighting. Despite the arbitrary political analysis it represents one of the most complete accounts of, and commentaries on, the present Ceylonese situation available.

bourgeois parties with their agents in the reformist parties. In the meantime, all the problems of the people were becoming more acute than before. In regard to their own burning problem of unemployment, the reality was that while general unemployment stood at nearly one million, the proportion of persons unemployed in the age group 19-5 was as high as 64.8 percent (Central Bank Bulletin April 1971). This means that a very large percentage of the unemployed consisted of young persons and that the bulk of the educated youth had no place in this socio-economic set up. It was clear to the youth of this generation that they were social rejects or out-casts, without any real hope of changing their condition within the existing society.

It was in this context, that since about 1965 the youth orientation was to reject the totality of society in which they had no place. In their state of growing alienation from society, the youth had no need for anything of the existing social order. As the traditional parties of the workers and toilers had betrayed and were tied to the establishment, they rejected these political parties as well and what appeared to be their ideologies. The youth took to armed struggle to destroy their destroyers, the society and its State power.

Outside their own sector, the youth found no hope or point of support. In this situation the youth turned inwards. They formed their own organisation for revolutionary struggle - the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna.

This radicalisation of the youth in Ceylon took place in conditions of international revolutionary upsurge commencing with the great Chinese revolution, followed by the Algerian and Cuban revolutions, and the Vietnam liberation struggle. It was during this period that the crisis of Stalinism also burst into the open with the twentieth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in 1956, and outcome of which was the Sino-Soviet conflict, and the Chinese cultural revolution. There is no doubt that the more recent US anti-war movement, the French revolutionary struggles of May 1968, the Pakistan struggles and also the Czechoslovakian mass mobilisation, contributed to the further radicalisation of the youth in Ceylon. It is now a fact that a new world radicalisation of youth has taken place during the last decade, affecting not only the youth of both advanced and backward capitalist countries, but also the youth in workers States.

Preparation for struggle:

The Janata Vimukthi Peramuna's preparations for struggle were clandestine for nearly five years up to August 1970, from which time they appeared and commenced to function in the open. Their ideological preparation was also clandestine and confined to their cadres, membership and their periphery of sympathisers who were also of the youth. Their political training was through basic classes organised in secret. There is no evidence of the circulation of any literature or newspapers until they came into the open. In the light of the armed struggle they launched donning uniforms and using guns and bombs, it would appear that they had given military training to their cadres. Evidently from the very outset, their main preoccupation was preparation for armed struggle. The secretive nature of their military preparations was such, that sooner or later, they had to embark on armed struggle irrespective of the development of the mass situation.

When they came out into the open they held well attended mass rallies and published their own newspaper. At the time of their illegalisation the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna had several newspapers. In any event their open work was auxiliary to their preparation for armed struggle.

The reaction of the coalition government to the open political activities of the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna and their visible success was to denounce them as C.I.A. agents. A joint statement signed by the secretaries of the three coalition parties - SLFP, LSSP and CP in August 1970 was an announcement that the government had decided to attack this movement with strong-arm methods. And very soon this was happening. The full repressive force of the State apparatus was used. The police invaded the homes of the youth, arrested, beat them up and even tortured them, and thereafter had number of this youth remanded even when there was no evidence to place any charge against them in that regard.

When the failure of the coalition government with regard to the pressing problems of the workers, peasants, youth and students made the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna a left oppositional rallying centre which was visibly growing, police action against this movement stepped up. In March (1971) this police action came to a head with the arrest of the two well-known leaders of this party, and also a large number of their members and supporters. It was in this context, that the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna launched their uprising on 5th April.

Strategy:

The strategy of the rebel youth was apparently to launch a co-ordinated series of surprise attacks on police stations - mainly in the rural area - to seize weapons and ammunition and to paralyse the main government organs of administration in the districts.

They succeeded in putting out of action a large

CEYLON

Edmund Samarakkody

recognition of Buddhism did not bring them jobs or any advancement.

By 1964, the present generation of the youth found that there was no solution to their problems through parliament. When this youth looked for an extra-parliamentary way out, the LSSP, the revolutionary oriented party of the working class had abandoned its revolutionary programme; it had betrayed the workers and toilers for office in a bourgeois cabinet (SLFP-LSSP Coalition Government).

The UNP victory of 1965 was further proof to the youth that parliamentary politics was a game played by

number of police stations and also destroyed some government buildings. They dynamited bridges and put up barricades by felling large trees across roads, seriously disrupting traffic and communications. Within a few days, some areas came virtually under their control. There was no attack on Colombo, except that an attempt was made to attack a police station in the city, which proved to be unsuccessful.

This uprising, despite its inevitable limitations, especially without the participation of the organised working-class and other sections of the oppressed masses, was however, the most serious attempt to overthrow the State power in this country. With unexampled courage and heroism, thousands of youth, males and females, laid down their lives for what they believed was their struggle to win socialism. And perhaps, it would not be possible to discover an historical parallel of an organised youth uprising of this nature, directed to the seizure of political power, by a frontal attack on police stations and other organs of the capitalist state, lasting for over a month.

While rebel attacks had taken place in seven out of nine provinces, their concentrated attacks were in six of them - North Central, Southern, Central, North Western Sabaragamuwa and Uva. This means that the uprising was spread over a large area covering about two-thirds of Ceylon. The rebel strongholds were not only in the rural areas of the interior rice plains, but even in the low-country plantation areas.

In areas that came under their control, the rebels hoisted red flags with the hammer and sickle and also put up the banner of their organisation - the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna. In certain areas, they had distributed the land of the capitalists among the landless peasants, although not in a systematic way. Contrary to the reports circulating through government sources, that the rebels harassed the people, there was praise for the behaviour of the rebels especially towards women and girls. Their armed forces were directed against police stations, District Revenue Offices, rural banks and post offices.

Government's Offensive

The government from the outset denounced the young rebels as terrorists and began all out war against them with all the armed forces at its command both internal and external. It sought and obtained armaments including helicopters from US and UK and other capitalist countries, India, Pakistan and the UAR. It obtained troops and warships from India. It also obtained armaments from the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The Soviet Union supplied MIG JETS together with pilots to train local personnel.

The armed forces of the government did not confine their attacks on the young rebels. They commenced a campaign of slaughter of thousands of young persons and others unconnected with the rebels who happened to be in the same age group as the rebels, or happened to be relatives, neighbours or acquaintances of the rebels. Thousands taken into custody on suspicion have been summarily executed by shooting. Victims have been lined up near graves dug by the victims themselves and thereafter shot and killed. Public hangings and executions of young persons including girls have been carried out by the police and the military often accompanied by extreme sadism. Police and Army men have raped women and girls and thereafter have shot them. The wounded who are still alive have been burnt or buried together with the dead. Dead bodies of young persons and others have been seen daily floating down the rivers. The horrific public displays was intended to terrorise the people.

These medieval atrocities have of course not been committed in the view of the International Committee of the Red Cross. This is perhaps the reason why Roger Du Pasquier, the representative of this committee hastened to grant the Ceylon government and its armed forces a certificate of good behaviour when he visited the country one month after the government's military offensive began. "I have seen" said Rogers "that the treatment given to those held in custody is in accordance with article 3 of the Geneva Convention" "I That Roger Due Pasquier should have lent himself to the complete distortion of the truth after a conducted tour organised by the torturers and killers themselves, does not speak well for the International Committee of the Red Cross that seeks to function as a non-partisan humanitarian society.

Government forces have destroyed and razed to the ground a large number of houses of poor people. Whole villages have been burnt down and even bombings and strafing from air planes and helicopters have been carried out by the armed forces.

The government's offensive supported by the armaments of seven foreign countries has pushed the forces of the rebels more into the interior parts of the country and into the forest-covered hills. In certain areas the military and police vehicles can move only on the main roads, and that too, not after dark.

Severe Repression:

Several thousands who have been arrested are confined in dungeons and concentration camps. The

number in the Jails is over 12,000. Even hostages are taken and include the parents and the younger children in the family. Neither their relatives nor their lawyers are permitted to see them. The so-called "Advisory Committee" is the only body to which a detainee could make any kind of representation. But, strangely enough, detainees who are either members or suspected of membership of a proscribed party are debarred from making representation to even the Advisory Committee. And whether a person was a member or suspected of having been a member of the proscribed party (Janata Vimukthi Peramuna) is arbitrarily decided by the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Defence.

The full use of legislation through Regulations under the Public Security Act has led to a virtual military-police regime. The curfew has been continuously in force throughout the country for nearly 9 hours daily. All democratic rights are withdrawn. Police and military enter houses and buildings at any time for search and arrest of persons. The Courts have no jurisdiction with regard to a wide range of alleged offences. And even where Courts have jurisdiction the police authorities counter the orders of Magistrates and do not allow suspected persons to be brought before the Courts.

There is draconian legislation to cover activities vaguely referred to as being "prejudicial to" so-called public order or public safety. The death penalty, and terms of twenty years imprisonment with confiscation of property can be meted out on evidence of even association with persons suspected of conspiring to overthrow the State.

The Janata Vimukthi Peramuna has been banned. Thirteen political newspapers have also been banned. There is severe press censorship. Public meetings are not permitted.

A large number of government employees have been dismissed from service for failure to report for duty on a particular date, whatever excuses they offered in regard to their absence from duty. These dismissed have no right of appeal to any tribunal. Government has taken the opportunity also to discontinue thousands of workers, mainly engaged in construction work treated as 'casuals' and now declared redundant. Schools remained closed for two months while universities are indefinitely closed. Concentration camps, euphemistically called rehabilitation centres have been set up at two universities for all those who have been arbitrarily arrested and called 'insurgents'.

A wide range of services in the public and private sector have been declared "essential services". This means that employees in such places have no right to strike. A so-called code of conduct for all employees, issued by the Ministry of Labour has negated most of the rights won by the workers over the years.

Who are the Rebels?

The government was concerned to link this uprising with the rightist forces within and without the country. But police investigations before and after the commencement of the armed struggle have not brought out any evidence to support such a theory. The Prime Minister who spoke to the nation five days after the outbreak could only say that the rebels were misguided youth who were impatient for radical changes, that their movement was "backed by big money, diabolic minds and criminal organisers".

The truth in regard to the "criminal organisers" of this movement is that they are none other than the youth themselves, most of whom actively worked for the election victory of the Coalition parties last May 1970. They include the youth, students, young workers and unemployed who in their thousands participated in the massive Coalition May Day (1970) demonstration in Colombo raising the slogans - "Our Road is the Road of Che Guevara" - "Our Road is the Road of Ho Chi Minh" - "Along this road we shall shed Blood" - "Give us Revolvers, Give us Rifles".

In fact a fair number of those arrested are from the youth leagues of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Mrs Bandaranaike and the LSSP and the CP. The Chief youth organiser of the LSSP who is a Member of Parliament and other branch Secretaries of the LSSP are among those in custody. The arrest of Shanmugathan, leader of the CP (Peking) was only for diplomatic reasons. A fair number of youth of the CP (Moscow) are also in custody. The Government took the opportunity to point an accusing finger at Red China in regard to this uprising. They believed this was helpful to get the support of reactionary capitalist forces in Ceylon and outside; and also of Indira Gandhi of India through whom they hoped to influence the 700,000 plantation workers of the Indian origin.

It was not possible in the light of all the facts in regard to this uprising, for the government to cloud the reality that it was a youth uprising. In fact the several broadcasts of the Prime Minister and other Ministers have a common refrain. "I appeal" said the Prime Minister in one of these broadcasts, "to them even at this stage to drop out from their mad campaign of destruction and come back to saner living." Leslie Gunawardena, Minister of Communication in a public article stated "There is no doubt that the essence of the matter is that it was the revolt of the youth. Those participating are in their large majority between the ages of 16 and 23. The numbers are not known but they run into several thousands."

The government's decision to ask the North Korean Embassy personnel to leave the country was taken without

any evidence of direct or indirect complicity of the embassy or any of its officials with the rebel government. This step was clearly motivated by the desire of the government to establish closer links with the US and UK imperialism as the only means of sustaining the capitalist economy and maintaining capitalist rule, in the present situation.

The Working Class:

The organised working class as such did not participate in this armed struggle of the youth. As already mentioned, groups of young workers have been active participants, but not as a section of the working class.

It is true that, in response to the call of the Coalition leaders of the LSSP and CP, trade union bosses and bureaucrats pledged support to the government and have even assisted the police and military to hunt down and murder the youth and left critics of the government. But there were indications that rank and file members of trade unions were not with their leaders in regard to their conduct of supporting the armed forces against the youth. For instance, many workers of coalition trade-unions had refused to contribute to the so-called "Insurgent Victims Fund" which the coalition leaders sponsored.

The treacherous behaviour of coalition trade union officials and some of their followers and the failure of the organised working-class to be even articulate against the murders and atrocities of the government is the measure of the disorientation of the working-class that had taken place through coalition politics since 1964 and the process of absorption of the trade-union apparatuses into the capitalist State-structure which has been taking place.

A Challenge:

The armed struggle is the first real challenge in Ceylon to a capitalist regime from the side of the oppressed people. It is also a challenge to all those who were peddling theories about achieving socialism through bourgeois parliamentary means. Since the collapse of the revolutionary oriented LSSP in June 1964 the country was totally dominated by parliamentarism, electoralism, and political manipulation by the party of the so-called national or progressive bourgeoisie, the SLFP, supported by the two revisionist working-class parties, the LSSP and CP. The bourgeois SLFP colossus-like, strode the political scene and the so-called Bandaranaike policies appeared inseparable from socialist ideology. The youth uprising has shown that this popularity of the SLFP was a temporary phenomenon and the colossus after all had feet of clay. The youth uprising has shown that the unprecedented mass support that the coalition government enjoyed since coming to office has even now, to a large extent, evaporated.

Oppositional Currents:

Apart from the young rebels, large sections of the masses who had supported the government have already broken with it. The mass slaughter of youth as well as others and the atrocities perpetrated by the armed forces with the direct responsibility of the government and its leaders, is even now, leading to a growing hatred of the government among all sections of the people. It is the unprecedented repression, the withdrawal of democratic rights and the state of virtual martial law now prevailing, that has prevented the people from becoming articulate in this regard.

Whatever may be the fortunes of the youth still in armed struggle, one real possibility in this situation is that wide sections of the masses

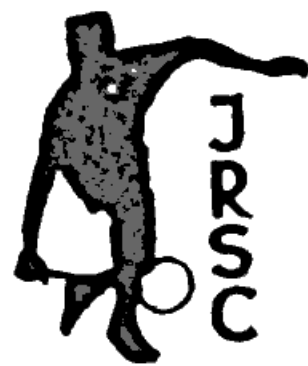
could well develop an anti-capitalist left orientation not only in relation to actions of the government and the capitalist State during the youth uprising, but also in relation to the pressing problems of the people which have now become more acute than ever before, through the actions and failures of the government.

How soon the working class and the rest of the masses can take the road of struggle against the government and the capitalist class is problematical, especially under conditions of a ruthless military-police dictatorship which is today's reality.

In any event the armed struggle of the youth has posed sharply the questions of correct strategy and tactics for the socialist revolution in Ceylon, not only in the light of the experiences of this struggle, but also in the context of the lessons of struggles in Asia, Latin America and Europe in recent times, as well as their more distant history.

Concretely, the successful outcome of revolutionary struggles in Ceylon is inescapably linked to the great debate that will centre round the questions of:— what are the real socialist alternatives to the present capitalist-imperialist plantation and domestic economy; what are the forces of the Ceylon revolution; what is the place of the working class including plantation workers in this revolution; what is the place and role of the revolutionary youth in the socialist revolution; what is the class that will control the new state-power; and if armed struggle is the continuation of politics by other means is not the ideological programmatic and organisational arming primary, and the technical question of armaments secondary?

To what extent, and how speedily, a re-groupment of the revolutionary forces could take place on the basis of a correct anti-capitalist orientation on all these burning questions, in the perspective of united action to mobilise the working class and other oppressed sections against the capitalist class, its state-power and government will be crucial in determining the course of the coming revolutionary struggles.



John Reid's Squash Centre

HOURS: 9-12 and 2-5 weekdays

STUDENTS CONCESSIONS

SQUASH: Students 30c per half hour (normally 55c). Racquets half normal hire.

GOLF: Students 25c and 35c per bucket of balls (normally 30c and 50c). Plus free clubs (normal hire 10c).

21st BIRTHDAY? ENGAGEMENT? WEDDING?

For quality gifts at special rates to students and staff call and inspect our fine range of Sterling, Silver, Silver Plate, Stainless Steel, Pewter, Crystal, Watches etc.

Walker & Hall

WOODWARD HOUSE
99 THE TERRACE
TELEPHONE 70-139

CLASSIFIED ADS

VICTUALLERS REGINALD COLLINS LTD.

Wholesale wine and spirit people Vintners to the Students' Association. Carry stocks of all brands of ale, spirits, table wine (from 65c), sherry in flagons (\$1.75) or quart bottles.

Free Delivery—Cellars located at No. 3 BALLANCE STREET
Phone: 70-214

DAYSH, RENOUF and CO.

Members of the Wellington Stock Exchange, National Bank Building
170-180 Featherston Street
PO Box 3648, Wellington
Tel 49-0000 Telex NZ 3475

PRINCIPALS

Francis H. Renouf, M.Com.
Dip. Ec. P. (Oxon), F.C.A.
M. E. Duff Dwyer, CBE, J.P.
R. J. Radford, B.Com., F.C.A.
P. W. C. Pearson, A.C.A.
R. C. Pearson, A.C.A.
B. P. Avery, B.Com., A.C.A.
B. O. Bazelon, B.A., B.Com., A.C.A., A.C.I.S.
D. B. M. John, B.Com., A.C.A.
R. J. O'Connell, B.C.A. (Hons.), A.C.A., C.M.A.N.Z.

H. W. MOSS LTD

WHOLESALE WINE AND SPIRIT MERCHANTS
69 THORNDON QUAY
OPEN SATURDAYS

Phone: 70-639

PAUL GILL SUIT HIRE SERVICE

SUITS FOR ALL OCCASIONS

FIRST FLOOR
DOMINION LIFE ARCADE
WILLIS ST., WELLINGTON

Phone 43-275

BARRY & SARGENT LTD.

OPTICIANS
118 Willis St. - Tel. 43-841

PERSONS REQUIRED TO SELL ADS

Give name and phone no. to Salient Office

ST. GEORGE BILLIARD SALOON

Open 9 am - 11 pm
Monday to Saturday
25% Discount to Students
Monday - Wednesday
No discount 12-2 pm

SPORTS THE SPORTS DEPOT (Witcombe & Caldwell)

Long-standing connection with University sport. Every one of Vic's 24 sports catered for. Discount for Sports Clubs.

SPORT

VICTORIA WINS

WINTER TOURNAMENT

N.Z.U.S.A. don't know! Andy Wright hasn't been able to find out! Auckland University haven't a clue!

So, we made an intelligent and calculated guess, on behalf of the Students' Association, Victoria must have won!

We have heard a nasty rumour that Auckland hosed in, and were well ahead on points from their nearest rivals, Canterbury.

However, Auckland University could not substantiate this when we phoned. Consequently, we put it down to inter-regional friction and left it at that.

It is likely that Auckland will vehemently disagree with our thinking on this matter - please disregard anything you may see or hear, and believe only what you find in your official organ! We will accept their letters and publish them as a sign of good faith - please disregard them. Graeme Collins has informed us that he is "expecting a letter from the political cowboys at N.Z.U.S.A. before too long". However he has received damning info as to the fraudulent nature of this letter....

VICTORIA WON - there can be no question about it. Moreover, they deserved to win!

This result is really quite surprising. Going by previous Tournament records, the home team always has a decided advantage. Moreover, the smaller "town" universities also do well, probably because the spirit in these closely-knit universities is greater than in the bigger, impersonal universities, such as Victoria, where apathy reigns!

As a matter of fact, many of our sports teams show the same attitude as Auckland University. Their lack of interest has added to the confusion resulting from the lack of knowledge about tournament. For this reason, Salient's Tournament review has a sadly depleted air! We simply did not receive enough copy for a better article, despite the efforts of Andy Wright and myself to get more info.

One thing however all can be certain of. For the first time in 23 years, Victoria has won a Tournament.

Sports Editor

As far as I have been able to ascertain, our most successful efforts at Tournament were: Badminton - Tour. Champs Swords - Tour. Champs Rugby League - almost Tour Champs.

Karate was again included for the second time since its inception as a provisional sport, the first occasion being at Otago in '69. We are therefore two-thirds of the way towards having Karate included as a full tournament sport.

Teams were entered from Auckland, Victoria and Canterbury/Lincoln. Because Auckland does Chiclokan Karate, and Victoria and Canterbury/Lincoln does Kyokushuikai Karate it proved necessary to compromise between the two styles. Our style, Kyokushuikai is more of an offensive style than theirs. And as it turned out the tournament was extremely well run, and for this we are indebted to Bob Anderson of Auckland University.

On Monday, the first day of the tournament, eliminations were held for restricted kyu champion, and for open grade championship. The day was quite a successful one with the exception of a few minor injuries which are inevitable at a tournament in which different styles compete. At the end all that remained of these two

championships was the semi-finals which were held over until the next day.

We began at 10 am next day, with the restricted kyu semi-final and final. Dave Russel of Victoria was successful in this, he was placed third. In the open grade we did not have very much success due to the fact that two of our chaps suffered minor injuries. The open was won by a competitor from Auckland. When these two finals were completed it was decided to finish for the day to give competitors time to nurse and rest their injuries before the team fights on the Wednesday. We adjourned at 11.15am.

On Wednesday morning all competitors in the teams event assembled at the Ex-Royal Navalmen's hall at Newmarket. Prior to the events all team-captains were required to submit a team list with the fighting order of his team. Our team comprised D. Turner (team captain) W. Stevens, J. Galvin, D. Russell, and P. Struthers. We drew Canterbury/Lincoln as the first event. We had feared stiff opposition from down south but we prevailed winning by 3½ points to 1½ points. Next Auckland and ourselves fought off but this time we were defeated. Auckland scored 3½ points while we scored 1½ points giving us a grade total of 5 points.

The next and last event was Auckland against Canterbury/Lincoln. This resulted in Auckland defeating Canterbury/Lincoln by the exact same margin that we beat them by, 3½ points to 1½ points. Thus, the final score was: Auckland 7, Victoria 5, and Canterbury/Lincoln 3.

All in all it was a very interesting tournament which enabled the various competitors to get to know other styles of karate and to get to know the other exponents. This bridging of the gap is very important if Karate is to become a fully accepted tournament sport.

IMPORTANT SPORTS DATES

SPORTS COUNCIL A.G.M.
Thurs, 9th Sept.
7.15pm. Lounge

BLUES DINNER
September 17th
Tickets at Stud. Ass Office.

IAN DUNN ON RUGBY (virtually unabridged)

As the third term of Varsity commences so we have reached the last of our club Rugby for 1971 and, although tempted to indulge in cliché-cluttered claptrap, I will endeavour to use some sort of journalistic approach in case I again disturb that galah, "Gabriel Veysey."

This was written following Petone's defeat of the A's and I congratulate Ian Upston on producing yet another well-drilled team, which by the time you read this should have established a new record in Jubilee Cup history. Mick Bremner must be feeling somewhat disappointed, but congratulations are also in order for him.

I doubt whether many coaches could have produced a team with the record built up by the A's this year. The team overcame early difficulties when it looked as if they might even be lucky to avoid promotion-relegation, let alone make the top six. The individual players' response reflects great credit on their attitudes and abilities, but it reflects greater credit on their coach, the catalyst producing this response.

All praise therefore to Mick for not only producing a fine team but one, particularly in the

forwards, dominated by youth. This means that the club and Wellington generally will be well served by these young men introduced to senior rugby by Mick. Having regard to the dismal performances produced by too many teams throughout New Zealand over recent months, at national and international level, I wonder just how long Rugby at such levels can ignore Mick's talented, able and original approach. For the sake, not only of the game, but of the players at these levels, one hopes that it will not be too long before his talents receive due recognition. So Mick - well done.

While expressing congratulations it might be appropriate to save some for the game's unsung heroes - the referees. Without this dedicated group of men there would be no Rugby - yet how often do we (I am probably the worst offender of all) abuse hell out of those individuals who are, after all, only human. One man exercising control over an area 110 yards by 75 yards populated with 30 players and surrounded by anything from 5 to 50,000 partisan "experts" - what a formidable task!

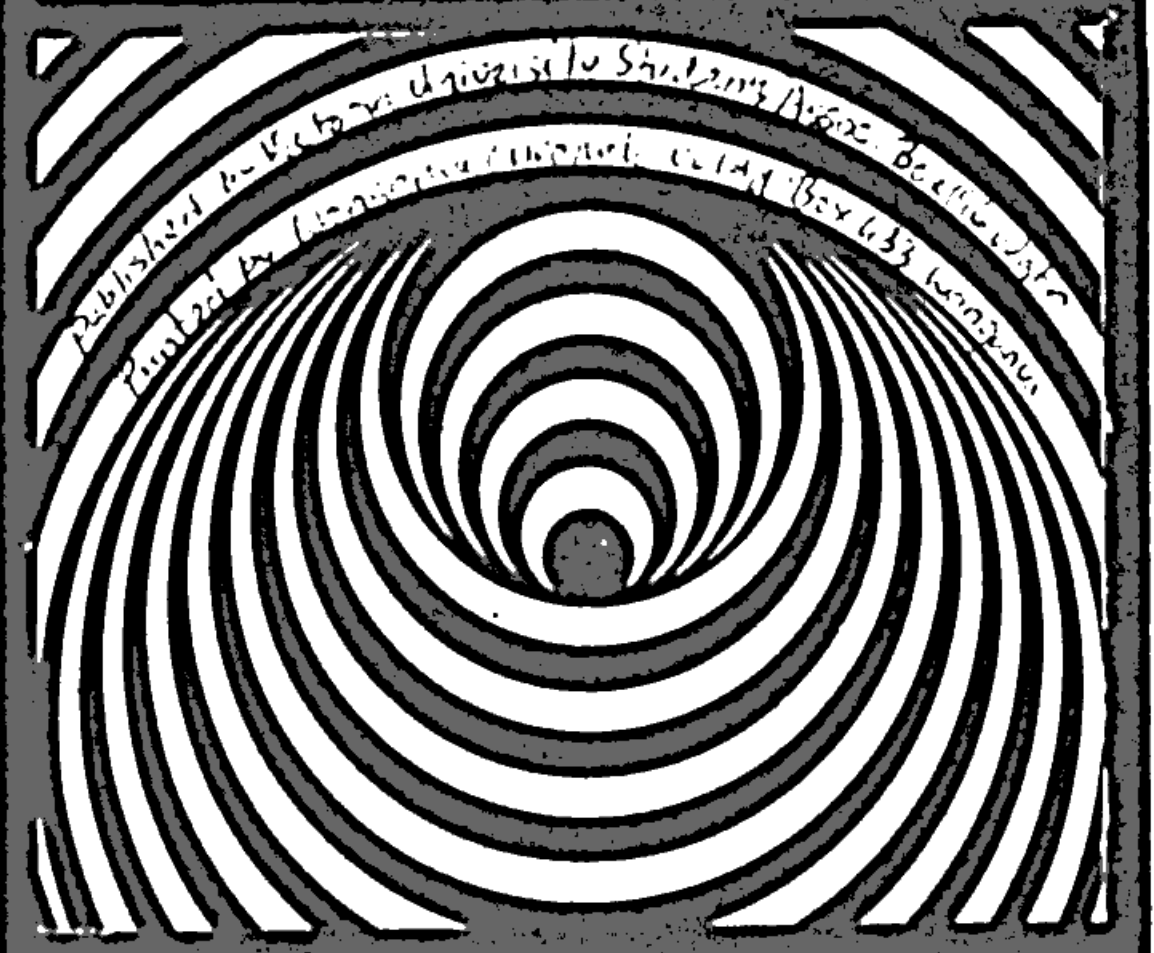
Referees such as Peter McDavitt and Graham Harrison from the "top five" invariably carry out their duties with distinction. It is pleasing to be able to participate in the games controlled by those referees, such as Don Burt and John Muir, who are regarded as future candidates for the "top five". I could go on and on referring to members of this group but, when handing out kudos, perhaps most of all I think of those refs who devote themselves to their association and the game in the hard-working manner of that Don Moselen or of veterans like Bill Boyd and Dick Senyer.

Each Monday night during the rugby season upwards of 150 of these gentlemen gather to talk and listen to all manner of things related to Rugby laws and their interpretation. Perhaps a few coaches and players' ears burn as a consequence of some things said at these weekly meetings but what does it matter? Knowing the articulate and erudite approach of many members of the Referees' Association these meetings can only be for the good of the game. No mention of Referees would be complete without some reference to Lance Osborne, the Association's Secretary. A dedicated hard-working official, he must receive and make more telephone calls than any one in the Rugby season. Lance's tireless efficiency was appropriately recognized when he was made a life member of the Association this year.

Before concluding, two other congratulatory references are in order - to the Junior 2nd and 7th A sides on winning their respective grade championship for 1971. Both of these teams performed with credit this season and congratulations go to their leaders - Graeme Edmond and David McKee in the case of the J2's - John Frazer and Brian Pratt for the J7A's.

CAR CLUB BOOMING

Victoria's Car Club, now in its first full year of activities, is one of the fastest growing Clubs in the University. Proof of the strength of the Club has now been realised with the recent win by the Car Club Team entry in the "Anthony Motors Break-down '71 Motor Rally." One hundred cars faced the starter for this event which lasted for eight testing hours on July 25th, and saw many competitors lost throughout the day. A large number of team entries were received for the event and it is to the credit of the participants



with peter winter



in the four cars making up the University Team that their efforts enabled them to take the first prize against the more experienced competitors.

The Club is having a busy time this year arranging events to satisfy the enthusiasm shown in its activities. Most students have heard, or read, about Car Rallies being held in various countries and, more recently, about the "Heatway Rally" which was run throughout the North Island. Until last year the students at Vic have been unable to compete in a University Car Rally but, now that the Club is established, this is now possible and popularity of these events is surprising. The Club has followed a policy of providing interesting events for those who may, or may never, have been on a Car Rally and have wished to try their skills at the sport, while bearing in mind that the event must not be too expensive, too time-consuming, or too difficult. To this end the Club has held most of its events on Sunday afternoons, with the occasional night rally being held on Saturday nights, at a cost of only 50 cents per car.

To the uninitiated, a Car Rally is not a race, or a display of vehicles, but rather, briefly, it is a test of skill among competitors following a given course. Three people make up the "ideal" car - it has been proven in Vics events that the type of vehicle has too little to do with the results. These three are (1) The Driver who must be able to drive according to the instructions, and at the correct speed, given to him by (2) The Navigator who must be able to read the instructions correctly and assist (3) The Time-keeper who must be able to co-ordinate the distance travelled, and the speed of travel, to ensure that the car is travelling on the right timing. Throughout the journey the organiser employs a "check" system to ensure that the competitors are on the correct course and travelling at the correct speed - off course, or wrong timing, can result in penalty points against the competitors. The winner is the person obtaining the least penalty points in the event.

The beginning of the year saw 10-15 cars taking part in Car Club events which last, on an average, 2½ - 3½ hours and cover 50-70 miles. As the year progressed the number of competitors has increased with each event and it is now common to have over 30 cars line up for the start - a turnout

which is far greater than many of the longer established car clubs regularly attain. All beginners to the sport have found that after two or three events the whole idea of Car Rallying gets into their blood and they become regular competitors. There is no doubt that the Club will increase in size again next year, and possibly become the strongest Car Club in Wellington as Canterbury, and Auckland, University became in their areas.

If you would like to pit your wits against some others then watch the noticeboards, especially on the first floor of the Student Union Building, for details of coming Car Club events. If you have never been on a Car Rally before then I suggest that you begin with a Sunday event (as daylight helps), bring a map, pencil and paper, and ask the organiser at the start control for a "Beginners Instruction Guide" which you can read before the rally begins and obtain some helpful hints for you to use during the event. If you are in any doubt before the start, don't hesitate to ask anyone else about your problems, or for any hints on how to Rally, as the more experienced rally competitors are always willing to help beginners.

See you at the next Car Rally. Good luck.

Tony Fair.

NEW ZEALAND UNIVERSITIES EASTER TOURNAMENT 1972.

During Easter 1972 Vic will again be host to the New Zealand Universities Easter Tournament.

Would anyone who is interested in helping to coordinate the organisation in any of the following areas please contact me either at work or at home. Phone: Work 58-886, Home 769-195

Headquarters Controller
Lucky Packets Controller
Records Controller
Tournament Controller
Assistant Social Controller
Billeting Controller
Ways and Means Controller
Drinking Horn Controller
Social Controller

If you want any more "Guff" about any of these jobs see Mrs Tait in the Stud. Ass. Office.

Warwyck Dewe
Easter Tournament Controller 1972

apply before
fri sept 10

MAKE MONEY ON

Salient	Editor	honarium \$700
	Advertising Manager	15% sales commission on about \$6,000 worth of advertising p.a.
	Technical Editor	\$1.40 per page - about \$500 p.a.
Argot	Editor	\$30 per issue
	Business Manager	Rate to be negotiated
Handbook	Editor	\$50 with \$50 for technical work
Cappicade	Editor	\$250
Publications	Treasurer	\$50 + \$50 for preparation of accounts

PUBLICATIONS

ask Robin Wilson



about degrees which could help you to the top.

If you have the right subjects,
there is the right opportunity for you in
New Zealand's biggest enterprise.

The opportunity to use your degree
to help create a better society.

The opportunity to advance to one of
130 jobs earning over \$10,000 a year.

write to:

Robin Wilson
Graduate Liaison Officer
State Services Commission
P.O. Box 8004, Wellington.



DOWNSTAGE THEATRE

TONIGHT 8.15 p.m.

"LET'S GET A DIVORCE!"

By Victorian Sardou and Emile de Najac.

Directed by Anthony Taylor
Designed by Grant Tilly

Bookings Now Open

All Reservations Star Boating Club
Jervois Quay, Tel. 559-639
(10 a.m. - 6 p.m.)

RALPH WILKIN

DINNER SUIT HIRE

AND

LATEST STYLE DAY SUITS

PERSONAL FITTING BY RALPH WILKIN

First Floor, corner Farish and Manners Streets

(above Marquis Gowns)

Phone 46-762

REJECT LEGALISED MURDER REGISTER AS A CONCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

For information write or phone:

Society of Friends,
138B Kelburn Parade,
Kelburn,
Wellington.
759-662

dollar dilemma?

Perhaps we can help! The National Bank financial counselling service for students. One of our bankers calls regularly at your University to talk about money handling, budgeting and general financial planning. Ask him about the National's Student Loan Scheme, designed to help undergraduates complete their studies. You could qualify for this flexible scheme.

Phone Mr. T. M. Corrigan at 49-410 to find when we next call, and where.

The National Bank
OF NEW ZEALAND LIMITED
- YOUR FRIENDLY BANK



GLENVALE



Sparkling
White
Leibel.

PICK UP
A BOTTLE
TONIGHT

MORE PEOPLE CHOOSE GLENVALE



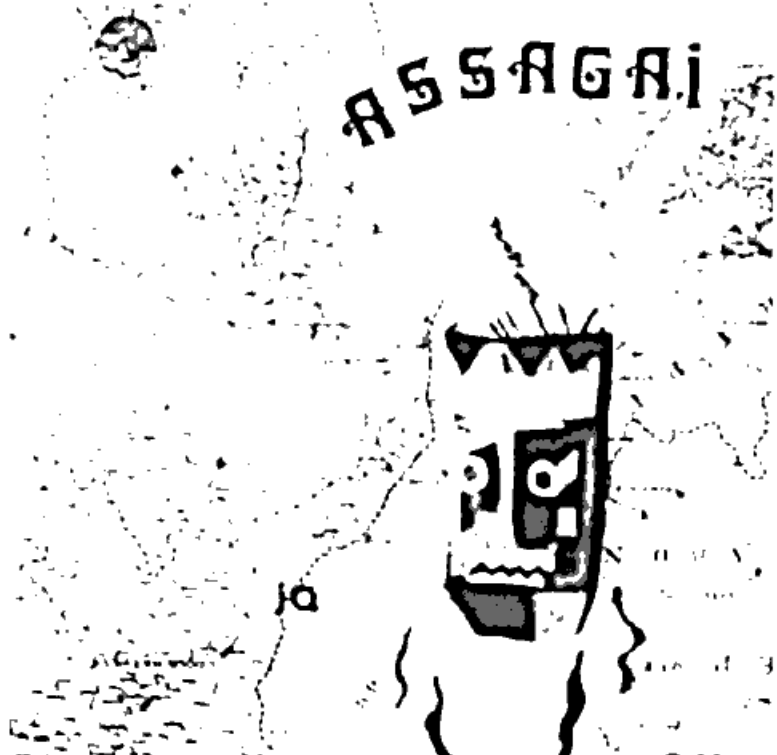
VERTIGO

Its the Vertigo season again and "The Music Company" has seen fit to unleash upon us another selection of new long-players which can be only described as a mixed bag. The Vertigo label which has been associated mainly with Progressive heavy sounds now seems to be broadening its base because the new selection has some surprises compared with what we normally associate with the label.

There are some old groups, there are some new groups and there are some soloists, the overall quality of whom is relatively high although some do let the side down somewhat.

LP's include Asylum by a new group, Cressida; the third LP from King Crimson, Lizard; a solo LP from Ian Matthews; a bit of Afro-rock from Assagai; We'll Talk about it Later which is the second nucleus record and finally the first LP by a group called Gravy Train.

The above listed LP's will be the ones reviewed here but there are four others in the Current Vertigo bag. The new Uriah Heep LP called Salisbury which comes highly recommended, and an LP by a group called Still Life which if nothing else is notable for its cover. For those interested in black magic (a thing which seems to be influencing the pop music scene today) the record Holy Magick by Graham Bond might be worth the purchase, but if you like a bit of piano playing then Keith Tippett's record might interest you more. He's a good keyboard man and is noted for his session work so how he stands up on his own LP has yet to be discovered.



ASSAGAI

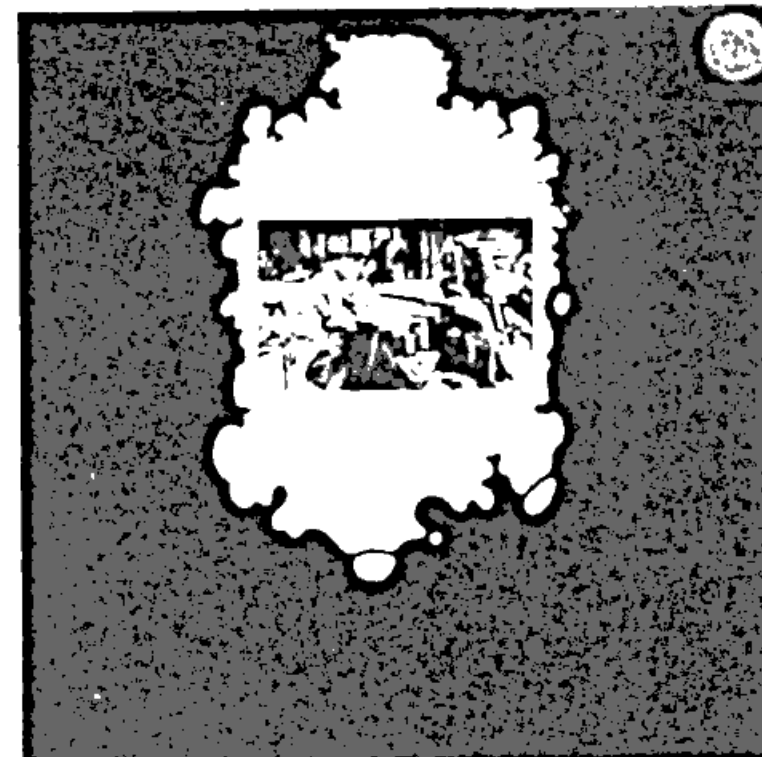
Telephone Girl - Akasa - Hey Jude -
Cocoa - Trin Ajolawa - Ayico -
Beka - I'll Wait For You
6360 030

ASSAGAI

Talk about regionalism! - not so very long ago we were inundated with pseudo-Latin American beat in the form of such groups as Santana, and more recently perhaps, Mandrill. Now it's Africa's turn as shown by the rise of the so-called Afro-rock groups notably, of course, Osibisa, and Assagai. Assagai which developed from many obscure groups, among them one (understandably) called Spear,

strikes me as a very parochial bunch of guys and with names like Louis Moholo, Duda Pukwana, and Bizo Maggikana, who's surprised. On top of this a lot of the tracks sung in Yuruba (a Nigerian dialect), including a version of Hey Jude which has to be heard to be believed. The big thing I find about this LP is that it's all been heard before, only it was called Calypso. In fact you just have to add a steel band and it would be straight out of Trinidad.

There is a very distinct western jazz influence on the group especially in the use of saxophones but a link with Africa is kept by use of 'Afro' type drumming. The record is very easy listening - it's not brilliant and doesn't provide us with any outstanding music, but it's still good. The instrumentals are the best and range from Akas - a big band instrumental with reminders of Santana, to Ayeio, which has a very strong Calypso overtone.



NUCLEUS

We'll Talk About It Later

Song For The Bearded Lady - Sun
Child - Lullaby For A Lonely Child -
We'll Talk About It Later - Oasis -
Ballad Of Joe Pimp - Easter 1916
6360 027

NUCLEUS: We'll Talk about it later.

In an effort to categorise musical groups one writer has described the music of Nucleus as "jazz-blues with strong rock overtones" what ever that means. All I can say is that the group play a type of free-form yet specialised music which can be described to my satisfaction as "mature". Nucleus is an incredibly talented and tight knit instrumental group and their second LP amply shows this.

Their music however, suffers from much of a sameness, to such an extent that it is hard to distinguish between individual tracks by the time that you have heard it a few times. The musical construction is almost always the same with a free form mixture of drums, guitars and brass, producing music that sort of evolves along, so much so, that one can't quite anticipate what is going to happen on a particular track.

Their music is specialised and I would imagine that it would only attract a narrow band of listeners. (in spite of this statement - their first LP Elastic Rock sold out completely within weeks of its release) Nucleus on this LP consists of Ian Carr, Karl Jenkins, a New Zealander called Brian Smith, Jeff Clyne, John Marshall and Chris Spedding.

Ballad of Joe Pimp is one of the vocal tracks on the LP but I find that the dominating factors are the instruments which make this tune really much the same as all other tracks. Ian Carr says, "For me the test of any band is how much I enjoy listening to it when I'm not playing. With Nucleus I get into a state approaching ecstasy" - I wouldn't go that far but I do admit a partial liking of this LP and acknowledge that this record houses many very talented musicians.

sense of fun always conceals the artificiality.

RAM

Paul & Linda McCartney Apple

So here it is, the album that has been greeted by such mixed feelings overseas. It seems that a lot of people were expecting something incredibly sophisticated from McCartney, a professionalistic selection of memorable material, and naturally they were disappointed with his first solo album. They still haven't clicked to his intentions, however, and are naturally packing sads over this one too.

I think it is obvious that Paul and Linda aren't striving for great musical heights. Foremost among their desires must be the enjoyment of their music and the communication of this enjoyment to the listener. You cannot sit down, adopt an attitude of concentrated interest, and critically appraise the tracks here - anyone who tries this hard will never appreciate their beauty. For it is the child-like glee that emanates from this music that renders it most enjoyable. Under this youthful guise Paul and Linda can employ the most contrived effects and succeed. So Paul can adopt an Appalachian moonshiner's rasp for Monkberry Moon Delight and then slip into a deep Elvis croon on Eat at Home. He can leave the dreamy vocals of Uncle Albert to pick up a megaphone and through it deliver a monologue in positively ripping English. The album's ubiquitous

I consider it creditable that Paul and Linda have communicated their enjoyment, for too often artists release tracks on which they've had a good time but from which everyone else gains little. The high-spirited delight here is apparent, with Paul's joyful whoops and cries a feature on many of the tracks.

The fold-out cover, which is not as good as that on the first LP, is again a montage of photos, some of the McCartneys with their children and others of two beetles producing theirs. It's arranged like a children's scrapbook, and has about as much artistic value.

The supporting musicians, Denny Seiwell, Dave Spinoza, and Hugh McCracken are excellent - McCartney was justifiably pleased with them. In addition, the engineering by Eirik (the Norwegian) Wangberg is superb. All the vocal backing effects are the McCartneys' voices multirecorded, often producing wonderfully ethereal effects, as on Wild Boy which has just a hint of phasing as well - an incredible offering.

Noticeable is the great variety of material, not only between the tracks but within them too. Heart of the Country is a country number with some cool scat singing. The rocker Smile Away has already been released as a single. Monkberry Moon Delight is a song of fun, a warm happy affair with Paul doing

KING CRIMSON: Lizard

Side one of King Crimson's third LP seems to me to be a logical extension of *In the Wake of Poseidon* and a higher level of abstraction is reached. Sinfield, noted for his highly condensed lyrics, has eased slightly on this record and the abstraction seems to have been passed on to the music. His lyrics though still partially contracted are understandable:

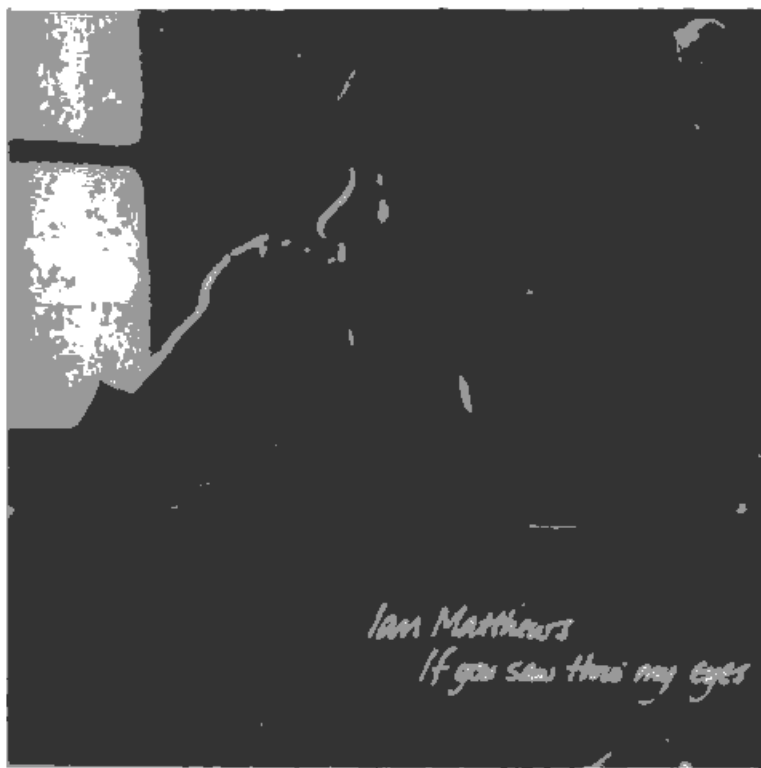
*Cleaned my feet of mud, followed the empty
Zebra ride to the Crikus,
Past a painted eagle, spoke to the pay box
Glove which wrote on my tongue -
Pushed me down a slide to the arena
Megaphonian fanfare
In his cloak of words strode the ringmaster
Bid me join the parade . . .*

(Cirkus)

The instrumentals and vocals, however, are very harsh and disjointed and develop a sort of jarring condensed abstract quality. Fripp's mellotron is once again dominant, almost to the point that one gets to hate the sound of the instrument. Side Two of the LP comes up as a complete surprise - this is the actual "lizard" part of the record and almost marks a return to the simple and musical notes of *In the Court of the Crimson Kings*. The music sort of flows along smoothly through *Prince Rupert Awakes*, *Bolero - The Peacock's Tale* ending in *The Battle of Class Tears* which concludes with *Prince Rupert's Lament*:

*Burt with dream and taut with fear
Dawn's misty shawl upon them
Three Hills apart great armies stir
Spit oath and curse as dawn breaks.
Forming lines of horse and steel
By even yards march forward*

I haven't heard such good music from them since their first LP and if it's a sign of things to come this may be a group to watch.



IAN MATTHEWS
If You Saw Thro' My Eyes
Desert Inn - Hearts - Never
Ending - Reno Nevada -
Little Known - Hinge -
Southern Wind - It Came
Without Warning - You
Couldn't Lose - Morgan The
Pirate - Thro' My Eyes
6360 034

IAN MATTHEWS: If you saw thro' my eyes.

Solo artists are 'in' at the moment considering the success of Cat Stevens, Elton John, James Taylor and others. A new offering in this category of music is Ian Matthews previously of Matthews Southern Comfort, who presents us with an LP of very pleasant predominately, self-penned tunes.

Listening to this LP, one can grasp fleetingly at the many influences upon it one of whom is Neil Young. Lyrics are very well written and meaningful:

*And the light I find reflected
Guides the way among the hearts left by the road
By the way you seem affected*

some vocal fooling towards the end. High wordless vocals reminiscent of the Beach Boys are included on *The Back Seat of my Car* one of the best songs on the album, with an occasional electric, beautiful guitar figure. Funky rhythm and blues appears on *3 Legs* a song that sounds like something by Daddy Cool. And, unforgetably, *Ram On* with Raul on Ukelele. Catchy and beautiful, this song is one of the most faultlessly charming I have heard.

By now it should be clear that in terms of the evolution of popular music this album offers little or nothing. But so what? It's beautiful, warm, happy, sincere, well-engineered, varied, capricious, and colourful. Does this release need to be justified further?

The Yes Album

**Yes
Atlantic**

In the current morass of rock music there are very few landmarks, but at last something new and refreshing has broken through the grey canopy slung between the heavies. Yes are not a new group, but it is this album that will thrust them into the prominence they deserve. These guys are not only competent musicians but also creative artists, and besides being able to attempt novelty, they succeed at it. It is in this success in their creativity that distinguishes them, for while there are vast numbers of groups crashing the progressive scene, only a few of them are giving us real joy: Emerson, Lake and

I can almost taste the bitterness you show (Hearts)

*Did you ever lead another life
when you knew no one could hear
Did you close your eyes and thought awhile
Only then to find we're all still here* (You couldn't lose)

Hinge is a small piece of well-played orchestral music which comes at the end of the first side and provides a pleasant relief from the vocals - a nice touch.

CRESSIDA
Asylum
Asylum - Munich - Goodbye Post
Office Tower Goodbye Survivor -
Reprieved - Lisa - Summer Weekend
Of A Lifetime - Let Them Come When
They Will
6360 025



This is one of the LP's from which I think 'Vertigo' is broadening its base. Finding Ian Matthews on this label is a bit of a surprise, especially when Vertigo has traditionally been associated with heavy progressive 'group' sounds.

If you saw thro' my eyes is very pleasant and very well produced, and is one of the few LP's which I would openly recommend people to buy.



GRAVY TRAIN
*The New One - Dedication To Sid -
Coast Road - Enterprise - Think Of
Life - Earn Of Pocket Nook*
6360 023

GRAVY TRAIN

Norman Barratt, Les Williams, Barry Davenport and J.D. Hughes make up the new group, Gravy Train, and those who like really heavy music should go for this LP. Hughes plays a "Jethro Tull" type flute which is interspersed with a very heavy rock sound which approaches Led Zeppelin on some tracks, especially with Barratt emulating very much Jimmy Page's type of guitar work.

Coast Road is a terrific number done in a blues style. At first there is a slow pounding rhythm on which some superb instrumentals are launched, and later comes the vocals which are screamed out on the vein of the old 'blues' masters. The different tracks are variable enough to be distinctive and the only thing in common is the incredibly heavy rhythm.

Palmer, Mark-Almond, Pink Floyd, perhaps Jethro Tull.

The musical backgrounds of the Yes musicians appear non-descript. Tony Kaye, who plays keyboards, failed admission to the Royal College of Music. Others dropped out of varsity or other bands. It is perhaps noteworthy that all read music - this belies earlier, more formal musical training, and I consider this a reason why they are able to attain such a high standard *musically* - they begin at the level others are striving for.

The album is superb in its conception, execution and production. The performance exudes confidence, and its clarity is remarkable. It opens with *Yours is no Disgrace* a longish track that is rhythmically adventurous. Kaye slips easily from Moog to organ and back, while Steve Howe performs well on both electric and acoustic guitar, though it is Chris Squire's pounding bass that attracts attention at first. *The Clap* a folk-style acoustic guitar solo from Howe recorded live in London is a superlative offering. Technically brilliant, it also holds your interest by its inventiveness and crystal transparency.

Two massive chords lead into *Starship Troopers*. It is on this track that John Anderson's vocal blending with Chris Squire is exhibited. It's not often on rock albums we hear singing as well controlled as this. Really, for vocal precision, this performance would be difficult to beat. A long

The only track which I am not very keen on is *Earl of Pocket Nook* which unfortunately also happens to be the longest cut (16.11) but on the whole I find the LP mighty.

"This is the Gravy Train sound being captured to the extent where it contains all the excitement of a live gig and almost conjures up an idea of their visual impact" - so says the P.R. blurb, and for once I agree with it.

Cover photographs are by courtesy of Hipgnosis who are responsible for some really superb and colourful covers. (remember the cover of *Elegy* by the Nice.)

CRESSIDA: Asylum

This LP in my opinion is the pick of the bunch and can only be described as magnificent. I would also like to say that the group has an anonymous quality about them, mainly due to the fact that no one knows anything about them, which really surprises me because this promises to be a big seller. Cressida consists of Angus Cullen, John Culley, Peter Jennings, Kevin McCarthy, Iain Clark and Harold McNair, and that's about where the information stops.

The group feature some very good keyboard work and also feature a vocalist who can actually sing (unlike many of Today's groups). The music of Cressida can be described as a very musical sort of "heavy" sound which is played with light fingers - which sounds contradictory I know, How about a quiet "heavy" type of music? - anyway it makes for very pleasant listening.

Munich features a very good guitar break contrasting with the organ which on this tune plays a rhythmic role until later in the track when an incredible organ solo is presented. This track, like some of the others, uses an unobtrusive orchestral background and results in one of the best fusions of pop group and orchestra I have heard anywhere.

Goodbye

Goodbye Post Office Tower Goodbye features an atomic explosion which is provided by the courtesy of "El Supremo". However before the inevitable end occurs the lyrics tell us something:

*So I've made this bomb for the G.P.O.
To blow them all to hell!*

The cover of the record is as distinctive as the group itself, being a collection of model heads scattered upon and between two sea walls on a stony beach with two figures in the foreground aflame. The unusual photograph on the double cover seems to symbolise the fact that "Cressida" itself is unusual. Everything on this LP from instrumentals and vocals through to arrangements and production is of a consistently high quality, and I have come to the conclusion that this is the best LP of the six considered here.

W Forsman.

phased riff carries this number to its conclusion.

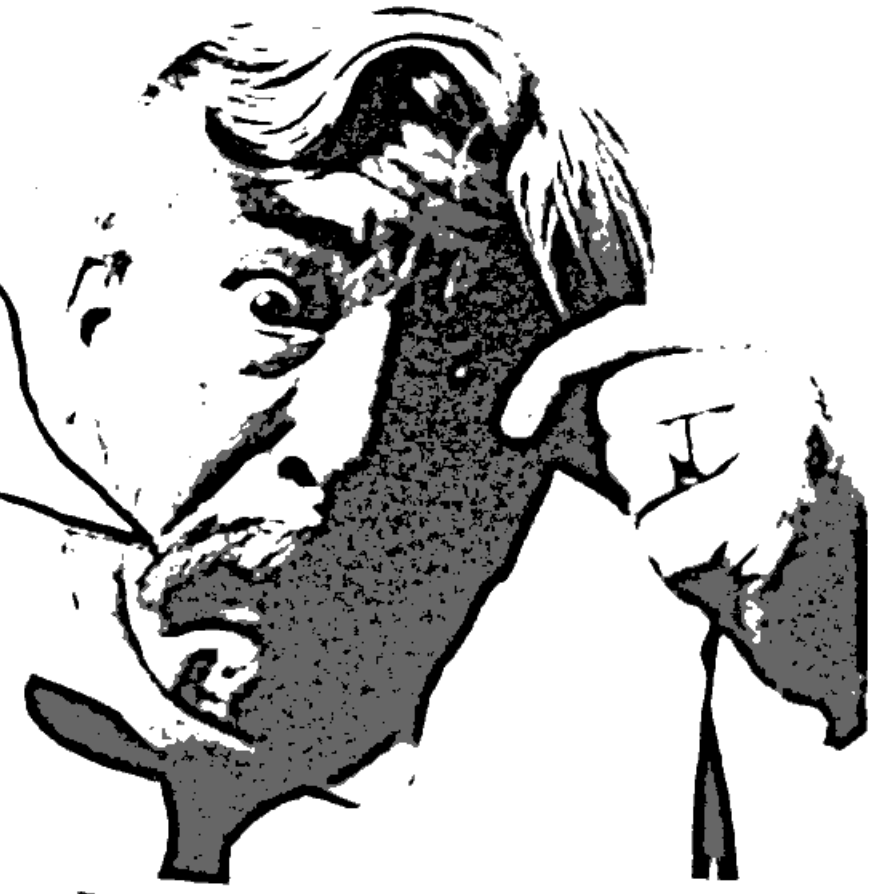
Recorders are used with great effect on I've seen all good people. The first part, with its adept vocals, is a beautiful song, near-perfect, from its delightful voices and cool rhythm to the bite of those recorders. Although full organ and bass come in later the performance never becomes heavy enough to drag. The organ builds great pillars of sound on which the lead guitar and vocals create distinctive ornaments.

A Venture is perhaps the least interesting number on the album, but it's short enough to prevent its boring you. *Perpetual Change* is more of the calibre of good Yes material, with rhythmic unorthodoxy and polished vocals. In the middle it breaks into a jazzy guitar figure that metamorphoses via an abrupt time change into a fast organ riff on which Moog is superimposed before the vocals reappear.

Good engineering, new material, and a sensitive performance make this album a refreshing delight compared with some of the crap that's been released lately. But by that I do not mean to imply that the *Yes Album* is good only in comparison with the hoi polloi - rather it is one of those albums that bear repeated listening and will stand as superb for their inventiveness, cohesion, clarity and unequalled musical ability;

- Zeke

I say, this is going a bit too far!



They tell it like it is!

BIC

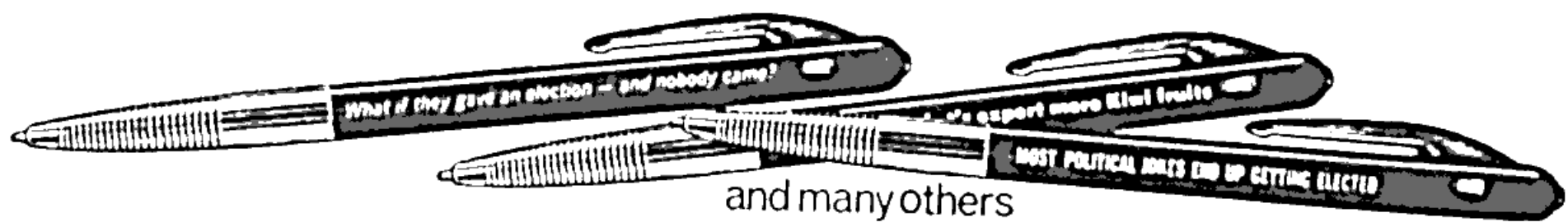
Up the

ESTABLISHMENT

You can be prime minister!

PENS with a message!

Drop that banner, put down that rotten egg. Here's a protest that speaks for itself. Bic Up-The-Establishment Pens give you a solid-set of ready made slogans that tell it like it really is. Here's the usual great value Bic pens, loaded with cool slogans, like: "Most political jokes end up getting elected", "Let's export more kiwi fruits", "The Minister of foreign affairs is away on one", and many more. You get all this on the world's biggest selling ballpens. Get an Up-The-Establishment Pen. Get the whole funky set. At booksellers and stationers everywhere.



and many others

17c