

## In this Issue

Photo of Norman Kirk holding a rifle while standing with two soldiers

Above: Our beloved leader has inherited a potentially explosive contradiction — Maori participation in Pakeha Justice. See pages 10 & 11.

Also:

- Why the Race Relations Conciliator crapped out.
- General Amin and Trevor Richards.
- Abortion Conference; Itch scratched.
- Anti-Imperialist news.
- Comrades Dimond and Franks report from the new China.

Below: Rhodesia

Smith's regime marches on towards apartheid. An interview with a man attempting to bring democracy and liberation to the African majority — pages 6, 7, 8.

Drawing of African men behind bars with a European man sitting above them

## NZ Students Against Imperialism

### When in Shanghai...

by *Ted Sheehan (pictured)*

The New Zealand delegation in China forged another link of friendship with Chinese workers on American Independence Day, July 4.

The delegation flew into Shanghai late that day from Kwangchow (Canton). Feeling extremely tired after a hectic three days and a long flight, the 23-member party was taken to the Peace Hotel for a late meal. To the disgust of most members of the party, a group of what appeared to be every American in Shanghai was seated at a nearby table, drunkenly celebrating July 4.

At first with patience, and then with growing anger, the New Zealand students endured the boorish antics of the Americans, who appeared to be anxious to exhibit every failing of the white "master race" overseas.

Armed with bottles of bourbon and calling loudly for service from the hotel staff, the Americans launched into several maudlin choruses of "I Want to Go Home" and other bizarre songs. An American flag — a much-hated symbol in imperialist-ruled Shanghai in former times — disfigured one wall while weaving, staggering Americans disfigured the whole room.

As the songs continued, the endurance of some students snapped and they urged the Americans to go home by all means. This suggestion, which would have been considered somewhat impolite by the Chinese, had little effect.

The Americans were being extremely rude to their hosts, the Chinese, so the New Zealanders decided to take action. They did not wish to be mistaken for Americans, or associated with them.

Photo of Ted Sheenan smoking a cigarette

The problem was how to demonstrate to the Chinese that New Zealanders were not the same breed as the Americans, while at the same time, not insulting the Americans, which would embarrass their Chinese hosts.

The situation was resolved by members of the delegation who had foreseen such an occasion arising.

They rose and chorused in Chinese "Down with U.S. imperialism!"

Since the Americans did not understand what had been said, they could not feel insulted and the Chinese were not embarrassed. Since the Chinese did understand, they got the message that the New Zealanders were not associated and did not approve of the Americans.

The Chinese staff approached the delegation and complimented them on their command of the Chinese language. This led to a round of mutual compliments, which were drowned out by the Americans bursting into maudlin, chauvinistic songs. They were defeated by the united Chinese staff and New Zealand students rendering a fortissimo version of the Chinese song "Unity is Strength."

It was a small incident, but extremely valuable in terms of the delegation's mission to promote friendship

between the New Zealand and Chinese peoples. A few games of table tennis further developed the friendship between the hotel staff and the students.

## **Chinese Tourists at Victoria**

On Monday night the Student Union Hall was transformed from a lounge for layabout students into a meeting place and celebration of three cultures. The occasion was a reception for the first ever tourist party from the People's Republic of China.

A number of young Maoris, some from Nga Tamatoa and others from the Te Reo Maori Society gave stirring welcomes which began as speech and ended with song. Later they performed action songs as a group.

Chinese music was heard, first from a NZ Chinese girl playing an ancient stringed instrument. Later, two members of the touring party each sang a Chinese song to an extremely enthusiastic audience.

Presentations were made, speeches were shouted, and a fascinating supper was provided by the NZ Chinese Society, Wellington Branch.

The tourists arrived in New Zealand last Sunday. Hopefully they will not judge our country on the basis of the first report in 'The Dominion' of their meeting with Jacko Marshall and the NZBC. The Dom excelled its patronising ignorance with a headline "Confucious he say: Let curtain part and Chinese roam" and an article which included some lowdown, cynical snipes at the Chinese.

Jack Marshall's contribution to cultural understanding was to deliver a homily to the Chinese on the virtues of having an opposition party. And the NZBC was scarcely welcoming when the Chinese party called. They were shuffled through dark corridors, given coffee but no conversation, and shuffled out with relief.

The Chinese people obviously enjoyed the welcome at the University though, and responded with gifts, songs, and their personal warmth. Many of them spoke and understood English. Thanks to the excellent organisation of the function, and the willingness of everybody present to open themselves out, this meeting of Chinese and New Zealanders was an outstanding success, day night.

## **Maori Slashed**

***Above:-A welcome from members of Naga Tamatoa, and***

***Below:-A response in song.***

Maori language and literature courses in 1974 will have severe class restrictions if there is no immediate improvement in the staffing situation. Enrolments for Maori 101 and 102 will have to drop from this years total of about 130 to a maximum of 50. Maori 111 and 112 for which about 100 people are eligible will be able to take only 30 students.

This restriction of numbers seems paradoxical when interest in Maori language is flourishing and Government policy purports to sponsor the teaching of Maori. The number of schools teaching Maori has doubled in the last two years and consequently far more students will be coming to University wanting to take Maori.

This situation came into the open at the meeting of the Faculty of Arts, Languages and Literature on June 28 when the Deans asked departments to submit their proposals for course restrictions in 1974. Mr Koro Dewes, senior lecturer in Maori spoke out on the unsatisfactory nature of the staffing of the Maori language section, particularly the conditions of his junior lecturer who is trying to cope with 120 first year students. Mr Dewes was forced into suggesting these restrictions because of the drastic nature of the problem. Effectively, they mean that extramural students now catered for by the department, many of whom are older Maoris pursuing their studies in their language, will have to be dropped. Also, teachers college students who have courses in their own college will be barred from enrolling in Maori at the University.

Despite the great regret with which Mr Dewes made these restrictions they will go on next year unless the department is staffed by at least three full-time teaching staff members. If the University does not give finance

for extra staff then it looks like the students' association will have the dubious honour of fulfilling its pledge and employing the extra staff member itself.

## Sasrac

*by Peter Wilson*

A very healthy development of late has been the establishment of student working groups which are looking into various aspects of university life e.g. assessment, the expectations of first year students and what they actually find etc. Information about these groups can be found on the fixed noticeboard on the left hand wall of the Union foyer as you go into the Cafeteria.

More recently an informed group of staff and students (Students and Staff Relations Advisory Committee — Sasrac) has undertaken to provide an opportunity for people from both side of the fence to perhaps cross it in an informal atmosphere. Basically Sasrac is a project whereby for one lunchtime a week (Monday 12—2) and one evening a week (Wed 5—7) the lounge and smoking rooms will be made available to all who wish to come and discuss and drink modest amounts of liquor while doing so. The aim is not inebriation but socialisation, so that the functions are open both to those who do and those who do not wish to drink.

Sasrac will come into operation from Wednesday, July 18.

Reflection of the life of the people of Malay peninsula, Singapore and Sarawak. place : Memorial Theatre (V.U.W) Date : 21 St, August, 1973. Time : 7.30 pm, Tickets on Sofia in Stud. Ass. office. Organised by Chinese Language, Otago University.

S. G. M. SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING Union Hall, Tuesday, July 24, 7.30pm. Motion: "That the Students' Association fee for 1974 be increased from \$24 to \$26.50." Motion: "That the Students' Association fee for 1974 be increased from \$24 to \$25.50." Motion: "That V.U.W.S.A. do hereby withdraw from the New Zealand University Students' Association." These are important motions which require full discussion and a full attendance.

## Race Conciliation Fails

Sir Guy Powle's report on his job as Race Relations Conciliator last year is a sad story. The Race Relations Act is being shown to be pretty useless in its present form and Sir Guy has seen fit to take a tentative and apologetic approach to the racism in our society. Part of the trouble goes back to the way the Act was conceived by the National Government. It was a whitewash effort to enable-New Zealand to say that it outlawed racism, and so escape criticism from the United Nations.

## Misunderstandings

In the first draft of the Bill you had to prove that an action had been done "solely on grounds of race." This meant that if the person complained of could think up another reason for his action then the case couldn't proceed. This was too blatant to get away with, the National Government took out the word "solely". This means you only have to prove racism present in the action, even if some other reason might have been part of the story. But practice is showing that there is not much difference in the second way of saying it. The cases detailed in the Conciliator's report show how many "misunderstandings" there are when someone complains of racism and the Conciliator is called in. Of course the person wasn't thinking about race! Or if it seemed like that it was unintentional! Any way I sure won't do it again, sir!!

The Conciliator has very little chance of proving what was in the mind of a racist, and when he says, sorry I won't sin again, that's as far as the Conciliator can take it. It's only the stupid recalcitrant racist who sticks to his guns that would warrant asking the Attorney General's permission to prosecute. No one's been that stupid yet, or at least they haven't been caught twice.

As a result of all this the Conciliator's efforts look fairly unproductive There is not much known about the individual cases — there is a quiet backstairs air about conciliating that protects the racist. If his name were publicised there might be plenty of corroborative evidence supplied from his other actions — but then the innocent would suffer from publication of names.

## Involve the Community

One way of nailing the consistent racist would be to involve the community organisations in the job of combating racism. Very few members of any racial minority have much confidence in approaching a

government bureaucrat. It seems certain many don't. If they do then they're on their own — and its one man's word against another. You often don't get believed in preference to a white man — or so minority people have reason to think. If their own people in a community organisation had some way of working in this field then the person complaining could go to them and talk about the problem with his own people. Others in his organisation might have cases of their own against the same racist. There would be a chance for the community organisation to send another member along to the shop, land agent etc. and see what extra evidence could be obtained by testing the alleged racist. And if he was acting as a racist, he would become known in the local community for what he was. There would be something solid for a Conciliator to bite on.

***"Some of you used to call us 'boy' and that's why now some of us like to call you 'mother.'"***

There is really no reason why Advice Bureaus, Community Centres and minority associations couldn't do this right now. Just, I suppose the lack of confidence, and desire to let officials do things, which paralyses a lot of people in our society when it comes to taking action personally. But if one local organisation got on the job it might encourage a lot of others to act in a field where they seem to be the only agencies capable of getting results. The official conciliators seem to have crapped out, from what they say themselves.

## **Expectations to Conform**

"Much of the racial discrimination that occurs in New Zealand" Sir Guy says on page six of his report, "is racism stemming from the insensitivity of the dominant culture, which expects minority groups to conform to its way of life." Later Sir Guy says terms like "white racism" are a mistake when applied to New Zealand. He does not think institutions in New Zealand discriminate "purposely against citizens on the ground of their race or colour" But taking his first statement about the dominant culture which "expects" the rest to conform, it can be asked on what is such an expectation based? Surely on an implicit assumption that the dominant white way is the right way for everybody.

More than that, the dominant culture does more than "expect conformity" — it punishes nonconformity, penalises those who are different and by reasons of the standards it has the power to set, governs major areas of social activity.

## **Other Victims**

The minority race is not the only victim of the power structure. Much of the power structure, though generally white, operates against white working class people. The power structure is racist, even if it can oppress in ways not connected with race. The dominant culture makes all kinds of men its commodities, exploits their lives and creativity, and as part of this process has destroyed the culture of New Zealand's indigenous people.

To change this situation involves issues beyond matter of race relations — but at least when talking about the way capitalist society has exploited Maoris and Polynesians, it is necessary to face the facts of what has happened, and is happening. In the light of our past and our present it isn't good enough to make excuses — and say we're not such bad jokers — it is not very convincing to those on the receiving end of the power structure of New Zealand.

—*Jim Delahunty*

Cartoon of a sailboat Advert for the University book centre

# **Commonwealth Games - What About Uganda ?**

## **A.D.S.A.T.**

The Association Defending South African Tours ... *Mr. Trevor Richards, National Chairman, Halt All Racist Tours, 101 Rugby Street, Christchurch.*

Dear Mr. Richards,

## General Amin.

Last December General Amin of Uganda announced that in future only black African Ugandan citizens would be eligible for selection for Ugandan national sports teams, and that in future no Asians, not even Ugandan citizens would qualify for selection. As such the Ugandan team selected to participate in the 1974 Commonwealth Games will be a racially selected team.

## Trevor Richards.

As your organisation is named Halt All Racist Tours, and not just Halt One Racist Tour, my association presumes that Hart will take such steps as necessary to have the racist Ugandan team barred from participation in the games unless Uganda's Asian citizens are made eligible for selection after genuine multi-racial trials are held. Therefore we wish to inform you of our willingness to co-operate with Hart to prevent a racist Ugandan team from participating in the Commonwealth Games even to the extent of assisting Hart with the demonstrations it will no doubt organise should the racist Ugandan visit eventuate,

Yours faithfully,

(B B Thompson)  
National Chairman.

Note: The contents of this letter have been made available to the news media.

## Hart's Position

3 July 1973

Mr B.B. Thompson, *Chairman, A.D.S.A.T. 10 Cambridge St. Ashburton*  
Dear Mr Thompson,

HART Logo

Thank you for your letter of 2 July concerning my attitude to Uganda's participation in the 1974 Commonwealth Games.

You make the point in your letter that 'Last December General Amin of Uganda announced that in future only black African Ugandan citizens would be eligible for selection for Ugandan national sports teams, and that in future, no Asians, not even Ugandan citizens would qualify for selection.'

This statement has absolutely no basis in fact what-so-ever. I would ask you where your information came from, but there is no need for I too read the advertisement in *The Christchurch Star* (29 June 1973) from which you quote.

I have written to the Editor of the *Christchurch Star* lodging the strongest possible protest over the inclusion of the advertisement in the paper. My objections were based on the belief that no newspaper should print advertisements on contentious political issues which contain in them blatant errors of fact, for the result can only be to mislead members of the general public. Some people will believe anything they read. In this instance, you certainly have.

I looked carefully through several New Zealand papers for the month of December 1972. Nowhere could I find an announcement which in any way measured up to the one mentioned in the advertisement and quoted in your letter. Given the wide amount of publicity in the New Zealand press that General Amin was receiving at that time, and bearing in mind how closely such a statement, were it ever made, would have related to the Springbok rugby tour controversy. I cannot believe that such a statement by General Amin could have gone unreported.

However, I decided to check further. I contacted Dr Ruth Butterworth, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Auckland and an acknowledged expert on African politics, and asked her as to the validity of the statement. She informed me that since December 1972, there have been at least two international sporting fixtures held on the African continent to which Ugandan teams have been sent.

In both instances these teams have had both African and Asian Ugandans in them.

Given the situation, I do not consider that H.A.R.T. has either cause or justification to press for Uganda's expulsion from the Commonwealth Games.

I am not denying that there is racial discrimination in Uganda, but it would be a serious error to equate what

is happening in Uganda with what is happening in South Africa. Racist Amin's appeal certainly is, but the difference between his kind of scapegoating, and the institutionalised racism of the South African Government is still to be measured in light years.

I have taken the liberty of including with this letter an article written by Dr Butterworth on the Ugandan situation. This article first appeared in *Hart News* (Vol 1. No 9, November 1972).

I was surprised to read that not only are you anxious 'to see that the Ugandan visit to New Zealand is cancelled unless multi-racial trials are held,' but that in addition to this, you would be prepared to assist H.A.R.T. with organising demonstrations should such a visit eventuate.

Your organisation claims to be against what it terms political interference in sport. On a number of occasions you made it quite clear that you were in favour of the springboks rugby tour, irrespective of the methods used to select that team. I therefore find it inexplicable that you should be pushing for the expulsion of Uganda from the Commonwealth Games. Is this not the same sort of political interference that you opposed apropos the springbok rugby tour?

I note that you say 'ADSAT is concerned to see that one law is not made for racially selected South African teams, and another for racially selected (sic) Ugandan teams.' If this is the reason for your brusque volte face, then one can only be surprised at the weakness of your resolution. What campaign worthy of its beliefs scraps principles on which it was based after the first defeat? Certainly none that I would wish to be associated with.

An explanation consistent with both this volte face and with the tenor of many of your public statements would be that ADSAT quite simply is a pro-apartheid organisation with the ancillary lack of knowledge about and concern for African ruled states.

I must state that H.A.R.T. could not and would not prevent you from demonstrating against Uganda's participation in the Commonwealth Games, but certainly, in such an endeavour, you would not have our support. On the other hand, H.A.R.T. will do all possible to inform people as to the essential differences between the Ugandan and South African situations.

One of the reasons why an organisation such as yours was able to gain some small measure of support was because of your ability to capitalise on an almost universal ignorance concerning the dynamics and the realities of African politics. In the New Zealand community at large there seems to be little realisation as to what African politics are all about. Looking at Africa through European eyes, making European value judgements about what is taking place on the African continent is a widespread New Zealand malaise.

I am therefore hopeful that as people become more aware of what African politics are all about, the appeal that your organisation has in some quarters will diminish, for I remain convinced that organisations such as ADSAT can only exist in an atmosphere of ignorance.

I am sending copies of this letter to both the Prime Minister the Rt. Hon N.E. Kirk, and to the Chairman of the Commonwealth Games Organising Committee, Mr R.S. Scott. Like yourself, I have made the contents of this letter available to the news media.

Yours sincerely,

Trevor Richards,  
National Chairman.

## **National Womens Abortion Action Onference**

*by Kay Goodger*

The most exciting aspects of the National Women's Abortion Action Conference held last weekend were the enthusiasm for the idea that abortion is a question of women's rights, and the sight of so many different women working together to build the women's abortion action campaign. There were high school women, gay women, housewives, students, young mothers and grandmothers — all kinds of women who want to see an end to the laws which restrict their right to decide whether or not to end an unwanted pregnancy.

The public teach-in on Saturday, July 14 was attended by about 200 people, with a majority of women, and 70 returned on Sunday for the conference to plan the women's abortion action campaign.

There were a high proportion of women from feminist groups, women who had come from Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Nelson, Christchurch and Dunedin. According to the registration record there were only 11 people at the teach-in who were opposed to abortion, and 24 undecided on the question of abortion law change.

Throughout the teach-in, different ideas on strategy and aims were put forward, as well as arguments against those who are tenaciously fighting to retain restrictive abortion laws. Isabel Stanton, representing the

Abortion Law Reform Association (ALRANZ) claimed that abortion was "not a women's issue" and said that her organisation stressed the "importance of family life". She said that it was better to try and get some reforms now than to aim for the ultimate goal of having anti-abortion laws removed from the statutes. She said these reforms would not be achieved by women demonstrating but by "influencing individual MPs." (An example of how this is unrealistic is Martyn Finlay, who was once listed as a supporter of ALRANZ, and who has done nothing to support abortion law change since taking office as Minister of Justice.)

Ms Stanton said that since the laws were made by men and the country ruled by men, it was essential to have men in the abortion movement to convince the government of the need for abortion law change. This view is not a new one; many people have claimed that women won the vote because of the kindness of male politicians, and not because of the militant and massive campaigns waged by the women in the suffrage movement.

Nita Keig of the Sydney Woman's Abortion Action Campaign stressed the need for a women's campaign which is visible and active. She said that the "right-to-life" forces in Australia had finally realised the power of mass action when they fought against a private member's bill put to Parliament on May 10. She disagreed with Isabel Stanton's views and said that the US Supreme Court's decision to allow abortion up to the 24th week of pregnancy had been made possible because women had actively demanded their full right to abortion and not some half-way measure. "If you only ask for half of what you want, you only get a quarter," she said. Women would achieve some freedom from the clutches of the family institution if they had full control over their reproductive lives, she said.

Cartoon of a judge, priest and doctor standing on a pregnant woman

The afternoon session of the teach-in included excellent speeches by Dr Margaret Sparrow, Anne de Lacey Davidson of ALRANZ, and Phillida Bunkle, and a panel of three women from the National, Labour and Values Parties. A slide show on the history of the struggle for birth control, sex education and abortion was held in the Memorial Theatre, and at 5pm a special screening of the women's liberation film "Stand Up and Be Counted" was held at the Paramount Theatre.

The Sunday conference included workshop sessions of general perspectives for the women's abortion action campaign and ways to build it. The conference unanimously adopted a resolution to build an ongoing national women's abortion action campaign for repeal of the laws, free, easily available contraception and voluntary sterilisation. The resolution included the setting up of a national coordinating body and the launching of a march in all the main centres on Women's Suffrage Day, September 19. A national speaking tour of a leader of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition in the USA was also projected for early 1974

The only thing that marred the weekend was the decision by the national executive of the Abortion Law Reform Association to hold a conflicting conference on Sunday. Despite an appeal to hold their meeting at a time which did not clash with the well-advertised women's abortion action conference, to which all ALRANZ women had been invited, the leadership went ahead with its own "national conference". Not only did the meeting go ahead, but it was held in the very next room and some effort was made to pressurise women from the women's abortion conference to go to the ALRANZ conference, which was attended by about 20 people.

But despite this intrusion, the National Women's Abortion Action Conference ended on an enthusiastic note, with many new women inspired to build the campaign for women's right to choose.

## Salient Notes

(with scant apologies to the propagandists of Kim U Sung)

Under the correct guidance and unswervingly revolting leadership of our respected and beloved leader, boundlessly benevolent and paternally affectionate, brilliant and sagacious, father of all undergraduates Roger Steele, Salient was produced a day earlier than Thursday, which would have made it a day late, as usual. Following our great leader Roger Steele in all things and upholding his revolutionary teachings, trusting firmly in his guidance and keeping ever vigilant against opportunism, revisionism, sectarianism, adventurism, putchism, Bonapartism, liberalism and the cult of the personality were loyal comrades Neil Pearce, Bruce Robinson, Graeme Collins, Les Atkins, Don Franks (who composed this paean), Lloyd Weeber, Jonathan Hughes, Stephen Hall, Les Slater, Keith Stewart and Peter Rumble.

Constantly to the fore in the struggle against the iron heeled jackboot of the oppressor and learning from our respected and beloved leader in all things were the heroines of Salient: Helen Pankhurst, Susan Williams and Claire Smith.

Such is the benevolence of our beloved and respected leader Roger Steele that critics of this week's Salient will be given a choice of a filter or non-filter last cigarette before they are shot.

Cartoon of sheep in a walking mill

## Copy Deadlines

Contributions should be typed or written legibly double-spaced on one side of the paper only, and should be in the hands of the Editors by Wednesday evening. Late contributions will also be considered.

## Advertising

Our new advertising manager is Brian Hegarty, phone 70-319 (ext. 75 & 81) at Salient, or 87-530 (Upper Mutt) at home.

## Salient Office

1st Floor, University Union Building, Phone 70-319 (ext, 75 & 81)  
P.O. Box 1347, Wellington, New Zealand

## Police Get Itch

The Secondary School Students' radical magazine *Itch* is fast becoming the most read publication for the boys down at Central. They just can't seem to get enough of this all purpose irritant of the repressive education system.

When the first *Itch* came out, it was aimed at the schools but most of them never reached the students because they were confiscated by zealous headmasters and policemen. One seller had his house searched and 30 copies taken. Another bundle of 50 copies disappeared mysteriously from the train on the way to Gis-bourne. Later the aspiring *Itch* seller who was to have received them was rung up by the CIB and told that he could come down to the copshop and collect them (so that's where they were!) but if he did he would immediately be arrested for possessing an indecent document.

Cartoon of a man in a trench coat showing off *Itch* magazine which is hidden in his pocket

Back in Wellington the police rang a seller's parents, said they were the CIB and could they talk to them and their daughter together about *Itch*. A time was set. Later they rang up and said that the meeting was cancelled until the next week. The harassment seemed to be having an effect for although sales were easy to come by one of the helpers of *Itch 1* panicked and burnt her four bundles (200 copies).

Unperturbed the *Itch* people brought out *Itch 2* knowing that as yet no prosecutions were to be brought against them. But last week the police swooped again, six plainclothes men raiding Resistance and taking five copies of *Itch 2* hot off the press. Also a seller down at the railway station had his name taken and 80 odd copies confiscated.

Obviously not heeding the way the wind was blowing two people set out for a selling tour of the south of the North Island and in due course were stopped in Palmerston North. Their 100 copies were taken, as were their particulars, then lightened of their seditious load they were set free.

So far no prosecutions have been undertaken. No copies have been returned. One person walking into the copshop downtown after one of the recent raids found a captive audience (none having paid their meagre ten cents for a copy) of policemen behind a flurry of *Itches*.

*Itch* is an attempt to arm schoolkids with something more radical than the liberal "Affairs" magazine, and something more realistic than the generalisations and euphemisms they are force-fed in school. It has become very popular and despite harassment, sales are booming.

## Q: How to liberate Zimbabwe?

## A: Learn to shoot straight.

Last week Eddison Zvobgo, Director of External Missions for the African National Council of Zimbabwe (the African name for Rhodesia) visited Auckland briefly. He was interviewed for *Salient* by Joris de Bres.

Zvobgo was born in Zimbabwe in 1935. In 1961 he was the National Democratic Party Representative at the United Nations. This party was banned, and the Zimbabwe African People's Union formed. This union later split and Zvobgo became Deputy General Secretary of its offshoot, the Zimbabwe African National Union. He



*spent ten months in jail in 1963—64 for "using inciting language. In 1964 ZANU was banned and Zvobgo was placed in a restriction camp by the Smith regime.*

*When in 1965 Smith declared his independence from Britain, the whole ZANU executive including Zvobgo was imprisoned but no charges were ever laid against them. Zvobgo was thus under detention and imprisonment for over seven years.*

*In 1971, Smith met British Foreign Minister Sir Alec Douglas Home in an attempt to settle the dispute between Rhodesia and Great Britain. The settlement proposals they reached were rejected by the African people, and the African National Council was set up to work towards the liberation of Zimbabwe. The main aim of the movement is to achieve majority rule for the African people.*

*Zvobgo arrived here after a speaking tour of Australia. One senator there described Mr Zvobgo as "a terrorist" who was "engaged in guerilla activities against the people of Rhodesia."*

Photo of Eddison Zvogbo

*Salient: Could you say something about the developments since the Smith Home settlement proposals were rejected by the people?*

Zvobgo: When the report was released in London in May last year, showing clearly that the majority of Africans were opposed to those terms as the basis for a settlement, Ian Smith and his clique were stunned by the report and immediately sought to discredit it. After a few weeks there was anger in the Rhodesian front circles. They were looking for a scapegoat. They could not understand that Africans could reject those proposals. You see, they were confident that the Africans were unable to understand what was involved. They could not see how, after seven years of terror and mass detentions how anybody could stand up and say, let's reject the proposals.' And just to ensure that that would not be forgotten, the regime arrested people immediately.

A legislative programme was launched by the regime, calculated to create another South Africa in Rhodesia. The first two bantustans are being erected this year. These bantustans are tribal parliaments. According to the regime, the African people are tribesmen, they should be given their own parliaments, we feel that this is exactly what the South Africans have done.

How do the police get evidence that two people have had intercourse? They must go on the rooftops, trying to procure evidence, insert electronic equipment in keyholes, and through windows to see what's happening inside the room.

*Is the apartheid policy in Rhodesia as pronounced as in South Africa?*

Exactly. This is what Smith has been trying to do since the report's publication. Firstly, there is this creation of bantustans. Secondly, there is the question of strict control of movement. No African may leave his district for another without a written permit from the government; no African may come into any urban area without a written permit from the district from which he comes. Also the regime has embarked upon a policy of seizing the land of the various religious denominations.

The regime has proceeded to impose collective punishment. Now the last time the world heard of collective punishment was during Hitler's Germany. Besides, secret trials have increased: you must have learned of the secret trial of Peter Niesewand, the British journalist. [*Mentioned in Salient 12 — Ed.*] In his case, of course, it was world news because he was English, he was white and so on. Thousands of Africans are also processed through the so-called kangaroo courts there. No one has access to them, you can't attend them; all you learn is by rumour, that the man has been sentenced to death or that he has been detained or jailed. Now this has increased the fear among the ordinary people.

They could not see how after seven years of terror and mass detentions, how anyone could stand up and say 'let's reject the proposals.' And just to ensure that that would not be forgotten, the regime arrested people immediately.

Besides, Ian Smith is showing some signs of psychosis, in my view. I think he has lost total control of his own mind. For example, he is re-enacting the Immorality Act which was repealed way back in 1962 under which it will be a criminal offence for any white person to have sexual intercourse with a person who is not white.

*But this hasn't been reintroduced yet.*

No, it was on the statute books between 1894 and 1962 and was repealed under a previous government before Ian Smith came in.

*One of the South African papers last week mentioned that the two Swiss immigrants to Rhodesia had been deported, presumably because they were living with African women. Would this be the general trend?*

Well, they have been deporting people during the last three years, but there was no law under which anybody could be prosecuted. You could come and take an African girl out, or an Indian girl out. The regime didn't like it, and if you were an alien they would deport you, but they couldn't jail you, you couldn't be prosecuted. Now they will be able to actually imprison people and we know, judging from by what has been happening in South Africa under the Immorality Act that once you go and do things that are so personal, you

declare marriages void, you send the parties who want to marry to jail, simply because they are of two different colours. You are creating an apparatus along the lines of the Gestapo. How do you get evidence, how do the police get evidence that two people have had inter-course? They must go on rooftops, trying to procure evidence, insert electronic equipment in keyholes, and through windows to see what's happening inside the room. In South Africa, boys and girls have been jailed for holding hands. That has been held to be preparation for committing a crime. If a girl has been found with her shoes off in circumstances that create an opportunity, that has been held to be an attempt. Any stage beyond that they say you're finished, and the two go to jail.

True, there has been some unemployment among the African people, more unemployment, due to the lack of economic expansion, but we believe that this is healthy for the African in the long run.

I think the most cynical aspect of the Immorality Act is the fact that the people will now, or from whenever this bill becomes law, have to be classified according to race, along the South African lines. It's not directly the Immorality Act that requires it, it's the Land Tenure Act. So Smith is to establish a race classification board just like the South African Race Classification Board. And people will have to inform the police of any person in their neighbourhood who is trying to pass for white; that person will then be arrested and brought before the race classification board if there is any doubt as to his whiteness. And then certain tests have to be used. I have been entertaining crowds in Australia describing these tests.

There is the straight hair comb test, where three types of combs are used in your hair. Three sizes, one is quite big with big teeth, another smaller and the other smallest. If the comb jams you've had it, because white hair is not supposed to jam the comb. And they test that, then the eyes, the nose, the bridge of the nose, the shape of the mouth, the skull, and so on.

A whole new super-science of race is emerging: to have to subject a person to an x-ray of the skull to determine what his rights are in a country is just horrible. This is what the regime is up to.

In separation in education, in health and residential areas, Rhodesia from 1890 has been an apartheid country. We are only pointing out here some of the most cruel and pernicious aspects of separation, of apartheid, being devised by the regime.

*Could I ask a question about resistance to the Smith regime. You're from the A.N.C., but previously I understand you were a member of the Zimbabwe (Rhodesia African National Union or Zimbabwe African People's Union)?*

I'm still Deputy General Secretary of ZANU.

Everyone who has been in Southern African politics knows that there is only one solution; learning to shoot straight.

*Could you explain to us the relationship — there was a move to reunite the two unions within Zimbabwe itself — and what is their relationship to the A.N.C.?*

Yes, the whole process of setting up the A.N.C. was a very delicate business, ZAPU and ZANU had been outlawed in 1964, when we were jailed, and thus there had been no nationalist party operating lawfully between 1964 and 1971. When we decided to launch the A.N.C., the problem of course was the divided nature of the Zimbabwe movement. We decided we would bring the two together. We took the senior officers, or to be more legal, former senior officers of ZANU and ZAPU and merged them into one organisation — the A.N.C. We decided it was in the best interests of the African people if there was an organisation operating in the country, outside the context of ZANU and ZAPU but the mere fact that the people had become united within the country compelled ZANU and ZAPU abroad to also seek to unite, which they finally did three months ago. United they now have a joint military command between ZAPU and ZANU. The upshoot therefore is that ZANU and ZAPU abroad are open military organisations which have decided to unite for operational purposes under a joint military command. Within the country former ZAPU and ZANU members and other who were apolitical have come together under the umbrella of the A.N.C. We see the two roles as complimentary; that we should have an organisation within the country operating quite openly and within the context of whatever is called law there and another one a thrust from outside by ZANU and ZAPU to attempt armed liberation.

*Since the joint military command was set up, has there been a clear stepping-up of operations by the liberation movements within Rhodesia and Zimbabwe? Is there any possibility of development of such as those achieved by the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies of actually winning some liberated areas?*

The guerilla campaign started in December last year before the establishment of the joint military command. True, at the moment there is no territory which has been liberated but the guerillas have been extremely effective in being implacable, mainly in the tribal trust lands. Reading the Rhodesian Hansard for the last two months you get the impression that the regime is actually panicking. They've tried everything in the book to contain it and haven't succeeded. They have now decide to move 600,000 peasants from the northern reserves to resettle them. They refer to this as the 'Malaya model' as the British did this in Malaya. But they haven't been able to actually get hold of the guerillas as such. What the government is doing is giving public transport to guerillas when they move the people from those regions and are putting them in other areas where

the campaign has not yet become as heroic. We see that the current campaign is just as effective, if not superior in certain aspects to the campaigns being carried out in other theatres in South Africa. Certainly it hasn't reached the scale and standard of the campaign in Guinea-Bissau or Frelimo's campaign in Mozambique. But those shortcomings stem from various strategic peculiarities of the Rhodesian military theatre. It is not like Mozambique in terms of topography, and problems of access to the theatre. The Zambesi river is a cruel river which can be crossed only at certain points and this is where the Rhodesian security forces in combination with the South African security forces, have concentrated. Swimming across is quite a hazard. Some parts which are passable are infested with crocodiles. The current campaign has largely succeeded because Frelimo has liberated most of Mozambique which adjoins Rhodesia and our forces have been able to rise to the occasion and flood the country.

Thousands of Africans are processed through the so-called kangaroo courts, there. No one has access to them, you cannot attend them, all you learn is by rumour, that the man has been sentenced to death or that he has been detained or jailed.

*What is the best way to liberate your people?*

Well look, everyone who has been in Southern African politics knows that there is only one solution; learning to shoot straight. There is no other way — any other thing is sheer pretence; it would be ducking the problem, trying to avoid reality. The reality is that the regime, because of the privileges and rights it has created for itself, is not prepared to talk. Its reply to every suggestion of giving up its power is detention, is shootings, is killings. The only way is an armed struggle. But we have had to do some tightrope walking here, and recognise that our theatre has certain peculiarities. You need a united people within the country under an organisation which is not itself participating in an armed struggle. But you need a very big liberation army operating at the same time. Hence the A.N.C. itself does not carry arms, so Smith has not yet been able to ban it. He would have long outlawed it; the fact that he hasn't is a pretty good indication that the A.N.C. has done nothing to transgress the law, but simply unites the people.

Portrait photo of an African man

*Is the A.N.C. a political party?*

Well it is not a political party but a political organisation. The activities of the A.N.C. are not limited only to political matters. They spill over into the social and economic fields and therefore have a much wider than purely political objective.

It's a criminal offence for foreigners to donate money to any of the official parties. I have asked a friend to donate money to the Rhodesia front, just two dollars and announce in Salisbury that Smith is a good guy and he's given him two dollars from abroad. I wanted to see if he would get arrested. Apparently he has not been arrested; which shows that if you give to Ian Smith, that is perfectly ok, if you give to the African National Council you have committed a crime.

I decided the only thing they really couldn't censor was South African law reports, the all—English law reports, text-books on the law of trusts, the law of torts, criminal law and jurisprudence.

*Have you many whites supporting you?*

There are a few whites who go all the way with African nationalist movement in Rhodesia — very few — but they are there all the same. We have a university lecturer, for example, doing 20 years for his part in the movement. We have of course, your two New Zealanders, Garfield and Judy Todd, Judy is on my staff, but she was in jail and so was Garfield. He is now restricted to his ranch. We have two couples this year who were jailed, who were just too young. I mean, the two boys were 19, and the two girls were 18, and they decided to overthrow the regime, and plotted in a hotel in Salisbury. They were arrested on the spot and given five years each. We have some who work, who support the objectives of the A.N.C., and of any African nationalist party, but who disapprove of resorting to guns at any stage, and this is really the position of the church people except for the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Because Ian Smith is Presbyterian, the Presbyterians are ready to support him, but otherwise, these Christian bodies, while denouncing the regime and while expressing clearly that our goals are just and fair, nevertheless flinch from any suggestion that one may have to kill to reach these goals.

*Is the white populace generally behind the regime?*

It is difficult to assess how much support Smith has from the general white populace, but judging from his election results, he takes every seat. Looked at purely from that angle, he has 100% support, since no other white party, and there are four other white parties has ever been able to get even one seat in Parliament. But then, only yesterday when Hitler was at the height of his power, he had the Germans march like one boot, they fought as if they were 100% in support of Hitler; topple Hitler, and soon millions of Germans were horrified by what Hitler did.

*Do people vote this way out of fear?*

If you are known to be anti-Smith in a particular area, they don't necessarily throw you in jail, but there are

pay-offs, and tread-offs in the game of survival by whites. If you don't play the game, then the regime and its functionaries don't play the game with you either. Pat Bashford, the leader of the Centre Party, has been saying quite openly that this is Nazism, that the regime uses Gestapo tactics against its opponents. They have smear campaigns on any person who is white who supports the African cause. The public is encouraged to look at him virtually as a traitor, and not many people are prepared to stick their necks out. So they acquiesce, and when elections come apparently they all vote Ian Smith.

The Rhodesian political or election campaigns are something quite different from the campaigns you carry out in New Zealand; there is no issue other than whether you want Africans to rule. The questions of economic progress, or development in the country, or anything, are irrelevant, Ian Smith sang an offensive song during the last campaign, an Afrikaans song called 'A Baboon Climbed the Mountain'. He sang it first at the University of Rhodesia. That summed it up, he didn't have to explain what his policy was. Baboons, as far as he and whites are concerned, are Africans.

Because Ian Smith is Presbyterian, the Presbyterians are ready to support him but otherwise these Christian bodies, while denouncing the regime and while expressing clearly that our goals are just and fair, nevertheless flinch from any suggestion that one may have to kill to reach these goals.

It's the kind of rally where only one question has to be asked: "Where am I standing," you see, and their audience guess, "in the fatherland?" he says no, no. They suggest the Transvaal and other things until someone says, 'on the Kaffir, you're standing on the African, or on the Bantu. He says 'Yeah', and all the Boers jump up and down. That's the election campaign. In campaigning like that, its really fear and intimidation, it's a question of emotion.

*Do you think sanctions have had a very serious effect?*

When you look at the Rhodesian budget last year, and look at earnings and investments, it has just reached where it was in 1965. Smith says that is progress; the economy is surging ahead in that it has reached the level where it was in 1965. That shows the extent to which sanctions were not totally useless.

Sanctions have had effect in Rhodesia in two critical areas, farming and commerce and industry. Farmers were the hardest hit by sanctions. The tobacco industry crumbles. The regime was buying tobacco at 28c a lb from the farmers and then stockpiling it, waiting for markets. Sometimes markets materialised, through under-the-counter deals but the result was that Rhodesian tobacco became less and less competitive on the world market because there were so many middle men involved in smuggling it out.

Farmers lost their biggest market which was the UK and Smith asked them to diversify and to pull out of tobacco growing and go into other forms of agriculture, ignoring the millions of investments farmers had made on their farms in order to grow and process tobacco. Farmers are deep in debt.

Now the second area is that farmers have been unable to get spare parts for some of their machinery like the service on tractors that they used to get from Canada. So you see them actually rusting on farms. And in Parliament white MPs who represent the farming community are very bitter towards the Minister of Finance for not giving them larger foreign currency allocations.

Commerce and Industry have been hit hard too. Factories have really been sunk if their machinery was British, German or American.

*I understand the Ford factory has reopened.*

Yes it has. And that was one question I was taking up with the Canadian Foreign Ministry because the Ford in Rhodesia is not Ford USA but Ford of Canada. And the Americans say 'don't come to us, it's not our business' except for the fact that Ford USA own 62% of Ford Canada.

*What about Fiat?*

Fiat, yes the Italians have been bringing in cars. So have the West Germans, Mercedes Benz and Volkswagon. The Germans deny any responsibility for these cars coming into the country, I have examined their records in Bonn and they show zero deliveries between 1965 and 1971. Now I once asked the Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Bonn to put a call through to a motor firm in Salisbury, the garage which keeps Norwegian, Swedish and Mercedes Benz cars. I told him to say he was a German exporter of Mercedes Benz cars and do they need any. There in our presence we heard the manager saying "call back to me in ten months time. I've just taken delivery, my entire warehouse is full of Mercedes cars." We then switched the thing off and I said "Do you deny that Mercedes Benz cars are going?" And he said that "well now I can't deny it, but none are ordered directly for Rhodesia from here." What has happened is that French businessmen who are sympathetic to Rhodesia have ordered the cars and sold them to Portuguese car dealers who sell them to Rhodesia or sell them to South African car dealers and tell them to sell them to Rhodesia. So you still find new cars coming in. But you ask for the price — way beyond the reach of the ordinary person. The Volkswagen is nearly double the price that you find in any other country. And the settlers have felt the pinch very badly; the secondhand car market has boomed because new cars are beyond reach.

A friend sent me Solzhenitsyn's "The First Circle". Now nothing could be more subversive. The regime

looked at it and saw that it was a castigation of the Soviet Union and said, "Yeah, it will do Zvobgo some good, because he is a communist leader."

Now, the sanctions have not been useless, they have been bitten. They have not achieved their purpose of toppling the regime because certain governments will not co-operate, Australia, for example. I had an argument there with Dr Cairns, the Minister of Commerce. He argues that the Rhodesian tobacco that is being smoked in Australia came into the country before UDI before 1965, suggesting that none of their tobacco is reaching Australia, which is nonsense. One Adelaide dealer said on TV "Well I've had not difficulty in getting my Rhodesian supplies." I said to Cairns, that seeing that ABC had the tape and it was only three months ago that the confession was made, why don't you call him and ask how he gets his supplies. Cairns said "Oh no, no, we can't do that he's only an individual. He holds pro-Smith views, the probability is that he was lying."

*Have the sanctions adversely affected the African people?*

True, there has been some unemployment among the African people, more unemployment, due to the lack of economic expansion but we believe that this is healthy for the African in the long run. A little more unemployment, a little more suffering; I mean it's quite healthy and sound. 87% of Africans live on the Tribal Trust Lands; they live off what they grow, they live off the land. Those ones are not affected by sanctions. They don't even know there are sanctions. You grow your own maize, you grow your own vegetables and these are basics, so the whole question of sanctions doesn't arise. The 13% that live in urban areas and on farms still eat the same staple diet grown in Rhodesia. Items like bread and so on have never been particularly missed. I mean I don't miss them. I only have bread when I see it otherwise it does not occur to me. It's just not part of my diet. And sanctions, therefore really hit only the settler which is as it should be.

Rhodesia is a very easy country to deal with because every white person must have African servants, it's a status symbol recruit these into the movement and no one white is safe....

## **All this Rioting and Looting is not going to get the coloured people what they want...In fact - if they don't stop acting like ungrateful children...I just may never accept them**

*I believe you yourself did a law degree. Where did you do it?*

In jail. I took a University of London law degree and a LLB degree of the University of South Africa, in jail and I got both.

*And you were allowed to do that?*

The first four years we were not allowed to study at all. We were not allowed any reading. We were allowed the Bible, that's all. And it became quite clear that some of the guys were cracking up and being hauled to the mental health section of the hospital. And some actually being transported to mental hospitals. We smuggled letters to the British government and the International Red Cross in Geneva stating that we were being refused newspapers or any other form of literature except the bible. I must have read the Bible from Genesis to Revelations 22 times in four years, 22 times! Because there was nothing else; no news, no radio, no newspapers, nothing. Representations were made to the regime, that this was inhuman and the regime then said "Okay, they can read whatever has been submitted to the police for censorship!" The police are free to refuse anything without giving any reason. I decided the only thing they really couldn't censor was South African law reports, the all-English law reports, text-books on the law of trusts, the law of torts, criminal law.

And jurisprudence.

You see they are fools; some of them have had only four years of education.

I will tell you one incident. A friend sent me Solzhenitsyn's, "The First Circle". Now, nothing could be more subversive. The regime looked at it and saw that it was a castigation of the Soviet Union and said, "Yeah, it will do Zvobgo some good, because he is a communist leader." Half of them couldn't understand Solzhenitsyn. Now it was allowed, and my god, they had given me an opportunity for comparison and I wish I was in a Soviet prison in fact. There they were working in workshops, there they were working on various things, in the book.

Jurisprudence, they would never understand the question of what is law. So my books were allowed, and fortunately they came at the same time and filled one entire section of the cell, with law reports and the lot, and I just settled down to read them day and night, decided to do political science and take a degree but I never got anywhere, because a text of over 400 pages had been handed over with only 10 pages left. The rest had been

torn out.

*How is the guerilla movement organised?*

You recruit men, you send some for expert training, they come into the country and they train themselves. Take the present form the campaign is taking, and in this I'm relying on Ian Smith speaking in Parliament on March 28. He says that his problems stem from the fact that the peasants have been won over by the terrorists. That's his language. He says that during the last two years several past masters of the art of guerilla warfare, sabotage and recruitment entered the country, stripped themselves of all kinds of different dress, wore shorts with patches and went onto farms to look for employment. They were employed by white farmers on various farms throughout the country, looked as dirty as they could, just like other farm labourers. They started training people on the various farms. Now, some were doing that, others were bringing arms into the country. You see Rhodesia is a very easy country to deal with because every white person must have an African servant, it's a status symbol, no white woman knows how to cook in Rhodesia, she must have a cook, no white woman changes nappies, no white woman polishes the house, she just doesn't know what's in the house at all. It's the girl will do this, the girl will do that, they will have a gardening boy. They will have a messenger, they will have a cook, they will have a nannie. They will have a girl to look after the madames clothing and so on. Recruit these into the movement and no one white is safe in the country. Smith calls them terrorists — we call them freedom fighters.

## What Effects From The Bomb?

***Still counting their dead from last year's pitched battle, Wellington police turned out in full force to defend the Bastille Day celebrations at the French Ambassador's residence at Easdale Street. Complete with bus, barricades and an ambulance to tend the wounded, the constabulary were prepared for any situation except for the rain which kept most would-be demonstrators at home. Anxious not to waste such a show of strength they passed their time helping elderly guests across the street, sleeping in their bus, parading and occasionally restraining the demonstration of some sixty people.***

In 1969 Ernest Sternglass, Professor of Physics at the University of Pittsburg opened a wide-scale controversy that has not yet ended. With detailed statistics in support of his thesis, he maintained that the low doses of radiation, resulting from experimental nuclear tests were causing the death of countless children. These deaths would be recorded under various headlines, for they are due, said he, to a general alteration of the 'genetic quality' of the foetuses and their powers of resistance.

And the increase (which no one could deny) is in proportion to the amount of strontium—90, a radio-active isotope which has a half-life of 28 years and is slowly broadcast according to the atmospheric conditions

following the nuclear tests.

In New Mexico, said Sternglass, infant mortality increased by between 20—30% after the first nuclear test at Almgordo on July 16, 1945, which reminded Robert Oppenheimer of the famous Indian poem, "Brighter than a Thousand Suns". This excessively high rate of mortality, "the result of an increase in premature births and a lower resistance to infection" was caused by what today is regarded as "a small technical nuclear device"

Although this theory (put forward, no doubt, too hastily) was hotly contested, especially by American Military experts, it is an undeniable fact that nuclear tests cause fallout of strontium—90. Scientists have discovered it in the organism of children in various countries of the world, following the American and Soviet tests. At the same time, curious thyroidal anomalies (whose precise effects on growth are still unknown) have been discovered, always on children and notably, on Rongelap Island near the Bikini atoll. They are attributable to another isotope, iodine 131, whose half-life of eight days is clearly shorter than that of strontium but has a selective affinity for the thyroid.

Those who maintain the harmlessness of the pathological effects, discovered in one place and another, say there is a shortage of figures and statistics in proof of the theory. But they must know that these facts will not be available for another quarter of a century at least.

This is the time it takes for the appearance of most of the cancers which have a radioactive cause. Such is also the "genetic" delay which effects a new generation according to its strength or weaknesses.

The report published by the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission which has been operating in Japan since 1948 in order to study the long-term effects of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs shows that among the descendants of Japanese victims there has been a definite although moderate retardation of growth, an increase in foetal and infant mortality, a growth in the incidence of mental retardation and a significant and indisputable increase in the incidence of leukemias and cancers.

Some say that the effect of high doses of radiation (as in the case of Japan) with the effects of low doses (as in the nuclear tests) cannot be compared. But, in fact, it is fully justifiable to do so, for although we do not yet know if there is a "threshold" of irradiation in the development of cancers, we do know that even a very low dose of radiation is injurious to the cells. We do know that this injury is cumulative and irreversible, that it shows itself only after a long period of latency and that the effects on the organism thus engendered, are sometimes irreversible and hereditary in their, nature.

*Dr. Escoffier-Lambiotte*  
*"Le Monde"*

*June 23, 1972*

## Tiger Cages

Colonel back at Con Son

South Vietnam has quietly reappointed Colonel Nguyen Van Ve as director of the notorious "tiger cage" prison on Con Son island, according to a statement recently issued by Amnesty International. A spokesman said the organisation was "appalled at the news."

Colonel Ve was director of the prison in 1970 when two American congressmen first uncovered the cramped underfloor cages used to house political prisoners, many of whom were permanently crippled by the ordeal. He was accused of having tried to prevent the congressmen from seeing the cages and was relieved of his post shortly afterwards.

Amnesty said its own sources had just sent confirmation of rumors that Colonel Ve had been shifted back into command of Con Son during a major reorganisation of the administration of South Vietnam's biggest prisons.

Amnesty also released the text of a cable sent by Mr. Sean MacBride, S.C., chairman of its International Executive Committee, to Dr. Henry Kissinger and Mr Le Due Tho, who were due to begin talks in Paris.

The cable urged that "decisive action should be taken now to ensure the protection and release" of the 100,000 civilians who Amnesty estimates are detained throughout South Vietnam. It also urged them to consider making provisions similar to those contained in the Draft Protocol which Amnesty International submitted to all the parties to the conflict last November and which covers the release, rehabilitation and resettlement of all non-criminal civilian detainees in Indochina.

## ITT's Nazi Tie-Up

According to the latest edition of *Tribune*, "International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT), the multinational corporation best known for its intervention in Chilean elections, was a major supporter of Nazi war industry during World War II." It claims ITT's cooperation with Hitler began in 1933, when Sosthenes Behn, the founder of ITT, first visited the Nazi leader.

ITT's German subsidiaries were named Lorenz and Standard Elektrizitäts- Gesellschaft (SEG). In 1938, Lorenz acquired a 28 per cent interest in Focke-Wulf, the corporation that manufactured German warplanes.

At the same time as it was supplying Hitler with essential materials, ITT was manufacturing war material for the US military. In 1942, it invented a direction finder designed to protect US convoys being bombed by ITT-built Focke-Wulf planes. Behn was even given a medal by the US army for his contribution to the "war effort".

In 1967, ITT — presenting itself as a "victim" of the war — actually managed to obtain \$27 million in compensation from the American Government for war damage to its factories in Germany, including \$5 million damage to Focke-Wulf plants.

## Number One Air Polluter

What's the number one air polluter in the United States today? Well, according to the *Epalog*, the official publication of the Environmental Protection Agency, the leading air polluters are burping cows.

According to *Epalog*, studies have found that "Ten cows burp enough gas in a year to provide for all the space heating, water heating and cooking requirements for a small house."

The study estimated that American cows burp about 50 million tons of hydrocarbons into the atmosphere each year.

*Epalog* adds: "There presently exists no available technology for controlling these hydro-carbon emissions."

Outline of the world map on a cow silhouette

## Pink Bidets for Cambodia

"The US has supplied pink bidets to Cambodia while refusing to provide federal funds for sewer and water projects at home," reports Senator W. J. Fulbright.

"It boggles the mind," the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee said in making public an excerpt from a government report on the shipment of bidets and other bathroom fixtures to Cambodia as part of the foreign aid program.

"The report, by the Inspector General of the Agency for International Development, said: 'Granting that bidets may be considered a necessity for high-born and foreign-educated Cambodians . . . surely there must be many other items with higher priority for which US taxpayers can be asked to pay'."

For the many "low-born" Americans who don't know what a bidet is one dictionary defines it as "a basin on a low, narrow stand for bathing the posterior parts of the body." It is found in all luxury bathrooms in France (and, of course, Cambodia used to be under France).

## Maori Participation in Pakeha Justice

By O.R.W. Sutherland and R.A. Galbreath of the Nelson Race Relations Action Committee

Drawing of a Maori family in handcuffs by Ray Mitchell

Institutional racism can only exist in a situation where the power is held by one group, as it is by pakehas in New Zealand. Decision making on matters which affect all New Zealanders is carried out entirely by pakehas, on the basis of pakeha values, life-styles and attitudes. Because it is impossible for pakehas to present the point of view of Maoris, Polynesian and other ethnic minorities, these groups are effectively denied any opportunity to influence the development of the society of which they are a part. Indeed, they are at present not able to determine even their own future.

The injustice of this situation is easily dismissed by pakehas, even liberals, on the grounds that either "we are all one people, so no-one is being left out" or "pakehas are in the majority so it is only natural that they dominate positions of power and make the important decisions". In fact, such blatantly racist attitudes are so deeply ingrained in pakeha thinking that most white New Zealanders fail even to notice that all positions of power in this society are held by pakehas, and that for this reason, apart from any other, this is a racist society.



The extent to which pakehas dominate decision-making, and thereby impose their standards upon society as a whole, is well illustrated by a power-analysis of the whole judicial system by race (see Diagram 1).

The proportion of Maoris in New Zealand prisons, borstals and detention centres far exceeds their representation in the community. This is partly due to the disproportionately high number of Maoris appearing before the courts and the fact that overall arrest and conviction rates for Maoris are higher than for pakehas.

*M. Schumacher: 'Violent Offending'; Department of Justice Research Series.*

*O.R.W. Sutherland, J. T. Hippolite; A. M. Smith, R.A. Galbreath: 'Justice and Race: A monocultural system in multicultural society'. N.Z. Race Relations Council Conference, Palmerston North, February 1973.*

But also of considerable importance is the fact that the Maori offender in the pakeha court is discriminated against: culturally, because the court does not relate to his values and attitudes, and procedurally, because he so seldom receives legal advice or is represented in court by counsel. This discrimination, be it conscious or not, has led to the wrongful imprisonment of Maori offenders in the past and has thereby increased their numbers in those institutions.

A further breakdown of those sentenced to institutional punishment is given in diagram 2 from which it can be seen that although Maoris in general are at a disadvantage in the courts, the situation of Maori children is particularly serious. While 43.2% of those appearing in children's courts are Maoris, 60.5% of all children sentenced to borstal training are Maoris and 56.2% of children sentenced to prison are Maoris. In 1971, for example, an average of one 15-year-old Maori per week was sent to borstal

This is true even though there is no evidence that Maori children commit worse crimes or have longer records, and even though the Maori child faces, on average, slightly fewer charges than does the pakeha child. Similarly, in the Magistrate's court whereas 32% of the total offenders are Maori, they are sentenced in disproportionately high numbers to penal institutions.

The only exception is seen in sentencing to periodic detention — both Maori children and Maori adults are under-represented in this category. However, a sentence to periodic detention is regarded as a 'light' sentence compared with the jail sentence which it replaces.

## Prison Officers

The next step up in the hierarchy of the judicial system is that of the prison officers. As diagram 1 shows, this is the only staff position where the proportion of Maoris exceeds that of Maoris in the population. But, of course, this vocation carries little power in the wider community, bestows no status and is highly unpopular.

## Probation Officers

Strict educational requirements, again based on a wholly pakeha concept of 'education' exclude virtually all Maoris from the probation service. University Entrance is essential and the probation service prefers to take those with a Diploma of Social Science. This diploma can only be gained at Victoria University and cannot be gained by correspondence. The normal minimum age for the probation service is 24 years, but is lowered to 21 for those taking university degrees.

## Justices of the Peace

The fact that only 2.5%

*All data is based on information obtained from official sources. The figure for Justices of the Peace includes any J.P. on a Maori Roll and any J.P. with a Maori Christian name or surname.*

of the 6600 J.P.'s in New Zealand are Maoris indicates clearly the underlying institutional racism in the society. For this honorary position the person does not have to apply nor is there any minimum educational requirement which might exclude Maoris. J.P.'s are appointed by the Minister of Justice at his discretion and he must, therefore, take responsibility for the very low proportion of Maoris holding this office.

## Diagram 1. The participation of Maoris at different levels within the judicial system.

## Diagram 2. The proportion of Maoris amongst all those sentenced to detention centres, borstal and prison.

*Taken from: 'N.Z. Justice Statistics, 1971' (Department of Statistics, 1973).*

## Magistrates and Judges

In the positions of greatest power within the judicial system Maori participation is almost non-existent. Only one of the 45 magistrates in New Zealand is a Maori, and it took the pakeha judicial system 100 years to appoint him. There is still no Maori judge among the 21 on the Bench at present, nor has there ever been one.

The highest court in the New Zealand judicial system, the Privy Council, stands as a symbol of white ethnocentrism within the British Commonwealth, and as a glaring example of the white cultural domination of New Zealand. As an English court, its irrelevance in this society is self-evident.

## Periodic Detention Centres

Every city in which one or more periodic detention (p.d.) centres exist has an Advisory Committee whose function is "to establish and guide the administration of periodic detention in their city."

*Dr A.M. Finlay, Minister of Justice, Nelson Evening Mail, March 28, 1973.*

Prospective members of these committees are selected by the Minister of Justice on the recommendation of District Probation Officers and are then invited by the Minister to join the Committee. Although the composition of these committees differ from area to area, there appears to be a standard structure. The chairman is always a magistrate. There are then: one police representative, one or two probation officers, one or two Social Welfare Department officers, one or two trade union representatives and two or three 'private citizens' who usually include one or more J.P.'s. Membership of the Advisory Committees is generally restricted to eight—ten people, a majority of whom have other links with the judicial system in one capacity or another.

The present Minister of Justice, Dr A.M. Finlay, has been reported as stating that "these Committees are representative of the community as well as of official services." To demonstrate exactly what pakehas really mean when they say "representative of the community" the committees in the Auckland area can be detailed. The Auckland City Committee has eight members of whom one is a Maori. The Otahuhu Committee, serving a community which includes the greatest urban concentration of Maoris in the country, has no Maori members at all. The Papakura p.d. centre Committee, again drawn from a community with a large non-pakeha population, is also wholly pakeha.

## Police

The New Zealand police force numbers 3,302 and of these 4.2% are Maoris (diagram 1). Moreover, a detailed analysis of the police force shows quite clearly that of the few Maoris within this system the majority are in the position of least power (diagram 3).

Two factors probably account for the overall low numbers of Maoris. First, there may not be many applicants for jobs with the force. Apart from any other reason for this, recruitment brochures such as "Your guide to a career in the modern Police" and "Police Cadet — Your Career" are written to appeal to a pakeha value system. They lack anything of special relevance to Maoris or Polynesians and while the glossy photographs included in the former show about 71 police recruits or officers, only one could be considered non-pakeha. Second, educational and other barriers eliminate almost all potential Maori applicants. Thus, although three years secondary education is the minimum allowed for police cadets and police recruits, about 70% in fact have either school certificate or University Entrance and these qualifications are preferred, as the recruitment brochures stress. Both police cadets and police recruits must sit a pre-entry test which is at about school certificate level. If they pass that, they must sit an Otis 'A' intelligence test. As 85% of all Maoris leave school without any qualifications at all, many of them particularly poor at English, and as the I.Q. test is entirely pakeha-oriented as well as being set in the English language, it is hardly surprising that so few Maoris and other Polynesians are in the police force.

## Diagram 3. A power analysis of Maori participation in the New Zealand Police Force.

*The figures for Maori Sergeants and Constables are based on official estimates.*

Photo of Maori men being walking with police in the background

Promotion within the force also is based on standards set by pakeha administrators and is decided upon by Pakeha senior officers.

Information concerning Maori representation on p.d. committees elsewhere in New Zealand is given in Table 1. The situation in the Auckland area is clearly not exceptional — 'community' participation in the

administration of periodic detention means in practice pakeha-community participation. The Maori people of Otahuhu, Papakura, Christchurch and of the other cities cannot be blamed for this situation. Instead the responsibility is again entirely that of the Department of Justice and, particularly, the Minister of Justice. Institutional white racism, the domination by pakehas of positions of decision-making, could hardly be more plainly demonstrated.

It will no doubt be objected that here, as with the appointment of J.P.'s, the exclusion of Maoris is neither deliberate nor wilfully malevolent. In the present context, this is immaterial. The fact is that the Maori people are effectively excluded, regardless of how that came about.

## Conclusion

The question of whether or not the Maori people and those of other ethnic backgrounds want to police the streets, patrol the cell blocks or sit in judgement of others cannot be answered here. They will decide that for themselves. Certainly it would be understandable if they were reluctant to fill these positions until such time as they have had an opportunity to participate equally in the restructuring of the judicial and penal systems of New Zealand. They could only otherwise be Maoris playing a pakeha role in a pakeha system. But it is quite clear that in the short term at least those administering justice must modify staff selection policies to enable Maoris and Polynesians to participate in the present system if they wish to. This will necessarily entail abandoning pakeha-oriented educational, I.Q. and other barriers for Maori and Polynesian applicants and replacing them with whatever requirements the Maori and Polynesian people themselves feel are appropriate. A small step would then have been taken toward that equality which pakehas have for so long deceived themselves that all New Zealanders enjoy.

## Walking The Streets

*By Peter Franks*

Imagine a group of foreign visitors walking into the D.I.C. or Woolworths in Wellington and being surrounded by a crowd of friendly and interested local customers, or Wellington citizens waving, smiling and applauding when a busload of foreign tourists drives down the street.

Unusual as it would be to New Zealanders this is what has happened to us in Canton and Shanghai. Everywhere we have been, travelling as a group or walking down the street, people are tremendously friendly and curious. This attitude is at first surprising in view of the fact that the people of Shanghai in particular suffered a great deal from the oppression of foreign imperialists. For many years Shanghai was divided up into foreign "concessions", and was in fact a number of armed camps controlled by foreign troops.

Many of the present 10 million citizens of Shanghai experienced the foreign occupation of their city, so I asked one of the interpreters travelling with us why it is that people are so friendly today. "The people of Shanghai," she explained, "understand that your people have also suffered the oppression of foreign imperialists." Thus the friendliness of people here demonstrates not only the politeness of Chinese people and their hospitality towards foreign guests, but also their understanding of proletarian internationalism — the unity of the people of the world.

But how spontaneous are these demonstrations of friendship? Isn't it quite conceivable that people are organised or even forced to show friendship towards foreigners?

While we have had no evidence to suggest that ordinary people on the streets are organised to wave and applaud when they see us passing by in a bus, we have tested the friendship of people by walking the streets in small, unorganised groups at night or early in the morning.

On our first morning in Shanghai three of us set out at 5.30 and walked through the streets for a couple of hours before breakfast. At 5.30 in the morning Shanghai is a hive of activity. Along the river bank there are hundreds of people, young and old, taking exercise by practising shadow boxing. It is an amazing sight, and we immediately had visions of Wellington office workers practising shadow boxing at the Railway Station, or on Lambton Quay on their way to work. We wandered through the side streets back to our hotel, past markets, cafes and a couple of small factories. People looked surprised to see us but smiled, waved and exchanged greetings of welcome. There was never any suggestion that any harm could come to us.

Near our hotel we stopped at a building site, where a team of men and women were pouring concrete onto the foundations. We sat and watched them working for about 20 minutes. No one told us to clear off. The workers smiled and greeted us and got on with the job. It was particularly interesting to see men and women doing hard manual work together, and to see the foreman working alongside the others.

In Canton I had a fascinating experience trying to buy a pair of trousers at a Peoples Store. The range of

sizes does not cater very well for a tall westerner with a pot gut, and the problem of buying a pair to fit me was not helped by the fact that no one in the immediate vicinity of the menswear department could speak English.

I tried on pair after pair of trousers, cursing myself for a love of food and a lack of exercise. The shop assistants seemed very concerned that they couldn't provide what I wanted. A crowd of about 30 people gathered round to see what was going on and study the problem.

Suddenly a woman with a tape measure appeared at the counter. She quickly measured my waist and proceeded to explain the contradiction between Frank's gut and the range of trouser sizes provided by the People's Store. There was a hilarious reaction to this information and when I had to go a few minutes later to catch the bus I felt that even though I'd failed to buy trousers that had fitted me I'd provided a few locals with some entertainment.

The People's Stores are especially striking because of the very cheap clothes (for example I bought a jacket and a pair of trousers for about \$(NZ)6.) and the total lack of advertising. In fact the Chinese have turned capitalist advertising into its opposite! At a People's Store in Shanghai there was a special display area for new products. People were able to examine these products criticise them and suggest alternatives. A case of consumers dictating to manufacturers, rather than manufacturers dictating to consumers, as happens in New Zealand.

## Reports from China

### The Little Red Book that Came True

*By Peter Franks.*

#### A "barefoot" doctor giving a commune member treatment.

Travelling on the plane between Canton and Shanghai one of our delegation struck up a conversation with a Scots sea captain who was employed by a state shipping corporation in Peking. This gentleman wasn't very satisfied with economic development in China. There were tremendous possibilities for increased production, he said, but the Chinese refused to use foreign skills and refused to emphasise technical expertise rather than political education. However he claimed that the Chinese people had "got over" the "madness" of the Cultural Revolution, and were now settling down to hard work.

Foreign "experts" on China have made similar comments. For instance a recent issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* commented about agricultural development in China that the peasants had forgotten idealistic and impractical political ideas and were getting down to hard work.

There is no doubt that the Chinese working class and peasantry work hard in building socialism in their country. But there is also no doubt that socialism is being built in a highly political and revolutionary way.

The Chinese people have not forgotten their long revolutionary history. In Canton we visited the National Peasant Movement Institute which Mao Tsetung directed for five months in 1926. Chairman Mao's study and bedroom, student dormitories and lecture halls have all been carefully preserved as a memorial to an important phase of the Chinese revolution when the peasants started to get organised.

#### Class

The Institute was not just a memorial to the past. Its existence emphasises the importance of the peasantry in building socialism in China. Furthermore it was at this institute that Chairman Mao delivered his famous "Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society", an analysis which explained the contradictions of Chinese society and answered the question "who are our friends and who are our enemies in the revolution" Because class struggle is still continuing in China, Chairman Mao's analysis of classes in Chinese society is still very relevant do-day.

A revolutionary puppet show in Shanghai also related the past to the present. The show was about a local action of the 8th Route Army against the Japanese invaders. As my past experience of puppet shows was limited to a Punch and Judy performance at a Christmas party at Fords factory when I was about eight, I wasn't prepared for the brilliant technical standard of the show. It was like watching a movie. The scenery and use of backdrop projection was quite amazing, and the puppets moved very naturally, lighting and smoking cigarettes, for example, with great ease.

## Lessons from a Puppet Show

Cartoon of a nurse reading to a boy

Politically the performance brought out several very important principles of Chinese life today, as well as popularising revolutionary struggle in the past. For example the principle of co-operation — unity is strength, was brought out very clearly. In an effort to show his keenness a young recruit tried to throw a huge boulder over a cliff. One by one other soldiers of the 8th Route Army joined him until eventually all of them succeeded in removing the boulder. This scene demonstrated that by uniting the people as a single force the 8th Route Army could defeat the Japanese invaders.

Another scene showed how the 8th Route Army was an inseparable part of the masses. The young recruit goes to the Headquarters of the Japanese and the Chinese puppet army, ostensibly to collect a debt from an officer in the puppet army. The Japanese commander is desperately trying to find food for his troops and the young man tells him there is plenty of food in his village. "Aren't you a member of the 8th Route Army," asks the Japanese commander and the puppet captain suspiciously. The boy laughs and mockingly replies "Can't you tell the difference between the 8th Route Army and the masses?" Somewhat perplexed the Japanese and the puppet troops follow him to his village and are annihilated by the local people and the 8th Route Army.

This scene emphasised a continuing revolutionary principle, not just an historical fact. The People's Liberation Army today is as inseparable from the masses as the 8th Route Army was during the Anti-Japanese war.

But the Chinese people do not just learn the revolutionary principles on which their society is run through indirect experience, by studying the past. They learn and practice these principles in everyday life.

## Self-Reliance

The principle of self-reliance, of emphasising the capacity of people to solve their problems collectively rather than relying on orders from the top or foreign technology and aid is one of the most important principles of socialist development in the People's Republic. We saw examples of this principle being put into practice at the Hsien Chiao commune, 15 kilometres from Canton city.

The most important task of this commune of 53,000 people with over 80,000 acres of cultivated land producing fruit and vegetables is to provide food for the three million people in Canton. But that does not mean that the people of this commune simply carry out the orders of the municipal administrators and produce what they're told to produce.

Cartoon of a Chinese woman dancing while holding flowers and a lantern

The products the commune specialises in are determined by the needs of the city, the historical conditions of the area (i.e. what crops have traditionally grown well) and the local decision of the commune members. While the planning code for the local district is decided by a 'higher authority', the details of production are determined by the local commune. The planning authority in Canton provides guidelines for production rather than handing down detailed instructions.

## The Recommendation of their Fellows

The principle of self-reliance at Hsien Chiao commune was practised not only in production but in education and health services. We visited a primary school which served one of the 18 production brigades of the commune. One third of the school's teachers were recruited from the production brigade on the recommendation of their fellow workers, and were trained by the Education Bureau of the local 'suburb' of Canton municipality.

This meant that an important link was maintained between the requirements of the production brigade and the children's education. Students also spent half a day a week working on the commune. We noticed a blackboard with the slogan "Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour".

## Barefoot Doctors

The medical co-operative system was being practised at Hsien Chiao. This system has been introduced since the Cultural Revolution although it has not spread yet throughout the country. Under this system medical services have been decentralised to the lowest level of organisation where 'barefoot' doctors treat simple complaints and practice traditional and modern medicine. Each production brigade had its own medical centre and the commune had its own hospital — 105 beds, 17 doctors and 73 other medical workers.

The hospital was built in 1968 and its facilities included a maternity ward, a dentistry department, an x-ray department and facilities for surgery. Before the Cultural Revolution surgical cases had been sent to Canton, but now most of the work is done in the commune hospital. One of our interpreters read out a list of recent operations which included a malignant tumour, hernia, gastronomy and a thyroid operation. While family planning is encouraged abortions are also performed at this hospital.

We were surprised to see that the commune had its own pharmaceutical workshop which manufactured drugs and herbs only for the commune hospital. It had been in existence for two years and some of the products we saw included intravenous solutions and drugs for curing diphtheria and rheumatism. The medical services at Hsien Chiao were a very good example of the principle of self-reliance operating in practice.

## The Masses are Creative

Many of these examples of how the principle of self-reliance operates in practice also explain how the Chinese practice the mass line — the principle of relying on the masses for creative ideas and suggestions. Educational and medical services are provided at the local level in the towns and in the country, and in factories so that the needs of the people can be better served.

The organisation of political life since the Cultural Revolution has also been aimed at providing the greatest possible opportunity for ordinary people to express their ideas and suggestions. Shanghai is divided into ten administrative districts, each of which has a Revolutionary Committee as the main organ of political power. In each district there are a number of Street Revolutionary Committees.

Photo of a Chinese woman holding a rifle above her head

While these street committees are the basic organ of political power, the area they control includes a number of neighbourhood committees. The purpose of the neighbourhood committee is to express the wishes of the local people to the Street Revolutionary Committee.

The ordinary people living in the area controlled by a Street Revolutionary Committee can influence its work in a number of ways. Firstly through their neighbourhood committees, secondly through their representatives on the street committee (1/3 of its members), and thirdly because street committee members live and work in the local area among the people and are not an isolated bureaucracy.

## Child Labour?

One of the most important lessons of the Cultural Revolution for Chinese people and foreigners trying to understand Chinese society was that China is still a class society and political struggle is still continuing between those who support continued socialist development and those who want to revert to capitalist development. Emphasis on the fact that class struggle is not yet over in China can be seen in a number of areas.

At educational institutions at all levels we have seen (kindergarten, primary and secondary) children spent part of their time at school doing manual work. At the "East is Red" kindergarten in Canton, for example, children of three to seven years old spent about 40 — 50 minutes a week doing manual work so that they would learn to understand and love the working class. This sounds like child labour, but the work we saw the children doing was very simple. For example one group was putting pieces of string on guarantee labels for sewing machines. It was stressed that the work was done for educational reasons, and that it was not benefit to the production of the factory that produced the guarantee labels.

Of course the idea of combining practical learning with theoretical knowledge in education gets more sophisticated as students get older. Workers and retired workers are often brought to schools to explain to students how various processes of production work in practice, and to emphasise the role of the working class as the most revolutionary social class in Chinese society.

## Popular Study of Marxism—Leninism

Because class struggle is continuing in Chinese society great emphasis is placed on the popular study of Marxist-Leninist works, so that people can combine their practical experience of building socialism with a theoretical understanding of how society operates in general. In communes, schools, factories and housing settlements people spend a few hours a week studying Marxist—Leninist works, especially the works of Chairman Mao.

When we visited a housing resettlement area in Shanghai we were taken to see a small factory where housewives were making glassware products such as filaments for light bulbs. On the way out of the factory we noticed a group of women who appeared to be sitting round enjoying a cup of tea. "What are you doing," we asked. "Studying Lenin's work *State and Revolution* was the rather staggering reply.

## Germans, Russians and Chinese

Everywhere we have been so far in China we have seen pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as well as the many pictures of Chairman Mao. The Chinese people, through political study classes at schools, on their jobs and in their spare time, understand the relevance of these few German and Russian Marxist leaders and theorists to their struggle to build socialism because they see their works as living guides to understanding and changing the world rather than relics of the past.

The fact that the Chinese study Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as well as Mao's writings emphasises yet another important revolutionary principle of Chinese life — proletarian internationalism or the unity of the whole world.

## Foreign Policy

While we have not yet had the opportunity to study Chinese foreign policy in depth, or discuss it with our Chinese friends several things over the last week have shown us that the Chinese people have not abandoned their internationalist obligations to the people of the world who are struggling against imperialism and oppression.

At the "East is Red" Kindergarten in Canton it was really heartening for those of us who have participated in the struggle against U.S. Imperialism in New Zealand to see young children performing a song that repeated Chairman Mao's 1970 statement — "It is not the people of the world who fear U.S. Imperialism, but U.S. Imperialism that fears the people of the world." One of the main parts of political education classes at schools, factories and voluntary study groups is study of current events and struggles that are going on in the world at present. The large number of foreign delegations visiting China that we have met and have read about in the news, and the very friendly attitude of Chinese people towards foreigners emphasises the people's tremendous awareness of their internationalist obligations.

We have been in the People's Republic now for only a week and there is a great deal we have seen that we have not yet fully understood. But one thing is clear. We are travelling through a country that is still going through a revolution, and although we are only seeing a glimpse of that revolution to see it happening with your own eyes is a tremendously exciting experience

## Children Serve The People

*By Cheryl Dimond*

We have much to learn from preschool education in China today. The most striking aspect of visiting a kindergarten in Shanghai, was the high degree of political awareness and spontaneous analysis in all the activities and skills that the children are learning.

On entering the classroom we were invited to listen to some singing by five and six year olds. The confidence and enthusiasms with which they related the importance of the oppressed peoples of the world uniting to fight U.S. imperialism, reflected their convictions and understanding about the political system. It ended with their arms raised to the sky and defiantly yelling "united we will win the struggle. We will also liberate Taiwan!"

Through self-expression in cultural activities such as these, the children are learning and identifying with the revolutionary principles on which their society is based. This is hardly the depth of political awareness developed through the activities of New Zealand kindergartens, in which the principles underlying the basis of society are learned only indirectly.

## Political Basis of Education

The fundamental difference between New Zealand and China in this field (as in all others) is that in China the political basis of education is made explicit. In New Zealand it is subtly disguised as the development of the individual in order to take part in "social democracy".

The skills that are learned at pre-school level to prepare children for higher levels of education, are superficially similar in both countries, but the motivations for teaching differ enormously. This was obvious from watching the children in different classrooms and listening to their singing, dancing and play acting. A small group in costumes acted out the story of a newcomer to the kindergarten who decided that it was too hot to take part in health exercises that were part of the curriculum for all children. The rest of his new comrades were very surprised at this attitude and wished to help him understand the reason for taking part. They told him

that they were doing exercises to become fit and healthy and better able to do their job in the community — serving the people. The boy began to realise this and with mutual help from his comrades he learned and decided to join in.

In this way the children become aware of the values of their revolutionary society — that their education is to enable them to carry out Mao Tsetung's thoughts and serve the people. In order to do this well, pupils are also taught the principles of selflessness and self-reliance.

## Learning from Experience

The notion of learning from experience is common to both countries and the types of activities carried out are similar. What differs is the degree to which this principle is applied in practice and the different attitudes they are designed to promote. At Shanghai's Dong Fang Hong (The East is Red) Kindergarten I noticed children were cutting out intricate patterns on folded paper, painting, playing with toys and reading from picture books. Superficially the same — but for the Chinese the learning of these skills has a political implication which is made explicit — to enable children to develop skills and knowledge to serve the people in their community in the best way possible.

Although this could be said about the aims of New Zealand pre-school education the — nature and extent of the application of this theory determines the attitudes of children and their future relationship in society. It is here that the difference is so marked and important.

Photo of Chinese children stretching

Photo of a Chinese child cutting paper

Manual labour is essential to the functioning of society and so becomes a part of pre-school education. One period a day the children of the kindergarten spend their time doing simple manual work. This is not a form of child-labour but an exercise in learning an important political concept — the recognition of manual work in order for society to survive. As the teacher said "it is to instil into the children a love of the working class and an understanding that they must learn from the workers."

That attitude which develops in the pupils is that all types of work which serve the people are of equal importance. In order that the children should learn this concept from practical experience, they manage their own garden to provide vegetables to eat, and do the manual labour themselves. At the same time learning to be useful members of the community and absorbing another major concept of revolutionary society — that of self-reliance.

## No Competition to Succeed

Among these children there is not the competition to succeed in order to gain favour, or the struggle to become educated to get a "good" job, which in New Zealand and other capitalist countries, does not include manual work. This ideological education promotes the attribute of despising manual work, prevalent among the middle and upper class whom the kindergartens primarily serve. There is a distinction between jobs of a high class and much sought after, and jobs of a low class. This depicts the basis of the structure of the capitalist system — a class structure.

In China, serving the people is the prime motivation for children's learning and they learn well for this reason. Along with the political motivation there consciously develops attitudes of selflessness and a spirit of co-operation. It is here in China we see the application of Marxism—Leninism— Mao Tsetung thought in practice and succeeding to reconstructing China along socialist principles.

In New Zealand the prime motivation for children's learning, although they do not realise it, is to become successful members of the capitalist systems. To succeed in this system children have to compete and adopt selfish attitudes. In the competitive struggle for high class jobs the middle and upper class always win because they are better equipped by the education system to do this. The education system at all levels, beginning with preschool serves to perpetuate the class structure of capitalism and benefit the successful middle and upper class who in return oppress those of the working class in all fields of life. China's political basis for education of children in the values of socialist society is evident in practice in their day to day life. It is living proof that socialist society is successful and leads to a better life for all people, collectively.

## Business and the University

*In Salient No. 14 we printed a letter signed by "Ralph Nader" which was headed "Big Business Gag on University". The letter purported to quote remarks made by Dr Gordon McDougall of the Business*



*Administration Department in a lecture last year. Salient has since discussed the matter with Dr McDougall in order to get a fuller and more accurate account of his views and what went on in the lecture. Parts of an interview with Dr. McDougall conducted by Roger Steele are printed below.*

*Salient apologises for any inference that may have been drawn from the letter as a personal attack on Dr. McDougall. We accept that the quotes in the letter insofar as they purported to be Dr McDougall's exact words were a misrepresentation of him. Accordingly we retract the remarks as printed in Salient 14.*

Salient: In the letter we printed you are quoted as saying 'there's price fixing going on and I have evidence to prove it.' What would be a more accurate representation of your words?

McDougall: Something like— 'the evidence is there before everybody's eyes.' You just have to look at retail stores down town and ask — "how come the prices are the same?"

How much price fixing goes on in New Zealand?

I think we should talk about 'collusion' instead of price fixing' because I think that's a more accurate description. It's a matter of either the manufacturer or the retailer establishing a price and then no one moving off that particular price. The problem arises when somebody wants to price under the established price. There's a couple of examples which have been brought up in the courts, one of Wholesale Grocers in Christchurch who had their source of supplies cut off because they were pricing their cigarettes below the standard price. So in this sense they were constrained from carrying on their business. Why shouldn't a retailer have the right to charge under the price if he wants to?

Well ultimately it serves his own interests to charge a common price.

Not necessarily, because some retailers can make money by charging lower prices and obtaining a higher volume of trade. The consumer benefits because they then have the choice of either paying the higher price at one store or the lower price at another store with the possibility of getting less service. The important thing is the consumer has a choice

Is the price collusion going on to such an extent that it's illegal?

Well I think it is to the degree, if we could have a look at retailers and say 'how many of them have actually tried?', we've got examples which come to the surface like Wholesale Groceries, but one suspects there are times when a retailer has tried to reduce prices and has been, let's say persuaded, not to reduce the prices. Those are the ones we don't know about.

What can be done about illegal price fixing?

Rather than get into technical details, if you have a look at the Trade Practices Act it says that any constraint of trade with respect to prices is not legal. A number of parties can do something about it. I think the government should be the major party to take action. Comparing New Zealand and Canada, the Canadian Government has people who monitor prices all the time to ensure price collusion does not occur in the trade. Resale price maintenance has been outlawed in Canada and also in Australia. The governments are doing more than paying lip service to these laws.

The person who wrote the letter signed himself Ralph Nader, the Consumers' friend, implying that the individual, like Ralph Nader, should be the person who attacks this price collusion. Do you rather think it's the job of government?

Yes, the individual could do it but it's like trying to roll doughnuts uphill. While people may talk to you on an informal basis, documentation is difficult. The individual doesn't have the power that government does.

Well if the government fails to act in this situation, what should the individual then do? It seems that you've chosen to ignore it.

I don't see much hope for individual action in this situation. Possibly action could be taken by the Consumer Institute acting for individual consumers. But power structures are important in these types of situations and in spite of all that we say about individual freedoms sometimes there's little the individual can do. He can take on one company or one retailer and that's just one case. It would probably take a considerable amount of time and effort to change this existing situation.

If we could get into the other part of the controversy. There's a question here, "Whose interests does the Department of Business Administration serve, those of the owner or those of the consumers?" Would you care to answer that one?

Yes, speaking as an individual I think members of a university should be serving the student first. Our primary role is one of education and we should be doing our best to see that we give a student the best education we can offer.

I assume that the questioner is making the point that objectively, by failing to act on this price collusion, the consumer is suffering but the Department of Business Administration as a whole is not. When you talk about serving the interest of the student, I think it does touch on what do you want the qualified student to do? Do you want him to just produce more textbooks, become another lecturer or teacher or an expert in business administration or do you want him to actually serve the interests of society? Many people assume that the role

of university should be to produce people who can make some sort of change to society.

Yes, I think that's a fair comment. My personal objectives are to provide students with the tools so that they can become more efficient marketers. I don't see a conflict with this objective because consumer interests should be the major focus of all marketing decisions. If you don't serve the consumer you are not going to stay in business. In this way you serve society by satisfying the consumers' needs without the constraint of any collusion. You can serve society by offering goods and services in an efficient and effective manner from both the consumer's and the firm's viewpoint. From my point of view, the changes to society can be made by improving the existing marketing structure.

If this price collusion could be dispelled would there be greater competition in marketing practice?

Yes, there would be.

And you're convinced that greater competition does lead to more benefits for the consumer?

Yes, If business firms are encouraged and required to compete by government then the consumer should benefit. The important factor is that the consumers are offered the choice without constraints and they decide whether to purchase or not. In this situation consumers, collectively determine what is bought and because of this, what is sold.

Just as a general statement of your own beliefs, would you mind being described as a capitalist?

No, I'd rather be described as a firm believer in the free enterprise system. That implies a couple of things, one of them, the paramount one, being that the consumer has a choice. Anything that constrains the consumer in his choice I'm against. But if you want to call me a capitalist.....

Well it is possible to have a choice under a socialist economy.

Yes it is possible to have choice, I think the choice is limited and I'd rather see a system where choice is determined by the consumer, not some regulatory body.

How much research money does the Business Administration Department get from outside concerns?

It gets money from a number of different sources. We received a grant of, I believe it was \$25,000 to carry out research into business administration areas in New Zealand. It's probably the most significant amount of money we've received. Individual members of the department also receive grants for specific research which would be from particular business organisations and various University Grants.

Do individual members get a grant from say Shell, to do research into Shell products?

The usual situation is one where the member is interested in doing research into a particular area. If he requires funds he will look at the various sources available, 'one of which is business firms. Whether he gets money from these firms depends on the relevance to the firm, his capabilities and the amount required. For example, I ran a research project on air travel in a course on Business Research and I asked Air New Zealand if they would pay for some of the costs. They said "yes", paid for the costs and I sent them the result of the survey.

Do you believe that university compromises role in receiving these grants?

I don't think so.

Although you told me that you said in the lecture that the main reason you didn't do a Ralph Nader crusade on price fix inf was that you had more important things to get on and do, you didn't say what they were.

The first one is education. I spend the majority of my time talking with students because that's my main priority. I also spend a fair amount of time keeping up with events in my field so that happily I'll be a better teacher. And incidently if you went out on a Ralph Nader type crusade into price collusion you'd be spending a lot of time and effort on the project. Also. If you keep stirring things up you're going to have difficulty dealing with these guys downtown in a number of situations. One being if you want research money for a particular project and you've been whacking these guys on the one side they're not going to give it to you on the other side.

I think we reached a contradiction where I asked you whether education should try and encourage people to make some impact on society with a view to improving it. And you said you train people to do better business administration so they know how to make better profits, through not price fixing. That's one way of looking at it but its been tried throughout this century and it obviously hasn't worked. When you're out in practice it's a lot easier to indulge in this sort of price collusion and not worry about competition. Profits may go down 5% but its a lot easier life than the cut throat business in the United States and Canada and so on. Don't you see that education could encourage people not so much to perfect their own marketing practices but to have a marketing practice which protects the consumer?

There's a number of ways you can get at this. I think we have to discuss basic ways we could market goods and services so at least you understand the alternatives. Then we can say given the alternative marketing methods, which are the most effective in terms of such things as consumer benefits, quality of life and a number of other factors. I happen to think the free enterprise system offers the most alternatives and I favour this particular method. I think the most effective changes can be brought about by modifications of the free

enterprise system particularly in terms of making the system more efficient. If you offer the consumer what they want and you do it more effectively than the next individual, you'll make profits and the consumer will benefit. Your comment about the present system not working is a value judgement. You may think the more inefficient "easy going" system is the answer but I don't.

And you think its quite moral of course, to make profit out of an item?

It's not only quite moral, it's a necessity.

## Flicks

With Jeremy Littlejohn

Flicks heading

Of the several films that opened in the capital last week, no doubt *Everything You Wanted to Know About Sex\* But Were Afraid to Ask* commands the most interest, if only an account of its bizarre title. Arguably the first cinematic realisation of a dictionary devoted to sexual practice in the Western world (I just don't know why it hasn't been done before), *Everything.... \** will be seen by thousands, many of who may be satisfied in spite of the absence of any likelihood of the experience leaving them any the wiser.

As it happens the film bears no relations (not even the least seminal) to sex know-all Ruben's pedantic hunk of hype. Its just an affectionate look at sex in its myriad manifestation (amounting to a grand total of seven), all very vaudeville with vagina-high humour and an excess of America's favourite grom, Mr Woody Allen. Some of it is very funny, as when it moves into parody (among other things, Allen points his prick at Elizabethan romance, Italian sex movies, horror movies and 'Fantastic Voyage') some not so funny, as when Allen goes for the straightforward stand-up comic approach.

Two cherubs standing together

Of course one docs not expect every joke to score, even with a comic genius, and the film does not merit its reproof in Mr Allen's not infrequent bummers (e.g. the sodomy skit). The crux of the film's failure is in its inability to provide any continuity for the different episodes. When on things back to classier episodic comedies, such as *Bedazzled*, one recalls the constant protagonists who guide and cohere the otherwise irreconcilable elements. But when one thinks of *Everything.... \** there is only the absence for such a device to muse on. The piecemeal presentation of events has the effect of making the film look lake an American Variety Special, no better, no worse.

In spite of this criticism, I would venture that this is better stuff than the last film we saw of Allen's — *Play it Again Sam*. It is more congenial, to his sense of the zany and madcap, for the film to take vaudeville as its essence, and consequently Allen's not inconsiderable powers of feigned idiocy run riot quite attractively. If it is nor a very good film it doesn't matter... Allen enjoyed making it obviously, and most viewer won't begrudge him that — one is entitled to the madness of one's choice. And for that matter, the censor saw fit to scissor out a sheep bedecked in a suspender belt — an action more ludicrous than the article it found offensive.

'Where does it hurt?' — '*Only When I Laugh*', besides confusing space and time is also Peter Sellar's latest film. Its quite the worst I can remember — a singularly unfunny imitation of 'Hospital', with nothing to commend it and nothing more to be said about it than 'sold out Sellers stinks' or something equally puerile, mindless, unflattering and apt.

*Walkabout* was shown at the Lido onn Sunday — very good to sec again, but a sad reminder of how few new films of any quality come our way in recent months. The Sunday night Lido programmes remains the best value to be had for the rather dismal time being.

ON CAMPUS SONNY TERRY & BROWNIE McGHEE — THE DADDY'S OF THEM ALL IN PERSON Union Hall, Victoria University. Wednesday, August 1.

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## Records

Record section heading

***Prometheus, The Poem of Fire: Alexander Scriabin. Soloist Vladimir Ashkenazy with the London Philharmonic Orchestra***

## conducted by Lorin Maazel. Reviewed by Gordon Campbell. Decca Recording.

With some artists it gets hard to judge their music apart from the ideas you've built about their personality. I mean, with Dylan, is it music or his personality that you respond to? It's impossible to separate what he does from who he is. The person, the voice, the performance, the composition all just flow together. No one sings Dylan like Dylan, right? Because no one else is Dylan, and that's half the show.

Scriabin is a similar case. I'm not sure how much of the unearthly quality I hear in his music comes from what I've heard of the mad, mystic elements in his personality. From his earliest works Scriabin glorified art as a form of religion, and his final sketches for his planned "Mystery" described it as "a liturgical act" in which "music, poetry, dancing, colours and perfume" were to be used "to unite performers and audience in one supreme, final ecstasy." His Third Symphony was intended to represent "the evolution of the human spirit from pantheism to unity with the universe," and many other works, such as "The Poem of Ecstasy" and this one under review have similar theosophical programmes.

In his original score for "Prometheus" Scriabin included a part for "colour organ". On the keyboard for this instrument each note had a certain colour valve, worked out by analogy between the number of vibrations by which the ear recognises pitch, and the number of vibrations which the eye must receive to distinguish a particular tint. As the regular pianist played the piece the colour pianist projected the note-colours onto a large screen behind the orchestra. The ancestor of the light show. This was back in 1908. But there were problems. Chords of bright individual notes would combine to produce a muddy white, and the colour pianist, of course, could not be sensitive to the difference between a pianissimo and fortissimo note. Modern light shows aim to respond to the main emotional directness of the music, a much more sensible and accurate idea.

Near the end of his life, Scriabin tended to justify Rimsky-Korsakov's claim that he was half out of his mind. He set himself up as a messiah, whose function was "to sound the final chord of our race, reuniting it with Spirit". Theosophists claim his death at 43, from an infected cold sore on his lip, was due to the Dark Powers, who were a little uneasy about this "Mystery" thing he was planning.

So we're left with just the music. And who better to play it than Vladimir Ashkenazy, who has been carrying out a one-man campaign to get Scriabin recognised as a composer of the first rank. Whether you are interested in the theosophy or the music "Prometheus" is the best example of both. But it's not easy music. It takes a little time and energy to become aware of the ethereal elegance, that strange sense of timelessness between the notes. Ashkenazy calls it "space music"; which catches it pretty well. Or as a theosophist friend said the other week "you gotta pick up on this Scriabin cat, because man he's really in contact with the other side."

Medusa's head

## **Heartbreaker: Free. (Island IL-34759) Reviewed by Richard Best.**

Like Canned Heat and the immortal "Goin' Up the Country", Free will be remembered for a first-rate single, "All Right Now", an album, "Fire and Water" and not much else.

"Fire and Water" was good 'cos it sounded like a record of potential smash 45's. Andy Fraser played dense bass that hung around for ages in things like "Mr Big" and Paul Kossoff was something more than Mr Regular Lead Guitarist.

Now, Tetsu Yamauchi plays bass ( and tries ever so hard to carry on the Fraser fable) and an anonymous Rabbit grinds out simple-minded obligatory solos on lead.

"Heartbreaker" is Free's sixth in a long line of blues-based slogger 1p's. At its best, it's weighty, thick stuff — at its worst, luke-warm muzak.

The only more-than-adequate track is the ominous "Wishing Well" (".....the only time that you're satisfied/ is with your feet in the wishing well"). It's that good it might almost have come out of a Rodgers/Kossoff writing binge. Actually it didn't — Tetsu had a hand in it somewhere.

Then there's seven more tunes, and minus the mildly stunning "Heartbreaker", they're kinda dull. "Come Together in the Morning" has one of the boringest refrains yet and "Muddy Water" just drones along: "I was born under muddy water/ I didn't know right from wrong/ My ma said now look here son/ I'll show you how it's done." Now, that was the essence of Free in the good days and 'gettin yourself a woman then losin her'. Three years later and maybe it's a little overworked.

Buy the single "Wishing Well" if you can be bothered switching speeds on your record player. All said and done, "Heartbreaker" is really a hit 45 with seven tag-alongs to fill it out.

## ***Previn Plays Gershwin:***

### **London Symphony Orchestra, Andre Previn, Pianist and Conductor (WRS). Reviewed by Felix Manskleid.**

The United States in the 1970's can claim to possess at least as many composers of world renown as any European country. When only 40 years ago an American was asked by an Englishman "With all this passionate love of music among you Americans, where are your American composers?", his reply was that composition "had been imported in America at the very peak of its complexities and that our composers instead of beginning back where the Europeans started, in simplicity, have begun in complexity and tried to make it more complex. It is perhaps too soon to know whether this is a success or a failure."

When Dvorak arrived in America in 1892, the fervour of nationalism was then sweeping European countries. He was appalled at the imitative practices of American composers and intended to prove to the Americans that American music could be fashioned from the strains of the Indian, Negro and British background of the country. The result was "The New World Symphony". But although based on authentic folk themes, the work was written in a style which was thoroughly Central European and by no stretch of the imagination, American music.

It was only later with the consolidation of the American heritage that the names of composers such as Harris, Macdowell, Ives, Copland, Piston, Ruggles and Gershwin started to make themselves known, due to an identification with the spirit and the mood of the nation. Over the years, interpreters of Gershwin have been trying to "update" his music with varying effects not always successful. Although these renditions by Previn are pleasing, they can hardly be considered exciting. I miss the majestic, breath-taking sweep of his largo movement as originally performed by Paul Whiteman in "Rhapsody in Blue", an achievement rarely equalled by any other ensemble and the some-what "wading" manner of the orchestra in the "Concerto in F" is at times disconcerting.

The London Symphony Orchestra derives its strength in the more subtle passages and this may be the reason why "An American in Paris" comes across very well in its gay and dreamy ballet-like sequences. As a musician familiar with the jazz and classical techniques, Previn could have been expected to do better. The distinguishable Gershwin-esque features such as the feverish handling of clustered notes, the unpredictable climaxes and understatements and soaring outbursts are unfortunately not fully taken advantage of to lift these concert works out of their depth into a slightly bolder setting.

## ***Shankar:***

### **Concerto for Sitar & Orchestra. Ravi Shankar, sitar; Terence Emery, bongos. London Symphony Orcehstra/ Andre Previn. Reviewed by Felix Manskleid.**

Ravi Shankar is 5'3" tall, barely a foot longer than his sitar. "When I play," he once said, "I really lose contact with the outside world. I try to feel things within me. It is a feeling of extreme sadness — the very sad longing to be with something that I have not been able to attain and that is why I try to get near and nearer. I feel a certain peace... it is the height of ecstasy." He was once told by notables such as Casals, Segovia and Heifetz that Indian music was pleasant, but repetitious and monotonous. Somebody even called the sound like a "cat miaowing". This of course made him furious and his many attempts as a composer were to prove that the music of his country is rich varied and deep. The Concerto is based on four raga movements, the raga belonging to the Indian musical tradition, largely an oral one, dating back some 4000 years. It is mainly of an improvisational nature consisting of melodic forms of rising and falling movements composed of an octave or a series of five to six notes. The raga is not considered as entertainment in the proper sense of the word, but celebrates the ritual of daily living. The performer is granted complete freedom of expression so that he is guided by his own conception and as the music is created on the spot, it can generate a feeling of trance and excitement. This Shankar manages to do effectively as a soloist and indulges in what could be described as a "jam session" with his partner, Terence Emery on bongos. This composition allows for orchestral participation and this specific score is written in concerto and even sonata forms which lend a westernised effect to the complete arrangement, even though the emanating sounds are suggestively pseudo-oriental. This brings to our

mind the pastiche of musical communication such as the one by which Rimsky—Korsakov tries to paint musically an "Eastern" picture in "Shcherazade". If this is so, I would assume that Shankar has made a concession to European taste in this Concerto.

## Drama

—by 'Cathy Wylie

Drama section heading

Theatre performers in costume

Theatre Action was originally composed of five ex-students of Ecole Lecoq, a Parisian mime school, who came to New Zealand with what might be called a pioneering spirit, Francis Batten, the New Zealander who leads the troupe, felt that both the barren (theatrical, and possibly cultural) country' and the actors would benefit from the immensity of the challenge. Initially he set the group a deadline of two years in which to establish themselves and explore the territory.

Their first production, *Gwayne and other Things*, brought a round of applause from the theatre brigade for their imaginative use of mime, masks, and above all, movement. However, the works did not have much in the way of content: the themes too familiar, and the presentation tended towards repetition.

*Once Upon a Planet*, their next major production dispelled my anxiety. Quite simply, it's the best performance I've ever seen, a work that can be taken on several levels ranging from physical comedy to intellectual intro-spection: it's a play for all audiences, an incredible feat. It was like the rare books written for children which jolts the adult reading them to an awareness that confuses his neat ordering of his life, making him aware of other, more exhilarating, if more demanding, possibilities. The books are notable for their lack of self-consciousness, in other words, an over-developed awareness of their audience. Children and clowns allow the possibility that the adult audience will be forced to use a mode of thinking distinct from everyday analysis in order to comprehend.

Francis Batten is interested in the "interior revolution", in which theatre becomes a means to enlarge the audience's minds and increase their ability to relate to each other. The troupe has tried political theatre (more in Auckland than down here), and found that "non-propaganda" theatre is far more effective. This is partially because the group has no particular line to plug and certainly offers no means of salvation, apart from a general need to love your neighbour which presupposes an acceptance of yourself, a self-awareness. Francis goes so far as to say that "whatever the theory or revolution, if it doesn't have love, then society will be shit", (love here meaning not some vague tweekness, but more a tolerance of different directions, even a celebration of their coexistence). The kind of theatre the group aims at is not intellectual or easily accessible to analysis — which would defeat their intention of subverting the mind into new directions, no matter who their audience is.

Possibly the group is best described by its attitude, its "commitment" rather than trying to talk about them in terms of 'masks, movement and mime', which is what their image largely consists of. Their new production, *The Best of All Possible Worlds*, now playing at the Concert Chamber, is more structured than the earlier performances, which were more a "loose constellation of very individual beings", and draws on a group enlarged by several New Zealanders. However, the same process of creation has been utilised: inspiration and research from individuals, trial improvisations, with Francis Batten acting as an "outside eye", rather than omnipotent director.

He sees the strength of Theatre Action lying in the commitment of each member to search into himself, which avoids the need for compromise, what he calls "group gray ness". It is important that the group want to do something rather than self-consciously seeking for something to do. I imagine that *Best of All Possible Worlds* came about partly through changed composition of the group — but still, and importantly, not all Kiwi, and not all sharing the same experience, and partly through the events and non-events of the last year. The play is a mosaic of the Kiwi, a look to see how we got where we are today. Francis compares it to a musical composition, with motifs, harmony, discord, things which make sense retrospectively. It's an attempt to understand rather than criticise, and thus uses a melange of styles.

The themes underlying the play, avoiding blatant statements. Francis talks about the "tension of hopes" which are "the driving forces of reality". He sees New Zealand character as a parallel to the landscape-placid, subdued (i.e. farmed) exterior, hiding a volcanic substrata. The quest for security means repression, the fear of instability creates it.

New Zealanders are unable to take or give criticism; they don't commit themselves to others because they aren't committed to themselves. They apologise for spouses, jobs, for being afraid of losing ourselves that we never discover ourselves, clinging instead to the outer shells of defining ourselves in terms of what others think, what they do. We tend to breed fanatics and what Francis calls "the mashed- potato feeling", an unwillingness

to take risks, to see what lies over the other side of the garden fence — something frequently encountered by Theatre Action. He talks of gutless, incompetent administrators, with cramped imaginations and a fear of the novel, which they regard as a risk — meaning that nothing new can happen; more interested in measurable, status objects such as lavish buildings (e.g. the Hannah Playhouse) than on what goes on inside them. There are also employers (e.g. the City Council) and members of their audience who get afraid of the masks, the clown image, partially a reflection of the puritanical element in the Kiwi character.

Theatre Action are at present the only professional and certainly the most imaginative and energetic of the 'alternative theatre' groups. There's very little of the usual theatrical egocentricity and game-playing in their work, and the audiences they seek are not the usual elite. One can expect far more than mere entertainment from a group whose commitment to certain ideals allows them to give theatre a validity it does not usually enjoy, and to reach its audiences along novel, enriching paths.

## **\* \* The Cumtogetha Festival \* \***

*You probably know something about University Arts Festivals, whether by experience or by hearsay. But unbeknown to you, strange things have been happening to Arts Festivals — a small clique of Christchurch gnomes are organising a new type of Arts Festival, to be held August 19—25 in Christchurch. (For those of you in the distant northern regions, Christchurch is an untidy collection of hovels, mud huts and Town Halls far to the south, somewhere in terra australis incognita.) So huddle in close, children, and here will be explained to you the history of past Arts Festivals, their deficiencies and failures, and what the 1973 Arts Festival will be.*

Artwork for the cumtogetha festival

## **Past Arts Festivals**

The original idea of Arts Festivals seems to have been inter-university cultural competition (up till five years ago it was part of Winter Tournament). Each university sent a play or two, bridge teams, chess teams, debating teams, and festival-goers were given rock concerts, folk concerts, debates, forums, art and photo exhibitions, films, dances and the like to choose from. The thing was mainly a large number of small groups putting on presentations for a vast non-participant audience — in short, a gargantuan ready-cooked feast spoon-fed to you. Though "Participation!!" was often the catch word in the past, there was in fact little; more than enough entertainment and spectacle was laid on, leaving festival-goers small opportunity to actually participate in anything.

There was a sharp division between performers, who were often subsidised by their home university, and mere spectators, who paid their way entirely. Performers might see little of the rest of the Arts Festival: for instance, someone involved in drama production might spend two days moving in and rehearsing, two days playing, and then find he didn't have much of the week left.

Arts Festival grew steadily larger and more awkward; not only from the point of view of the festival-goer who might have to travel miles between one venue and the next, but also from the organisers' point of view. The whole enterprise was becoming too vast, cumbersome and costly, and registration fees were consequently force dup, partly because of inflation, partly because more activities existed to be subsidised.

The multitude of activities and the distance between venues meant that there was far too much for one person to see even what he wanted to see. And here lies the principle of the Arts Festival as opposed to a festival of a particular art: not only to enable communication and exchange of ideas in each field, but also to broaden people's cultural horizons, and promote inter change and cross-fertilisation between the different arts. At Auckland in 1972, for example, a drama freak could spend almost all of his time at plays, to the exclusion of the rest of the Festival. Thus people remained with their own narrow cliques and interests, and the unity and intercommunication of the festival was lost.

## **What now, people?**

### **Arts Festival 1973**

The concept of Arts Festival 1973 is summed up in its name — Cumtogetha. The aim is for a total cultural experience through the lifestyle of the participants — the festival is those who attend. This does not mean that festival-goers will simply be left alone in Christchurch. But, as in the past, what people do will be largely up to them, with the difference that, instead of just sitting watching and listening, as much as possible people will be encouraged to create and organise their own activities, with venues, materials and communication systems

supplied. Where there was a fine arts exhibition, there will be a workshop. Where there was an organised rock concert, equipment will be provided so that a concert can take place. Where there was a dance group contracted to perform on so many occasions, they will be hired to mingle and encourage everyone to dance.

Cumtogetha will be structured so as to provide the maximum opportunity for people to formulate their own festival. The way to achieve this is to bring people together in groups, for only when people can identify with a group can they relate outside themselves (this is the essence of Gemeinschaft). Thus people will relate to a principal group, Cumtogetha itself, and then to groups within the framework of Cumtogetha, e.g. a media workshop, an encounter group, a rock concert, etc. In short, fuel, fire, utensils, and uncooked food will be provided, and the rest is up to you.

Cumtogetha will be held together by the use of badges as registration cards, Kurrency (to buy liquor, food, posters, arts and crafts, and other things), and the concentration of the festival in a circle a mile across, so that all venues will be within easy walking distance of each other and accommodation. Internal communications at Cumtogetha will be triply efficient — a daily newsheet and a radio station, as well as graffiti. Organisation is well underway — planning of domes in Hagley Park, negotiation for electronic equipment, application for a radio licence, and the enticing of the Wizard of Melbourne University to Christchurch.

## More News

If you have any questions, try asking your Cultural Affairs Officer. There will be no detailed, hour-by-hour programme publish'd before Cumtogetha, only a list of highlights and what you'll be able to do here.

Cumtogetha is not a festival of divines, but a festival of people participating in activities.

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## Letters

Letters section heading

*Letters to the Editor should be given to one of the editors, left in the box outside the office or posted to Box 1347. If possible, they should be typed or printed legibly, double spaced on one side of the paper only.*

*We try to impose a limit of 300 words per letter — if you can't confine yourself please come and see us about the possibility of putting it in the form of an article.*

## Salient: Light Entertainment?

Dear Sir,

Everyone wants to run your newspaper from a letterbox. Anyway, when the missals quit coming you might as well pack up shop, so here's another.

Salient's aim as a socialist newspaper is to change the ethos of our society in a way that might lead to the more equitable distribution of wealth and privilege (.....it is a socialist newspaper?). As ideological educators



you may sometimes examine the character of your pupils — in this case university students — who differ quite radically from the working population. They differ not so much in their level of material wellbeing, and less than is commonly supposed in intelligence. The gulf that separates them from their working brothers is the quality of their experience.

A boy or girl who leaves school at 15 and goes to work for a company soon finds out what hierarchies are all about. The oppression is tangible enough, but to the unsophisticated the genuine source of exploitation is difficult to identify. There is no simple dichotomy, but a segmented hierarchy within which the worker is deeply enmeshed. At 20 he has something to lose by revolting; at 30, as an average person, he knows that progression — more particularly, scope for creative, liberating expression — within such a hierarchy is an illusion, but he feels powerless to escape. The realisation is intensely personal and not often articulated. No amount of theorising can anticipate it.

University students, straight from school, have all of this ahead of them. (Sure, schools are feudal too, but they're not a lifetime sentence). For the first time they are free to question many values and explore new lifestyles. Some do, most only dabble. Faced with an active political choice they will often revert to the attitudes and arguments of their parents.

Where does Salient come in? Is it to reflect the aspirations and ideals of its readers? What aspirations? What ideals? How many are clamouring to be heard?.....so the paper manufactures its own crusades. It becomes a vehicle of revolution and champion of the oppressed. Students treat it as light entertainment and discount its value judgements by 150%.

Why? Because for most, social injustice is the least of their worries. And nobody can feel guilty about their good luck all of the time. Their level of political consciousness is low and perpetually numbed by the abysmal national media, besides N.Z. is miles from anywhere.

So, by the time the student hops into his middle class vocation the old parental values, never seriously challenged, are hardening into convictions. Socialism, communist etc. are filed away as standing jokes and newspapers are rated along with telly ads as blurb to fill in blank moments.

I do think that Salient has some chance of countering this tendency, but only becoming fairly 'T' liberal, which is an imposition on socialist contributors. I means a lot of good interpretive reporting with a keen eye on the world press and a muted editorial voice. It means offering the kind of insights that will encourage uncommitted students from more or less nonpolitical backgrounds — the majority — to regard Salient as a serious source of information. If the tone is neutral and the contents very revealing students can be coaxed into an understanding well in advance of their innate conservatism.

Yours sincerely,

Thorold May

## **Ka Whawhai**

Dear Sir,

I see that your elitist esotericism has spread to encompass a tongue-in-cheek acquaintance with the Maori language. Well you seem to have humbled most students into silence but I for one am not too proud to ask: Just what does the "Ka whawhai tonu matau. Ake, Ake, Ake. Patu!" quoted in the courts column mean?

Yours sincerely,

"An End to In Jokes"

*[I will fight against you forever, forever, forever. Strike! — Ed.]*

## **Our Humour**

Dear Sir,

With reference to your 'supposed joke' referring to Billy Grahams Revolution in July 5 Salient. I would like

to say that it was in ignorant taste and blatant disrespect.

Don't get me wrong, I'm no 'fucking' God squad follower but I believe that respect should be given to those members of university who follow the 'better' way of life.

Perhaps our 'beloved' editor might in the future find some other form of 'common' humour to slap in Salient. But some of the fucking shit that gets into the 'rag' it is not surprising that the magazine is now stooping to very low methods of humour.

Yours

Hugh Buchanan.

## English Department Change: From Chrysalis to Cocoon?

Dear Sir,

In line with much of the rest of the university, the English Department is preparing to 'go mad' and is considering the introduction of an internal assessment system, along with changes in its basic requirements for students of English. Details as to how this system is to be implemented and managed have not yet come from the department, and because of the way in which departmental policy seems to be shaped (via consensus?) it is likely that department members have no clear ideas about the introduction themselves. For a long time the department has clung to a system whereby students, in order to sit examinations, have been required each term to sit one test, write two essays and regularly attend weekly tutorials.

In certain cases, students labelled as "marginal", are internally assessed, especially if their performance in finals is below the set standard. Otherwise the contribution of this in-term work towards a final exam mark is negligible. But to get into the crazy house, one has to have a ticket, and this is what this large body of unassessed term-work provides. The questions in the examination are the usual re-hash of essay topics, and if the student has done well in this essay work, he/she will have a better chance of passing. The student who for various reasons has written bad or mediocre essays, will find the exam papers harder and consequently, the results will be lower. From an assessment system like this the student only learns one thing: how to sit future exams. If a student cannot learn from the mistakes — dare I say, "committed" during an exam, the learning process will not have been fulfilled; yet every year, thousands of Joseph Ks offer themselves up for trial completely at the mercy of an inaccessible system of valuation. This system, however, is only as inaccessible as we permit it to be.

Yet, the English Department is changing. A proposal put forward to a gathering of staff and students divides the course designated as ENGL III into (a) the literature of the English Renaissance, 50% and (b) tutorial programme, 50%. Internal assessment at last! But is this the only concession the department is prepared to make? Internal assessment is a touchy business. Many students and teachers, apart from regarding internal assessment as an inevitable thing, do not know where they stand in relation to it as a means of evaluating a year's work. The department is trying very hard not to make matters too difficult for itself, and of course the student suffers. As to this concession (which will not affect present students of English), the department has not yet told the students where they will fit into the new scheme. Presumably students in the 100, 200 and 300 level courses will not benefit from the system, because it looks as if the new ENGL III students will become the ENGL 200 students. The blind is to be pulled up on the morning very slowly.

Several questions arise out of this intended move: how is the department going to assess students? Will students be assessed on the tutorial programme? Are students of English able to put forward suggestions as to how this and other considered changes might be implemented? These questions will remain unanswered until somebody (preferably from the English Department) responds to student questions with a list of negotiable points which can serve as a basis for discussion between students and teachers. The way in which past questions have been evaded, and the results of at least one questionnaire lost, seems to suggest that students exist primarily for the benefit of the department — "Such a nuisance, professor, all those undergraduates." "Quite so, quite so." Last year, a small questionnaire was circulated among English students to register opinion for and against the abolition of a 100 level language prerequisite. Unofficially, of the results returned, 70% were in favour of abolishing the language requirement. No one from the department came forward to explain why the results were lost, or why this particular prerequisite was necessary (valid cases for its replacement by history, classics or a novel in translation course have all been made), or why it still exists in the 'new revised edition' (unannotated) of English course requirements. These new requirements (obtain a copy from your friendly local

departmental branch) leave no room for alternatives. Internal assessment of the type the department seems ready to foist upon its students, will be no different from the present system. A bad in-class essay, and automatically the pressure of the final exam is increased. A system that would (for a change) give the student some of the benefit of both worlds is outlined here. It is taken and reworded slightly from the course requirements of history 202/1972 (a four credit, half year course) and offers a balanced system of examination and internal assessment.

'To qualify for a final grade students must submit two essays during the course and answer three questions for the three hour exam at the end of the year (or half year). Of the two essays and the three exam answers, the three with the highest marks will make up the final grade. Students who obtain an average of less than 37% for the three examination answers will automatically be failed regardless of their performance during the year.'

This is only one alternative of which students may not have been made aware; an alternative which students should be able to judge for themselves, the merits of. The prospect of change within the department is too good an opportunity for students to miss. Efforts will be made to ensure that the results of the current petition are not lost, so consider lending your support by signing it. Don't let anyone intimidate you into not signing it. If students are ever to have a say in the way courses are to be planned, structured and assessed, now is the time to show that they want to have a say.

P. Kennedy

## Anti-Imperialist Inconsistency

Dear Sirs,

A little problem that one of your ideological consultants may be able to solve for me.

Why should I be against foreign investment in both South Africa and New Zealand?

In New Zealand the issue: is simple enough; Japanese and American interests are more impersonal in their control and more ravenous in their appetites than their local counterparts. Until the revolution it is best to have indigenous capitalists running things.

Why do we advocate the same for South Africa? Why should we fight the battle against primarily British capital for the white South Africans?

Yours,

Caleb Laquori.

## Arrogant Administrators

Dear Roger,

Vice-Chancellor Taylor may be 'as sensitive as the next man' but Vice-Chancellor Llewellyn (of Waikato) most certainly is not. He seems more concerned with the ACU Edinburgh junket than with its lingering racist overtones or with its capitalist manifestations.

Ten people from Waikato are going to Edinburgh at the moment: the Chancellor, immediate ex-Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Registrar; and the well known Professor, Hans Nieschmid, is attending informally [*unclear*: tion;] add to this five wives (and kids no doubt), and the party/junket begins to sound like Barnam's Circus...or a CIA convention.

First-class around-the-world air-fares are being provided for the honorable gentlemen (expenses have been sidestepped so far, but a six week holiday won't be free exactly), and they intend to travel second-class so that their wives can get virtually free rides around the globe on University money which could be better spent on Marxist literature — at least \$10,000 worth — to begin to right the grossly bourgeois imbalance which exists in course content, required and recommended reading, and academics' personal political leanings.

Students at Waikato are pissed off by the arrogance of the University Administrators, and a petition will be submitted to Council on July 23 such that the University send no form of delegation to the ACU Congress on the ground that to do so would be a complete waste of money.

The withdrawal of the White South African Universities and the University of Rhodesia in the face of boycott threats simply makes the hypocrisy of these bureaucrats easier to disguise: their arrogance and affluence are symptomatic of the system of which they are willing tools, and of the University of which they are the knowing betrayers.

Luv

Carl B. Gordon

## 'Products' not 'Profits'

Dear Sirs,

In my letter to you, which you published in last week's Salient criticising Don Frank's article "Readers Guide to Salient" I wrote, "however, if this is the case, Franks has told us nothing about the division of product between capitalists and workers which I suspect he was trying to do." When the letter appeared in Salient my word product had been replaced by the word profits. The change of wording makes it appear that I was using the word profit as sloppily as Franks was.

Brent Layton

*[Not so much using the word sloppily as writing it illegibly. We regret the mistake but repeatedly plead that we don't insist our letter-writers type so long as they print clearly, double spaced, on one side of the paper only.—E.d]*

## University Autonomy

Dear Sir,

So it seems that no one is really worried about the fact that business firms are influencing the university (see the article "Big Business Gag on University" — Salient 27/6/73). Students as usual sit on their arses oblivious to the fact that big business is harming the "autonomy" of the University.

Staff members, many of whom are all too ready to write in business and other magazines, have been slow to write to Salient defending their role as employees and slaves of "private enterprise".

All this reinforces my feeling that most people in this institution are too self-centred to worry about the things that go on in this place which affect people other than themselves.

Yours,

Ralph Nader.

## "The Paper" (Tiger?)

Dear Roger,

The advertisement read; " 'The Paper' is one of the most determined efforts by the alternative press to challenge the established monopoly capitalist press in New Zealand." So we looked forward to the first issue with drooling mouths....

But what a bore it's turned out to be. The same clique, spewing forth, the same moribund dogma, in the same jingoistic way; the same self-righteous indignation at the plight of the poor worker; the same pathetic attempts to assimilate some kind of "working classness"... If ever a paper was assigned to appeal to the proletariat this one wasn't.

Lenin called revolution "a festival of the oppressed". This thing reads like a dirge. It's all so deadly serious,

so ghastly earnest, so.... well, respectable. We hoped for originality, sensitivity, even a glimmer of imagination (the idea is beautiful after all). We got rigid ideology, masquerading under guise of "radical" and "independent". If you've come to praise Marx, that's cool, but don't bury the bastard.

*"This forgetting of the great, essential considerations for the momentary interests of the day, this struggling and striving for the success of the moment without consideration for the later consequences, this sacrifice of the future of the movement for its present may be the result of 'honest' motivations; but it is and remains opportunism, and 'honest' opportunism is perhaps the most dangerous of all*  
(Engels)

A pot-pourri of clumsy sideswipes at capitalism does not constitute an alternative to the "monopoly capitalist press". Yes folks, it's all here: from the price of bananas and life savers and piss to what really lies behind Watergate. All analysed with that time-honoured method of criticism where you oversimplify the problem and stretch it till it breaks, then you establish the "real" problem (your perspective) and thus point out the "obvious" solution (to you of course!).

This trick is also used by the 'Dom' and other sundry right-wing rags. (The Dom, incidently, only costs 6c, and for that you can follow the Phantom and the Wizard of Id, as well as the cricket and whats-on at the flix). The Dom too masquerades under the myth of objectivity, and its editorial policy is no more restrictive and slanted as "The Paper's" appears to be.

So you see, the alternative is really no alternative at all. You'll find a similar "concern", a similar "indignation", and the same kind of distortion and fabrication in the pages of "Truth". (It's just that the bias exists for different reasons). An alternative? To the 'P.V.' perhaps.

We wrote this in the sincere hope that the next issue is a little more honest. If not, 'The Paper's' intolerance will start to turn people off... and we believe that will be a shame. If you don't want this to happen, we suggest you heed the following few lines:

*"What is the underlying impulse in us that will produce the motive power for a new state of things, when this democratic—industrial—lovey—dovey—darling—take—me—to—mamma state of things is bust?*

*What next? That's what interests me.*

*What now? is no fun anymore."*

(Lawrence)

Peter Winter

Terence Williams

You can't smoke them sniff them or drink them You gotta hear them

We're looking for people who can change a lesson into an exciting adventure The winds of change are sweeping right through the education system. Pupils are learning faster and better, because they're interested, excited, involved in the subjects they're studying. Arousing this enthusiasm is part of the teacher's job ... perhaps the most challenging part. It carries his pupils into new realms of experience, adds a new purpose to concentrated study. Teaching and learning become a process of mutual co-operation between teacher and pupils. This approach to education demands much of the teacher. That's why we need the best people possible entering the profession right now. We need people with top-flight academic qualifications, but also with the flair for stimulating and exciting young minds. This new brand of teaching is harder than the other kind. If you think you can handle it, contact your Careers Adviser or local Education Board for more information. Teaching Something's happening Something exciting Dept, of Education EDR. 2