

So you want to  
come to the  
country AND  
speak to the  
people, huh?

You a  
commie  
or  
something?

Simon Wilson



# POLITICAL PARANOIA

Muldoon sure knows how to pick his moments. Just as the term was breaking up the Government announced that not only is Trevor Richards a dissident but so is everyone else who disagrees with the united front of MPs. Even papal infallibility is not invoked all the time: are we really meant to develop an unshakeable faith in Parliamentary infallibility now?

Next came the decision not to allow the NZUSA Southern Africa scholar into New Zealand unless an undertaking was given that s/he would not engage in political activities. Widespread opposition to this decision came pouring in (even the Dominion was moved to editorialise) but the group who would normally have been most vocal in its criticism and active in demonstrating its opposition, students, were on holiday. However a delegation did get to see the Minister of Immigration Frank Gill (I'll come back to an account of that incredible episode).

## Developing a taste for it

By this time the Government was really into its stride, and announced that an official representative of the East Timorese Fretilin Government, Jose Ramos Horta could only come to New Zealand if he did not talk about politics either! Brian Talboys' explanation, that New Zealand did not recognise Fretilin and therefore was under no obligation to listen to it, is full of blatant flaws. First off, it is the NZ Government which does not recognise Fretilin. The Government can choose at any time it likes who it will listen to, but this does not give it the right to deny New Zealand people the right to make up their own minds.

The Indonesian Government suppresses the democratic rights of the East Timorese and of its own people. By denying Horta the right to speak on this Muldoon demonstrated his own Government's acceptance of anti-democratic methods and gave implicit support to a fascist regime. Remember what he claims to have told a Nigerian UN representative concerning Trevor Richards? In your country you lock up people like him ...

It is not true, of course, that the Government waits until students are on holiday especially so it can reveal a little bit more of its anti-democratic nature. But there is a long history of coincidence, and it seems clear that the potential lack of organised student activity is a factor in deciding the timing of Government action. Last year's SIS legislation is a case in point. Things like this won't change, but it does point to the importance of the role student politics play in New Zealand. In fact, MPs have long acknowledged the strength of the student movement as a pressure group.

## Who's a paranoid?

After the Horta decision, more was to come. Abraham Ordia went on television denouncing the New Zealand Government's non-compliance with the Gleneagles agreement. He was taking a stand on a matter of principle, and was promptly and predictably branded as a paranoid. However this does not invalidate his claims.

A mark of the difference between New Zealand and other countries can be seen in the respective financial policies. Canada, for example, immediately cuts off all money to any sports group which has or proposes to have ties with South Africa. New Zealand and Britain are the only two countries not to have adopted this policy. It is not true to say that sport in New Zealand is non-government financed. The Ministry of Sport and Recreation doesn't spend all its money on adventure playgrounds and students' holiday work schemes.

## Gill in the morning

But back to the Southern Africa Scholarship. Gill agreed to meet the delegation at 8.30 am. A discouraging time to meet anyone, but moreover one which he knew would not get him into too much trouble, for the bells summoning him would be rung at 8.50. Due to the last minute xeroxing of necessary information the delegation arrived ten minutes late. This was unfortunate and should not have happened, and gave Gill a good excuse to delay things even further. It wasn't enough that we had lost time, we had to lose even more while he continually reminded us of it.

Once questioning started Gill was quick to display that particular inability to grasp more than one idea at a time or respond with reason and civility which marks him out as one of the more intransigent members of Parliament. He was asked, for the record and to establish a basis on which the discussion could proceed, why the Cabinet had introduced the regulation restricting the scholar's speaking rights.

The answer was expected to revolve around the two reasons already made public; that academic study would suffer and that the scholar's safety would be endangered when s/he returned home. But Gill took another tack, essentially the same one he took earlier in the year over the Movick affair. He claimed that the regulation was not new and had been the custom for many years, both in New Zealand and everywhere else in the Commonwealth.

## The Government is the people

Gill was referring to Government sponsored students. When it was pointed out to him that the SA scholarship was a private award he disagreed on the grounds that New Zealanders were involved in the selection. The old "the people and the Government are the same" argument. Gill's insistence that the scholarship was not a private one formed the basis of his replies.

He claimed that the only recipient to date, Henry Isaacs, had devoted far too much time to politics and far too little time to his studies. The fact that Isaacs has done well in his academic life did not influence this opinion. Isaacs, claimed Gill, was "an irritant in the community". It's not hard to see just whom he has been irritating.

Clause 5d of the terms of the scholarship then came under examination. This states: "That recipients be willing to speak in New Zealand to any groups interested in Southern Africa bearing in mind that the scholarship is primarily to support the recipient's course of study". Gill claimed that the clause "required" the recipient to speak on politics, then said it said s/he should be "prepared" to speak, and generally did his best to steer the discussion into a semantic dead end.

He was asked why no other scholarships had such a restriction placed on them. They did, he claimed. Rotary and American Field Scholars were obliged to speak on the situation in their home countries, he was told. This was different. The SA scholarship wasn't private, it was given by special arrangement, he replied. It covered an area from which we don't usually take students. Well, we may not take many students from Southern Africa but we do take more immigrants from there than anywhere else.

## Talboys vs Gill

A letter from Brian Talboys was quoted. In it Talboys had said he considered that to introduce an on-going provision for the scholarship had merit and was "consistent with the Government's attitude towards the problems of South Africa". The letter continued, "We have expressed on many occasions our opposition to apartheid in South Africa and our support for majority rule in Rhodesia and independence for Namibia." Gill was asked why he did not think, in the light of such statements, that the scholarship was something that should be encouraged. The bells rang and Gill sat back in his chair. You've asked your question, he announced, and now you'll have to go.

A great many other points were not made during the interview. Gill seems unaware that the scholarship favours people who are already restricted in their own countries because of their political beliefs or activities. It is thus nonsense to claim they would be endangered when they returned home. Effectively, they are already political refugees. Gill has made it clear in a press release to RNZ that the restriction only applies to private SA students who are black. Perhaps we are meant to assume that black students are incapable of engaging in both academic and political pursuits.

## The future for Frank

Anyone who has met Frank Gill might be excused for considering his days are numbered. The rumours which circulated at the time of his hospitalisation for "exhaustion" during the last Christmas vacation certainly give no cause for comfort to those who support him in high office. But Gill is not retiring. In a recent television interview he remarked that people in his electorate would be voting for the party not the man. The irony, it seemed, escaped him.

Gill is a good man for Muldoon to have around. He may be embarrassingly open about his reactionary views every now and then, but because it is so difficult to get past him or get him to reverse a decision once he has made it, he acts as a very efficient shield for any deeper purpose which might be accrued to a government action.

The Movick issue, for example, was quite plainly prompted by James Movick's efficiency as a leader of overseas students. The reasons for getting rid of him were primarily political. The confusion over permits was merely the convenient way to go about it. Gill was instrumental in creating that confusion and in fact managed to develop a classic Catch 22 out of the whole affair. Because James was a student he ruled the case would have to be heard by the Education Advisory Committee (EAC). Yet the EAC had no authority to make decisions, and no jurisdiction over people who did not hold or apply for a student permit. James was applying for a special work permit.

The National Party propaganda glossy "Years of Lightning" euphemistically credits Gill with administrative expertise and great strength of conviction. So assuming National gets back in what is Muldoon going to use these qualities for next year? The latest rumour: dear old Frank will become Minister of Education. (Gandar is tipped to succeed Gordon in the Labour hotseat, if he wins against Beetham).

Gill has had a lengthy interest in educational matters: he strongly supports the back to basics campaign and is especially concerned about the lack of religious values in the schools' curricular. In other ways too it is a logical step. Gill has already demonstrated a predilection for picking on those who cannot easily defend themselves (like Pacific Island immigrants). What more appropriate than children, who cannot defend themselves at all?

Simon Wilson





# The press view

The daily press was not slow to take up the issue of the curb on the freedom of speech of the Southern Africa scholar. We reprint here two editorials, one from the *Christchurch Press* (4.8.78) which expresses well the majority sentiment, the other from the *Taranaki Herald* (3.8.78). Note the implication in the second paragraph that New Zealand condones apartheid.

## CHRISTCHURCH PRESS EDITORIAL 4.8.78

### OVERSEAS STUDENTS AND POLITICS

Any suggestion that an overseas student studying in New Zealand should be denied the basic rights or freedoms enjoyed by the New Zealand students should not be countenanced. The restraints of the law should be the only ones imposed on overseas students who may live here as members of the New Zealand community for some years.

Unfortunately, many overseas students are subject to a restraint which is not imposed on their New Zealand colleagues. Government-sponsored students have been required to agree that if they are accepted for study in New Zealand they will refrain from engaging in political activity.

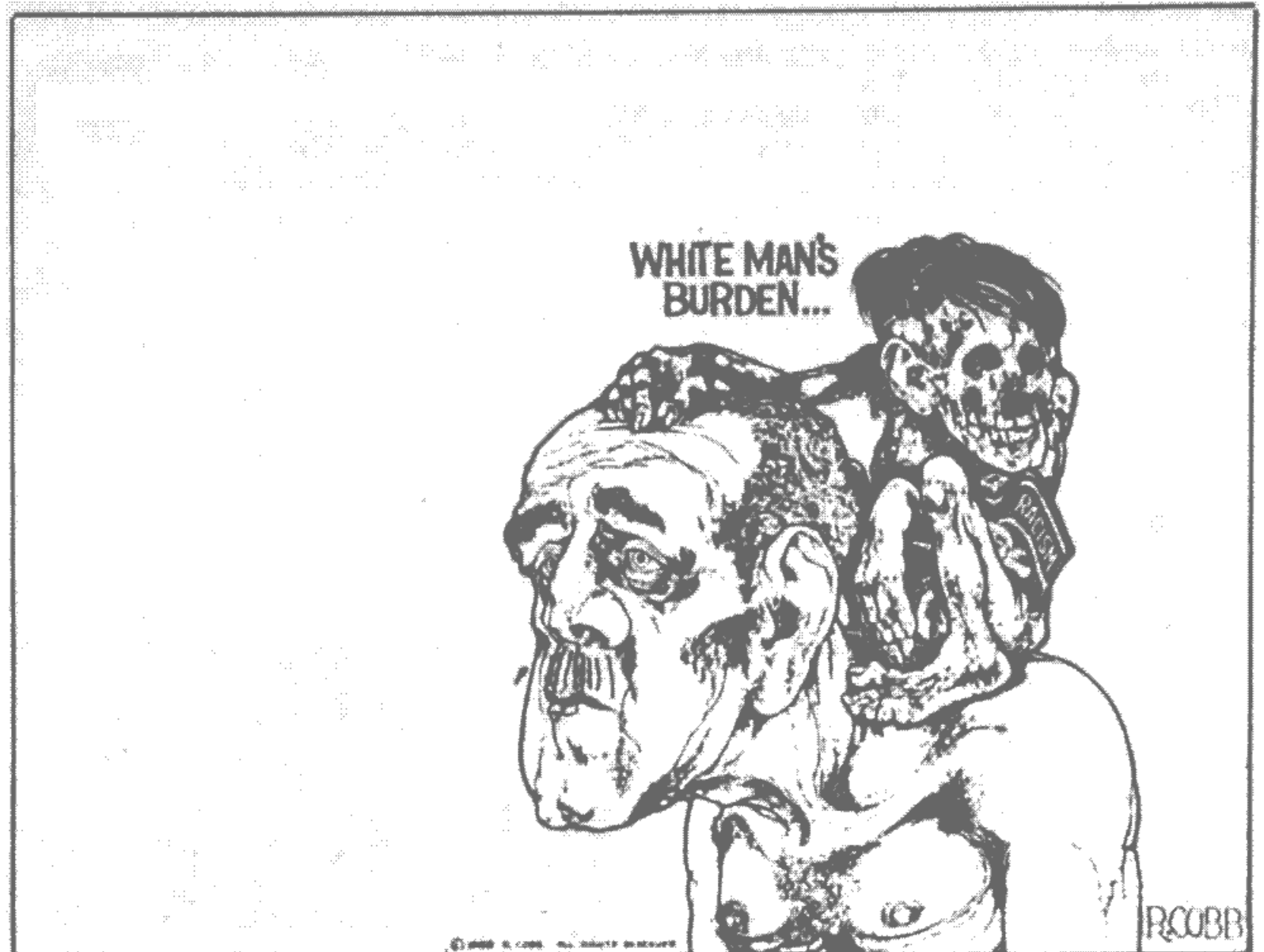
The practical effect of this does not seem to have been great. "Political activity" has been interpreted narrowly, so that the ban has not extended to activities which, in the eyes of some, have political implications. No attempt appears to have been made to prevent overseas students from talking to groups about the conditions or circumstances in their own countries. Joining or supporting a political party or attempting vigorously to change New Zealand policy might, however, be seen rather differently. Given the latitude of its interpretation, this policy of requiring that overseas students refrain from political activity is wrong. The Government should quickly reverse its intention to extend the restriction to a student who is to enter New Zealand privately. If the policy is to be altered it should be in the other direction, towards doing away with the restriction imposed on Government sponsored or supported students.

Charges have been made that the Government has imposed the restriction on a student, originally from South Africa, because it is reluctant to allow the student to speak out against apartheid. The question should not be

clouded by reference to the opinions of the particular student or to the alleged opinions of the present Government about apartheid. But the Minister of Immigration, Mr Gill, has not given any persuasive grounds for imposing the restriction on this student. It is not for the Government to attempt to judge in advance whether any of the student's activities in New Zealand, political or otherwise, might interfere with the student's studies. The educational institute alone must be the judge of this, and then only by applying to that student the same tests that are applied to all students.

It is equally unsatisfactory to say that the purpose of the restriction, imposed on this private student and on Government-sponsored students, is to protect these students from being "used" by New Zealand groups or individuals for their own political or social ends. The students are adults, and are likely to find such condescension galling rather than comforting. New Zealand should not take it on itself to protect overseas students; by such a restriction from incurring the attention or even wrath of their home country if they speak out politically while they are in New Zealand. New Zealand should not be party to any attempt at intimidation to curb free discussion or expression of opinion. It should strongly discourage any attempt to put pressure, officially or informally, on any overseas students to remain politically passive or quiescent if they want to speak.

While overseas students benefit from the opportunity to learn in New Zealand, New Zealand itself benefits from their coming. New Zealand's comparative isolation should persuade it to welcome people from different societies or cultures, and to encourage, not inhibit, their full participation in social and political life. A few of them may be propagandists, but it should be a source of pride for New Zealand that conflicting points of view can compete in a free exchange of opinions, or prejudices. The public itself should be able to sift the wheat from the chaff and not to be denied any source of information which better equips it to be able to do so.



## TARANAKI HERALD EDITORIAL 3.8.78

### EDUCATION OR PROPAGANDA?

New Zealand University Students' Association reaction to the Government's ban on political activities by foreign students has a somewhat hysterical air about it. The association provides a scholarship for students from southern African areas, allegedly as a gesture to the under-privileged. If this is the real reason, then the association should be keen to ensure that students taking up the scholarship get the best possible value from the educational facilities made available to them.

One might well ask whether active participation in political events and application to study are compatible. It might be asked further whether inviting only students opposed to their own political regimes is taking a balanced approach. Any New Zealander who invites a stranger to his home would be most upset if the visitor immediately tried to stir up dissent among family members, or encouraged younger members of the family to oppose parental discipline, yet on the wider scale, isn't this pre-

cisely what the NZUSA is asking its scholarship holders to do when it expects them to address political meetings on anti-apartheid issues?

If the Government's ban applied to New Zealand citizens there would be grounds for protest, despite the feeling in many circles that too many state-supported university students already involve themselves in extra-curricular activity to the detriment of their studies. They have every right to be actively involved in the affairs of their country but the taxpayers who help support them also have a right to expect that they will use the opportunities created for them to further their education.

It is fair also that the students should have the right to hear the points of view of those with first hand knowledge of conditions in other lands. But the Government, representing the citizens of the nation, has an equal right to lay down the standards of behaviour expected and the range of activities that visitors will engage in. Taxpayers could well take strong exception to providing university places as platforms from which to launch propaganda campaigns.





The following is a copy of a circular sent by Trevor Richards of HART to all MPs.

Over the past few days there has been much comment, most of it inaccurate, about HART, our international work, the Gleneagles Agreement and the Nigerian boycott of the Commonwealth Games. The purpose of this letter is to ensure that all MPs are aware of the actual situation regarding these and other matters.

There are four matters which we wish to make very clear:

- (1) HART considers that it has a democratic right to inform people both internally and internationally about New Zealand's sporting and other relations with South Africa.
- (2) Neither the Prime Minister nor anyone else has been able to provide a single piece of evidence to substantiate recent allegations that HART is guilty of distorting and misleading international opinion.
- (3) Government itself is guilty of making wildly inaccurate and totally misleading statements about New Zealand's adherence to the Gleneagles Agreement.
- (4) New Zealand has not adhered 'meticulously' to the Gleneagles Agreement as the Government has stated in correspondence to all Commonwealth Governments.

First, we wish to firmly assert our belief that we have a democratic right to inform both New Zealanders and the international community of matters relating to New Zealand's sporting and other relations with South Africa. We strongly reject any suggestion that we have acted in anything but a thoroughly open honest and principled manner. To assert, as the Prime Minister has done, that laws could be introduced to inhibit us in our work would be to introduce laws which would further inhibit democracy in New Zealand as we understand it.

We totally reject any claim that we are guilty of any form of treason. This claim can only be made by those who confuse criticism of the Government's policies with acts prejudicial to the interests of the state. It is both absurd and dangerous to claim that the interests of the present Government are to be equated with those of the state. This is clearly the thinking of a tyrant.

Second, various allegations have been made about the accuracy of material we send overseas. It has been asserted by the Prime Minister that our material is 'low-grade, low-quality propaganda masquerading as fact'. We have been accused of distorting and misrepresenting the situation here in New Zealand internationally. We categorically reject this allegation. It has no foundation in fact.

## THE HART WORD ON MP'S



The majority of material HART sends overseas consists of copies of press clippings and official correspondence. In addition to this, on four occasions this year, reports have been sent overseas by HART which have contained our assessment of the situation. All these reports have been sent to media outlets in New Zealand, and indeed, the last report was sent additionally to all 87 MPs. The reports are sent to a variety of people and organisations, many of whom have specifically asked for them. The Organisation of African Unity, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa and the United Nations regularly receive our material. So too do a number of other groups, and a few Governments. The Nigerian Government is not one of these.

Despite repeated requests that those who have attacked the accuracy of our material and the integrity of the movement substantiate their allegations with proof, not a single piece of evidence has

been forthcoming. This is not surprising, for no such evidence exists.

HART finds it deeply distressing for the future of New Zealand society that a Prime Minister can launch a vicious attack on both an organisation and its leader without being required to provide a single piece of evidence with which to verify any of his allegations. In a decent society such attacks would be neither made nor tolerated.

The only statement made by the Prime Minister when he was asked for his evidence was that one only needed to look at the 'Muldoon v Newnham court case'. That case could not in the wildest stretch of the imagination be regarded as relevant to the present situation; moreover HART was not a party to that case.

The central issue in the present debate should be whether or not New Zealand has taken 'all practical steps' to discourage sporting contacts with South Africa. Unsubstantiated allegations about the nature of

material HART sends overseas, suggestions that HART is guilty of 'a low level of treason', boasts by the Prime Minister that he has prevented my contract from being renewed, and fatuous assertions about HART's supposed lack of credibility in the Commonwealth are all red herrings deliberately introduced to confuse and mislead the public.

Third, HART believes that Government Ministers and back benchers are themselves guilty of making statements which grossly distort and misrepresent the situation. These statements reflect badly and in the most direct way on Government's commitment to the Gleneagles Agreement. (HART enclosed documentary evidence to support this claim and the accuracy of HART's allegations). Unlike the Prime Minister, HART does not make allegations which it cannot sustain.

Fourth, we reject as both cheeky and absurd the Prime Minister's claim that New Zealand has adhered 'meticulously' to the Gleneagles Agreement. Included is a list of sporting contacts which have taken place in violation of the Gleneagles Agreement. We are aware that the Prime Minister has described this list as absurd. The fact remains that all contacts listed on it have been made in breach of the Agreement.

However, HART does not consider that the number of contacts had with South Africa is the sole yardstick against which adherence to the Gleneagles Agreement can be measured. Of great significance is the action taken by the Government to implement the Agreement.

Although the Prime Minister cannot supply a single piece of evidence with which to support his allegations against HART, we are able to list three matters which expose the Government's claim that it has adhered 'meticulously' to the Gleneagles Agreement.

First, the Government caucus refused to allow Parliament to endorse the Gleneagles Agreement. Hastings and Government MP Robert Fenton boasted in February that he would have forced a division in Parliament if the Deputy Prime Minister had insisted in debating his Notice of Motion which sought Parliamentary endorsement of the Agreement.

Second, the Government has clearly failed to take, in the words of the Gleneagles Agreement 'all practical steps' to discourage sporting contacts with South Africa. To suggest otherwise is laughable. New Zealand is only one of two Commonwealth states still to issue visas to South Africa's sporting representatives. Australia and Canada both withhold visas. Furthermore, New Zealand is the only member of the 'old white Commonwealth' not to have publicly announced financial sanctions

Continued next page...

## For the record

### RECENT MISLEADING AND INACCURATE GOVERNMENT STATEMENTS

1. In a letter dated 15 June 1978 sent by the Prime Minister to a supporter of the anti-apartheid movement, Mr Muldoon stated that 'on 15 June 1977 the New Zealand Parliament unanimously endorsed the Gleneagles Agreement'.

This is untrue. This is born out by a close reading of HANSARD and by comments made earlier this year by the MP for Hastings, Robert Fenton, who said that he would have forced a division in Parliament if the Deputy Prime Minister had sought to debate Notices of Motion which called upon Parliament to endorse the Agreement.

2. In a letter dated 14 July written by the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs (Mr L. Adams-Schneider) to Mr I.K. Baxter, the Acting Minister stated: 'I must contest your assertion that since the Gleneagles Agreement there have been fifteen different sporting contacts with South Africa. To the best of my knowledge there have been five such contacts, none of which have involved a national team in a major sport.'

This statement is totally inaccurate. HART is aware of at least twenty contacts which have taken place in breach of the Gleneagles Agreement. HART has sought

to advise the Government in advance wherever possible of sporting contacts which will involve New Zealand and South Africa. It is difficult, if not impossible, to know how it is possible for the Acting Minister to assert that there have only been five contacts when HART has drawn the attention of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to many more than five contacts.

3. In a letter dated 20 June written by the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs to Mr Gerald Davidson, the Acting Minister said: 'I would contest your statement that many more contacts with South Africa are planned. To my knowledge this is not so.'

HART has advised the Minister of six contacts involving New Zealand and South Africa scheduled to take place between September and December. This list does not include any contacts between professional sportsmen, which are reaching epidemic level.

To people genuinely concerned about the effect of sporting relations with South Africa, this definitely constitutes 'many more' contacts.

HART considers that the above clearly establishes that there is a very considerable difference between the actual situation, and the situation as it is being represented by Government Ministers.

### NZ-SA Sporting Contacts: June 1977 - July 1978

June 1977	NZ and SA compete in Federation Cup (Tennis)
July 1977	NZ and SA compete in World ¼ Ton Yacht Championships
August 1977	Seven NZ rugby players compete in SA
August 1977	NZ and SA compete in World Golf Classic
August 1977	NZ and SA compete in World Youth Sailing Champs
October 1977	NZ and SA compete in World Surfboard Riding Championships
October 1977	Two SA squash players compete in NZ Open Squash
November 1977	NZ and SA compete in World Professional Golf Cup
December 1977	NZ and SA compete in Australian Open Golf Champs
March 1978	NZ and SA attend SA Yoga Teachers Association Congress
March 1978	SA anglers compete in international tournament in NZ
April 1978	NZ and SA compete in British Open Squash Championship
May 1978	NZ and SA golfers compete in Greater Baltimore Open
May 1978	NZ and SA compete in Italian golf open
May 1978	NZ and SA compete in New Orleans Golf Open
June 1978	NZ and SA compete in Masters Bowling Tournament
June 1978	NZ and SA compete in British Open Golf Tournament
June 1978	Two NZ squash players compete in SA
July 1978	NZ and SA compete in World Gliding Championships
June 1978	NZ and SA compete in Wimbledon Tennis Tournament

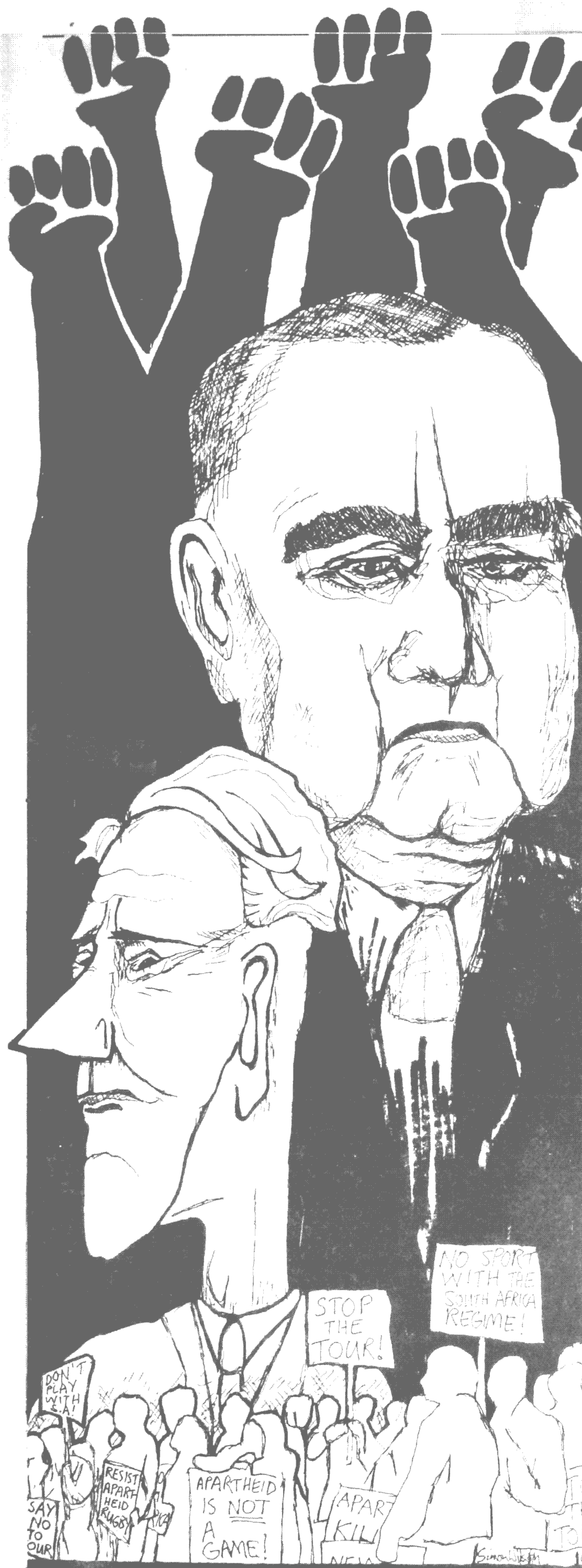
\* No confirmation of this contact has been received.

### Forthcoming scheduled contacts involving NZ and SA, July-December 1978

NZ and SA to compete in World Softball Championships  
 NZ and SA to compete in World Professional Golf Classic  
 NZ and SA to compete in World Gymnastic Championships  
 NZ and SA to compete in World Roller Skating tournament  
 NZ and SA to compete in World Youth Sailing Championships  
 NZ and SA to compete in Federation Cup (tennis)

In addition to the above, NZ and SA professional sportsmen will continue to meet in international competition. Specific competitions are not known to HART at this stage.





against those who participate in apartheid sport.

There can certainly be no doubt that New Zealand's commitment to the principles and provisions of the Gleneagles Agreement is the weakest of any Commonwealth state. HART considers it to be the conservative cant of yester-year for the Government to claim that there is some constitutional or other legal reason why New Zealand cannot take measures similar to those taken by the Canadian and Australian Governments.

Third, on the three recent occasions that the Prime Minister has in major addresses mentioned the sporting contacts issue, he has stressed the freedom of sportsmen to play with whom they wish, without apparently stating any opposition to sporting relations with South Africa.

Against this background the Prime Minister's claim that the Government has adhered 'meticulously' to the Gleneagles Agreement appears quite absurd. A Government which refuses to allow Parliament to endorse the Agreement, which has failed to take 'all practical steps' to discourage sporting relations with South Africa, and whose leader publicly stresses the freedom of sportsmen to play sport with whom they wish, cannot in honesty claim to have adhered to the Agreement.

HART believes that a foreign affairs debate is to be held in Parliament on Tuesday and Wednesday 1 and 2 August. HART would ask all MPs to use that as an opportunity of stating their full support for the Gleneagles Agreement and all that it means. Specifically we would ask all MPs to:

(1) Publicly state your opposition to all sporting contacts with South Africa, and your full support for the principles and provisions of the Gleneagles Agreement, including your desire to see the Agreement fully and unanimously endorsed by Parliament.

(2) Publicly state your willingness to seek to dissuade any of your constituents who are known to be contemplating sporting contacts with South Africa from proceeding with such contact.

(3) Urge the Minister of Foreign Affairs and/or the Minister of Recreation and Sport, or their representatives, to write to and meet with sports bodies once it is known that they are contemplating sporting relations with South Africa.

(4) Specifically and strongly oppose the scheduled 1981 Springboks rugby tour of New Zealand, which comes within the natural life of the next Government.

(5) Urge the Minister of Sport and Recreation to announce a policy of financial sanctions against those sports bodies which defy the terms of the Gleneagles Agreement.

(6) Urge the Government to refuse visas to South African sportsmen.

HART urges all MPs to consider carefully the contents of this note, and to do all possible to comply with the requests made above.

We look forward to your response.

Yours sincerely,

Trevor Richards,  
National Chairperson.

## A NZer in Africa

This letter was sent to HART by Fr. Michael Lapsley, SSM for publication in HART's newspaper, Amandla, and has been forwarded to Salient.

Fr. Michael Lapsley is a New Zealander. From 1973-76 he was a student in Durban, and chaplain to two black and one white campus. In 1976 he was National Chaplain to Anglican students for the whole of South Africa. In September 1976 he was forced to leave South Africa. In his words, he was 'chucked out'. At the time of writing he is Chaplain at the National University of Lesotho.

Dear Sir,

Poor Mr Muldoon! He is reaping what he sowed as far as sporting links with South Africa are concerned.

New Zealanders will be interested to know that South African Radio (the Voice of Apartheid) and newspapers have given great prominence to Mr Muldoon's hysterical attacks on HART and McCarthy-like references to the laws against treason. The media of the most racist regime in the world was happy to quote Mr Muldoon's attacks on HART; a sure sign that he has won for himself a place in the hearts and minds of the upholders of the South African regime.

The real tragedy is not that New Zealand's image has been harmed by HART — it hasn't — but that the policies of New Zealand's National government with regard to sporting ties with South Africa, have seriously harmed the image of New Zealand in Africa.

The truth or otherwise of HART's information which they purportedly handed to the UN Committee Against Apartheid, is unknown to me. However, Mr Muldoon should realise that most people in Africa have not heard of HART. Nevertheless, a vast number of people in Africa do know that while hundreds of school children were being shot in the streets of South Africa, New Zealanders were playing rugby with the people who were doing the shooting. It was this action and the support of the New Zealand government for these sporting ties which has caused untold harm to the image of New Zealand in Africa.

Statements of moral indignation do nothing to change Apartheid, whereas the isolation of the Apartheid regime in the area of sport is a small but positive action by the international community in ending this crime against humanity.

Talk by Mr Muldoon of New Zealand's treason laws are reminiscent of frequent statements made by Vorster to silence his opponents.

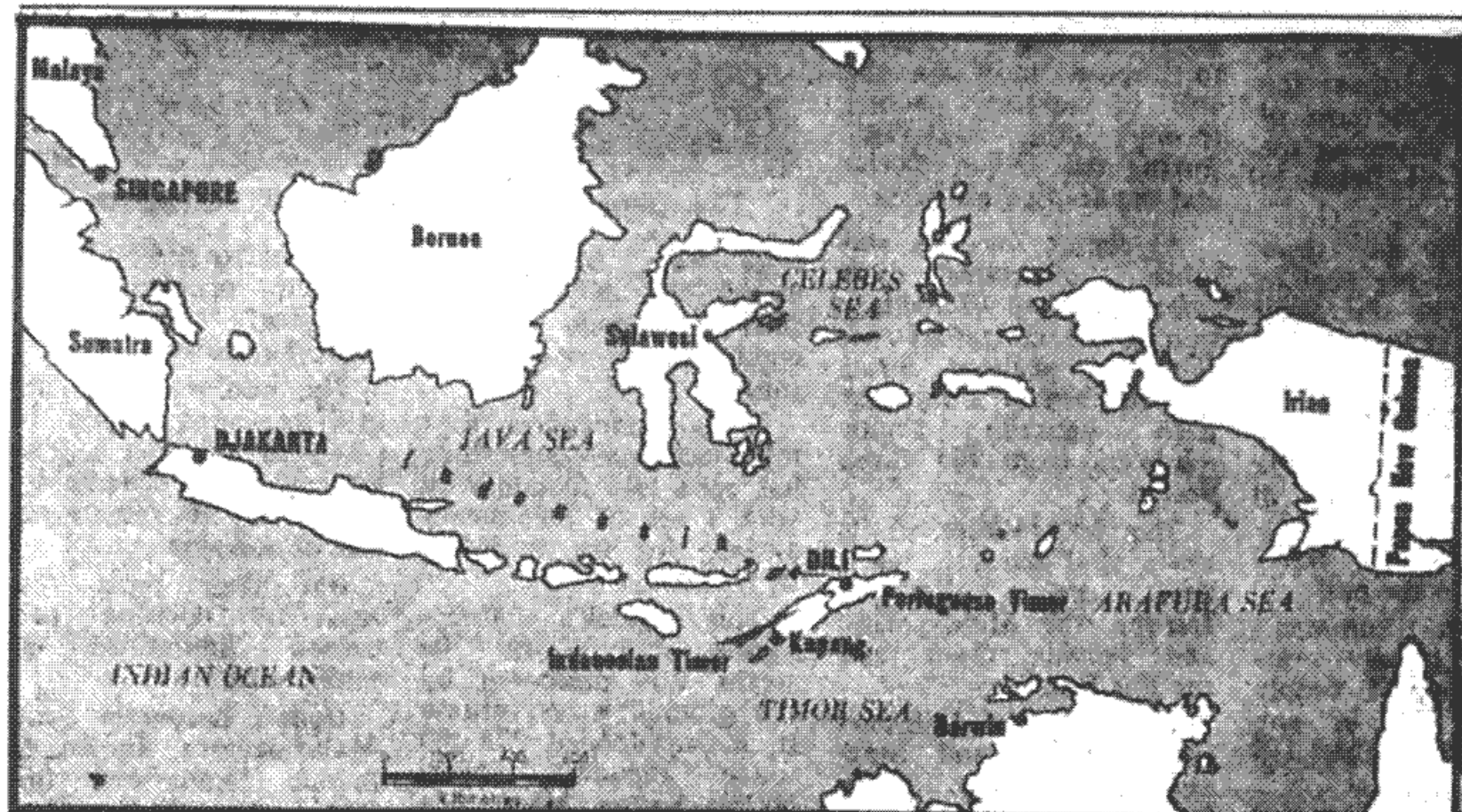
HART warned NZers a long time ago that playing sport with South Africa went much further than a game of rugby, and was tantamount to supporting a regime which at the present time tortures large numbers of school children, keeps 5 children below the age of 16 on a prison island, and denies the right of self-determination to 80% of its people.

As a New Zealander, living permanently in Southern Africa I am frequently asked why NZ supports Apartheid — not because of the statements by HART or Mr Muldoon, but because of NZ's sporting links with SA, in the face of the condemnation of the international community.

It appears that Mr Muldoon has burnt his fingers through his long-pursued policy of sporting links with Apartheid, and is now trying to use HART as a scapegoat. If as NZers, we are committed to the truth, to the brotherhood of man, and the freedom of the individual, we need to steadfastly attack totalitarianism, and the tendency towards it, whether it manifests itself in Parliament in Wellington or in the streets of South Africa.

Father Michael Lapsley, SSM,  
National University of Lesotho,  
PO Roma,  
Lesotho,  
Africa.





### THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE IN EAST TIMOR

East Timor: the place reactionaries involved in student politics are most fond of saying people don't want to know about. Well now they're in good company.

To familiarise readers with the issue Salient here reprints an article from last year which backgrounds recent historical events, and follows up with news on some of the latest developments in the small ex-Portuguese colony just 400 miles from Darwin.

# Independence and Invasion

## Towards independence

To fully understand the significance of the guerilla war now being waged in East Timor, one must understand some of the development there in the last three years. For some 400 years East Timor (then known as Portuguese Timor) was a sleepy outpost of the Portuguese empire. It was rudely awakened in April 1974, when the Armed Forces Movement took control in Portugal. The coup in Lisbon brought some democratic reforms to the Timorese people for the first time, and with them came the hope that the colony might seek independence and govern itself like all other countries in the region. However, independence was not the only option open to the 650,000 people of East Timor, and in the months following the Lisbon coup, various political parties emerged each with a different political orientation.

The UDT party (Uniao Democratica Timorese) was essentially a union to protect the status quo, and its founders included Timorese who had benefitted from Portuguese rule. The UDT initially envisaged Timor as part of a federation of Portuguese-speaking states with strong cultural and trading links with Portugal.

The FRETILIN party (Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor) aimed to be a broad front representing all pro-independence forces in East Timor, and did not identify itself with any particular philosophy such as social democracy.

APODETI (Associacao Popular Democratica Timorese), a party formed about a month after the Lisbon Coup, sought for East Timor "independence within Indonesia rather than on its own."

Of these three main political parties which emerged, FRETILIN soon commanded the most popular support, as it operated widely throughout East Timor at grass-roots level. After one year of operation FRETILIN had 200,000 registered members and many more supporters, largely as a result of its literacy and agricultural projects.

1975 proved an eventful year for politics in East Timor. On January 21, UDT and FRETILIN formed a coalition. Following events in Portugal and the Whitlam-Suharto talks of September 1974 (when Whitlam stated: "an independent Timor would be an unevitable state and a potential threat to the area,") UDT found itself moving towards a more clear-cut position on independence, while FRETILIN recognised the importance of keeping the Portuguese in East Timor for some time to help carry out the process of decolonisation.

In June, a summit was held in Macau, ostensibly to work out a procedure for decolonisation, and elections were planned for October 1976. But it seems

that almost none of the participants at the summit believed that elections would ever take place as various other things were being planned behind the scenes. In the early hours of August 11, UDT staged a "bloodless" coup in Dili, the capital of East Timor (a town about the size of Taihape.) However, because of popular support for FRETILIN, the coup backfired, and by September 8, UDT had been forced into retreat and their main stronghold was Liquica, 25 km west of Dili.

## Independence and invasion

During September 1975 the Portuguese Governor and his administration left for the island of Atauro in Dili harbour, and FRETILIN filled the administrative vacuum left behind. Later in the month UDT and APODETI joined forces, together with minority parties, to form MRAC, the Anti-Communist Revolutionary Movement. In the following months, fierce fighting between FRETILIN and MRAC forces, supported by Indonesia, broke out along the East-Timor-Indonesian Timor border.

A NZ TVI team managed to shoot film of FRETILIN operations around the border town of Ratugade. However, five Australian TV newsmen were shot dead in the neighbouring town of Balibo on October 16 when it came under attack from combined UDT-APODETI forces led by Indonesian troops.

On November 28, 1975, FRETILIN gave up waiting for the Portuguese to negotiate a programme of decolonisation and unilaterally declared independence. They knew an Indonesian invasion was imminent.

President Francisco Xavier do Amaral told the people: "If we must fight and die for our freedom we will now do so as free men and women." Even as he spoke Indonesian soldiers were capturing the town at Atabae, after five days of shelling by warships off the coast and an amphibious landing of five tanks.

Indonesian response to East Timor's independence was not long in coming. On December 5, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Adam Malik, summoned the ambassadors of ASEAN countries, Australia, New Zealand, Portugal, the USA and the Soviet Union and warned them "not to be surprised" by any developments which might take place in East Timor. Then in the early hours of Sunday December 7, Indonesia began a full-scale invasion, when at least six Indonesian warships, several dozen planes and hundreds of paratroops and marines launched a massive attack on Dili.

Indonesian military success in East Timor has been so abysmal because FRETILIN is well organised in guerilla warfare. The

mountainous interior of the country is well suited for guerilla warfare, as demonstrated in the Second World War, when fewer than 400 Australian troops succeeded in holding down 20,000 Japanese troops, killing 1500 of them and losing only 40 of their own men. About 40,000 Timorese were killed by the Japanese because they had helped the Australians.

Rogério Lobato, Minister of National Defence in the government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor described FRETILIN's military strategy in an issue of the Australian Left Review:

"Our strategy is that we want to destroy as many of the enemy forces as possible and conserve our own forces. We therefore disperse our forces, but concentrate them to destroy the enemy and disperse them immediately after having carried out the attack. . . Our tactics are not only to kill as many enemy troops as possible, but also to destroy them economically. So we must cut all the roads, destroy all the bridges and force the enemy to move by expensive means—helicopters, planes, warships."

## Indonesian atrocities

The Indonesians were obviously hoping to get the 'Timor problem' out of the way by the end of the year, but FRETILIN resistance was strong and had so much support from the Timorese people that a second much larger invasion was carried

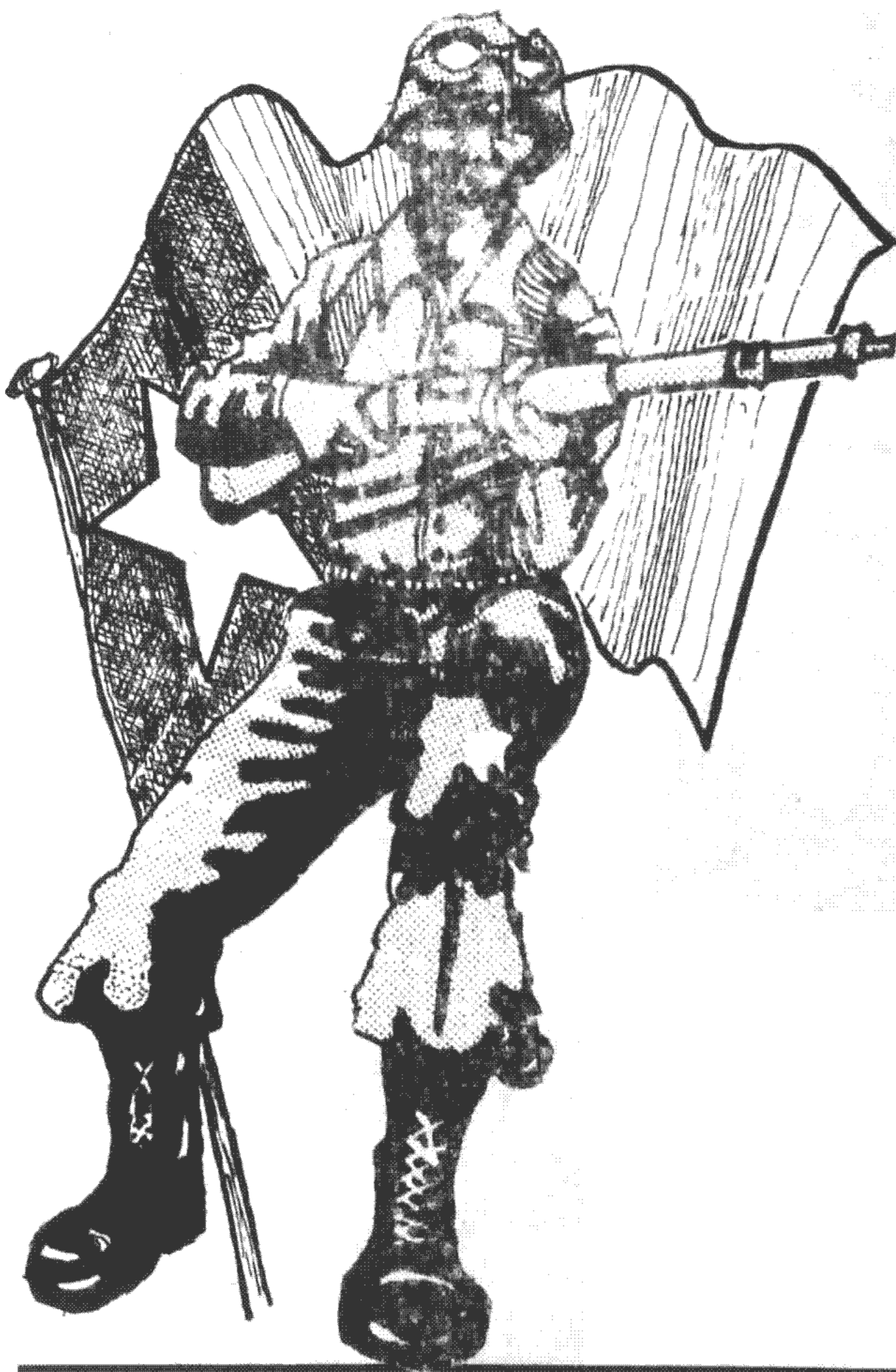
out on Christmas Day involving from 15,000 to 20,000 top Javanese troops. Yet today Indonesia still only controls very few towns and villages.

Radio Maubere reported on February 25 that 2094 Indonesian soldiers were killed and more wounded in fighting south-west and west of Dili between November 23 and February 23. (Radio Maubere is the national radio of the Democratic Republic of East Timor. Reception at Darwin is possible, despite the low powered transmitter used in East Timor).

Since the invasion of East Timor, Indonesia has kept a tight blockade on the territory, yet reports of Indonesian atrocities continually filter out. A pro-Indonesian Timorese, Lopes da Cruz, during a press conference in Jakarta in February 1975, admitted that 60,000 Timorese had been killed because of "Indonesian excesses."

World attention was focused on Indonesian atrocities in East Timor with the release of the Dunn Report in Australia. Mr Dunn, former Australian Consul to Dili and director of the Foreign Affairs Group of the Legislative Research Service of the Australian Parliament, interviewed East Timorese refugees in Lisbon, and his report details many Indonesian atrocities. Mr Dunn has given evidence before the US Congress Committee on International Relations on these atrocities.

Mart Reyners





# The US: bombs away

The Indonesian Government has been claiming ever since the East Timor war started in December 1975 that it is on the verge of winning. Yet the troops, military hardware and advisers are still pouring in. Indonesian estimates of the number of Fretilin (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) guerrillas left have ranged successively from virtually none, 200, 600, about 2,000, 400, to last year's claim that 60,000 surrendered. The Indonesian Government continues to assert that East Timor is rightfully a part of Indonesia and calls for Timorese support for its "reconstruction programme".

The people of East Timor have cause to be suspicious. 60,000 of their number appear to have been killed in the early stages of the war, constituting one of the highest mortality rates per head of population in any war the world has known.

President Suharto of Indonesia recently made his first visit to the island since the invasion began. He arrived late on July 16 and left less than 24 hours later. Independent journalists who accompanied him have confirmed the hurried nature of the visit and the extreme nervousness of the military. While Fretilin maintained its harassment of the occupying forces surrounding the capital Dili, Suharto inspected boy scouts and girl guides in front of a silent and captive audience, and spoke to the appointed puppet Provincial Assembly.

He announced: "The urgent matter is the restoration of peace and order." Translated a little less literally, this can be read to mean the Fretilin forces still command too much support and the bloodshed will have to continue before any other "benefits" of Indonesian occupation accrue to the Timorese people.

## Stalemate

It seems in fact that Indonesian forces have made surprisingly little headway in the 32 months they have been there. Over 600 were killed in the Remexio area (15 kms south of Dili) since June 11, Fretilin have claimed. Heavy casualties have been suffered throughout the country.

To an extent, the struggle has stalemated. Indonesia has the strength and support to keep up the offensive, Fretilin has the commitment and the support of the people to withstand it. The Timorese are fighting for their land, and they know how to fight on it. Fretilin's guerrilla tactics do not give it access to the plains and coastal areas; the Indonesians cannot operate in the high country.

## US involvement

Two recent events dramatically reveal the current nature of the situation. In late May Indonesia sent in a further 15,000 troops. Presumably they were meant to make the area around Dili safe for Suharto's visit. They are still there, but seem to be making little headway. In June it was announced that the United States had entered the war. This was denied for a while, but reports now coming out which detail the range of US presence and the times and places where it has been used make it impossible to believe US denials. (A similar claim that aid was cut off for six months at the beginning of the war while the situation was examined was later admitted to be false).

The US has granted the Indonesian regime several hundred million dollars worth of military hardware in the last three years. The supply has been increased, and now they are providing advisers, mercenaries, pilots and other technicians.

The advisers have been observed directing Indonesian military offensives and are known to be training Indonesian troops. Mercenaries have been seen wearing the uniform of the crack Indonesian commando units, although they are apparently being very careful not to get themselves hurt. (No US mercenary has yet been killed.) The pilots fly US made Bronco OV-10s in bombing and machine-gun missions against liberated villages.



Fretilin organized a people's army first against the Portuguese colonialists and now against the Indonesian invaders.

## Indonesian desperation

This new stage in the war signals the growing desperation of the Indonesian Government at its inability to crush the independence forces. The longer Fretilin holds out the more likely they are to win support throughout the world. Yet even with a massive influx of troops and hardware Suharto's success is not guaranteed. For one thing, it is sure to turn more public attention on East Timor and lose him support.

Furthermore, the Vietnamese experience showed that people fighting for their own rights to self determination have an advantage which no invading force can match: they believe in their cause and are willing to die for it. It is unlikely that the USA will be prepared to go as far as it did in Vietnam, but the nature of its escalating involvement bears too many hallmarks of the earlier struggle for anyone to rest easy.

The presence of the US has another side effect. Indonesian troops have long prided themselves on their own independence, never before being obliged to use mercenaries. The long months of fighting for a cause they do not benefit from and know little about has taken its toll. This open sign of their servile neo-colonial role cannot do much for raising morale.

The US involvement looks suspiciously like a CIA operation. In Angola, the US

was unwilling to use regular military personnel, so the CIA recruited mercenaries to supplement the covert supply of finance and weapons. The pattern is the same.

Suharto has a well-documented history of association with the CIA going back to the 1950s, when a group of right-wing intellectuals trained in American Universities gained CIA support. After the overthrow of Sukarno they gained control of the economy and opened the doors to multinationals. US economic domination soon became the major factor in Indonesian development and remains so to this day.

## The political motive

A victory for the forces of independence and socialism in East Timor would be acutely embarrassing to the Sukarno regime and would pose a potential threat to his own power and US involvement in the area. Indonesia has one of the most repressive governments in the world. It is plagued with mismanagement, poverty and corruption, and maintains tenuous control over its outlying islands. Success in East Timor might well lead to success elsewhere. And that would be bad news indeed for US big business.

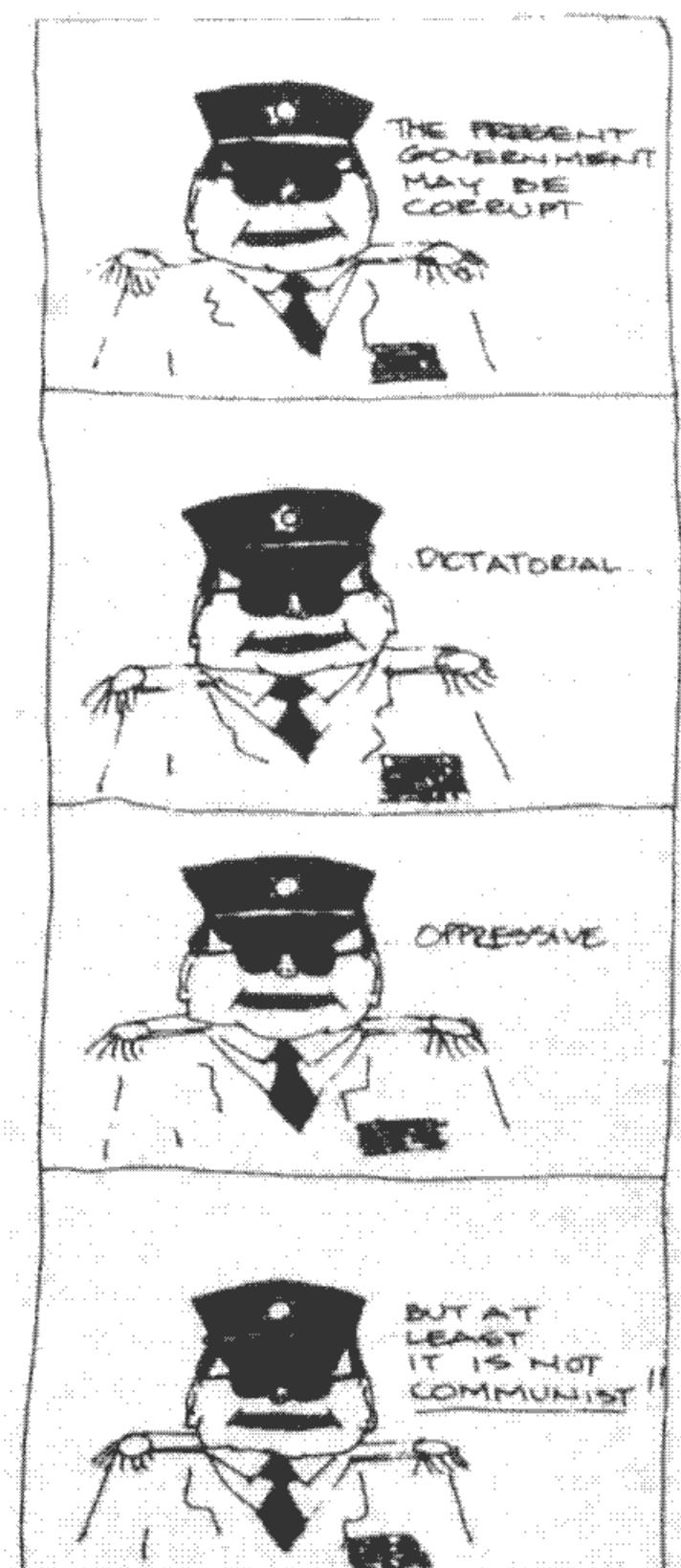
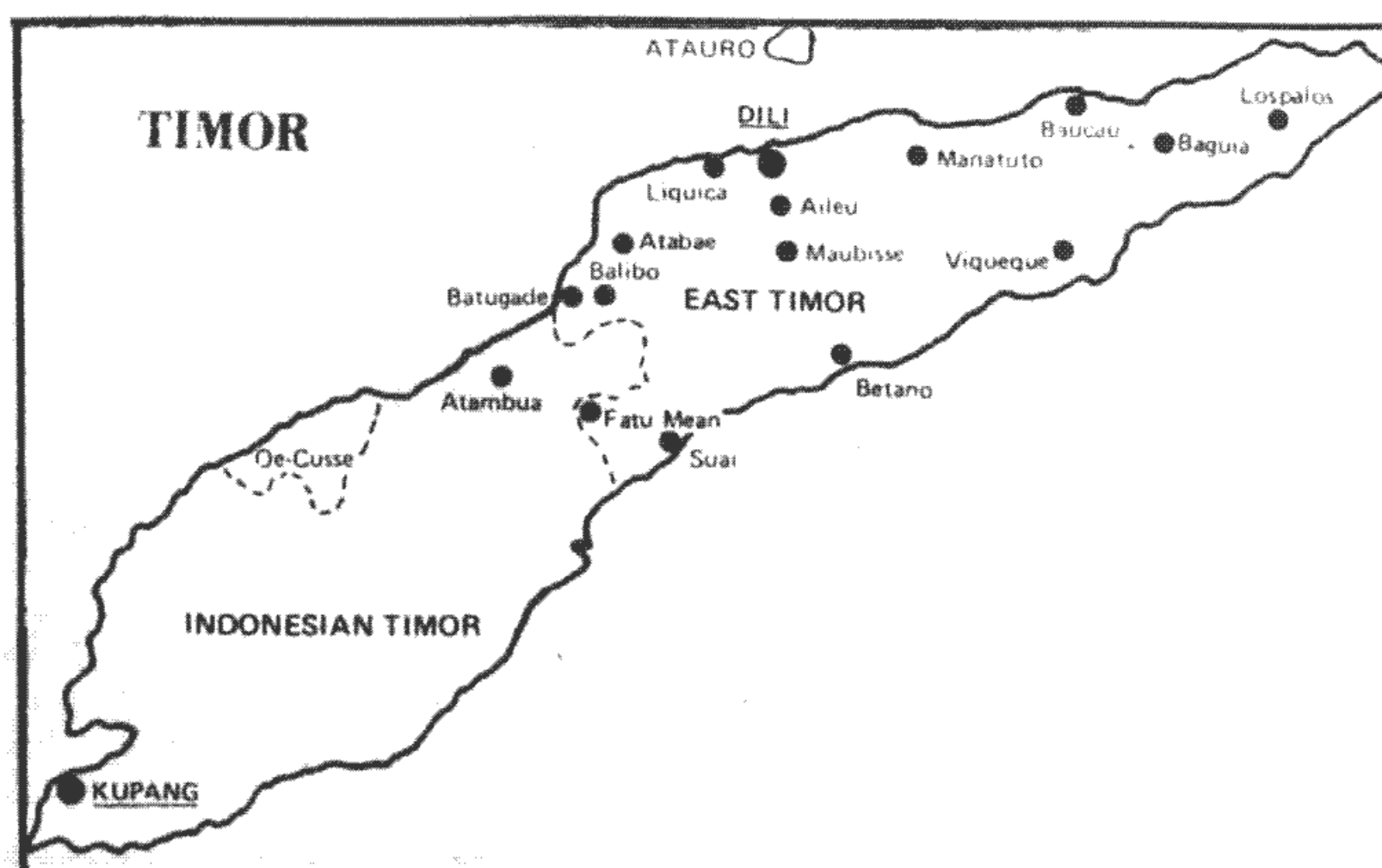
## The NZ connection

New Zealand, too, is not without an

economic interest. Indonesia receives one of the highest levels of "aid" from us of any south east Asian country. We are also supposed to have very friendly ties with Suharto. After over two and a half years of attempted conquest without any success, the last thing Suharto wants is for his friends to run out on him.

In regard to this there is one other important aspect to the war in East Timor. The press are not allowed into the country. In fact they are not allowed anywhere near. That is well worth remembering when "official" pronouncements (be they Indonesian or American) are made on the situation. Official does not always mean authoritative. If Jose Ramos Horta comes here he might just tell the truth. And people might just listen.

Simon Wilson





# Stuck at the crossroads

This article from the *Leader of the Opposition*, continues our series leading up to the General Election. Salient thanks Mr Rowling for his contribution.

## ROWLING ON THE ECONOMY

It is becoming very fashionable these days to talk about New Zealand 'being at the crossroads'. Under all the endless wads of official reports on the subject, there is one hard cold fact.

The fat days, the easy days, are well and truly over for New Zealand. We stand revealed as a small, smug, and stagnating country, perched on the end of the world's shipping lanes. Traditional markets are disappearing. The shape and texture of the social welfare state that we have accepted for generations is being questioned and tested, as never before.

The choices that are made over the next few years will have a very profound effect on the type of society that we take with us into the eighties. In particular, New Zealanders have to make up their minds very soon on one very critical issue:

... where in New Zealand should real economic power lie.  
... where should real decision making power be.

It has always been part of the beliefs of most New Zealanders that no one in this country needs to suffer economic hardship unless they bring it on themselves. Most New Zealanders believe in the idea of equal opportunity, and basic rights, and a fair deal for everyone. That belief has been built on a very long-standing foundation; the right to work; and the right of every New Zealander to take home a basic living wage.

## Poverty in NZ

Yet, never since the tragic days of the depression of the thirties has that foundation been under such threat from the combined effects of inflation, taxation, and unemployment. The best estimates show that at this moment there are as many as one in every five New Zealanders living in poverty. Not poverty in terms of the back streets of Calcutta, but poverty in terms of being shut out from the normal life that most New Zealanders have always expected and taken for granted.

Some of these people may be in that situation through their own fault. But the majority of them are ordinary New Zealanders who are desperately struggling to hang on against a crippling economic tide. They are living in relative poverty, because they are being denied two fundamental rights - the right to work, or the right to a basic living wage. That is what the 'economy' really means.

The economic jargon and arguments that are tossed around might satisfy some. But the guts of any economy is, and always will be, how it affects ordinary working people. If there is no security, no opportunity, and no hope, among working New Zealanders, the economy is sick.

At this time, there are at least 100,000 New Zealanders who want to work and cannot. They are far greater in number than those that appear on the fortnightly statistical releases. They include part-timers, married women, and the many younger people who do not even bother to register.

## Towards institutionalized unemployment

\$100 million a year is being paid out for people to rot on the dole. In many overseas countries that sort of thing is accepted. In fact, there are people who say that it's a good thing to have a pool of unemployed. 'Keep the workers in line'. It is not a good thing. It is a tragic and wasteful thing. If it continues, and a permanent pool of unemployed is allowed to become accepted, then the whole social and economic structure of the country will be affected.

We are three million people, fighting like hell to survive in an overseas marketing situation that is stacked against us. If we come to accept that a large proportion of our potential work-force can be written



off and their efforts and their contributions wasted, then we are virtually throwing in the towel. In that sort of situation, New Zealand will only slide further and further into a stagnant and deeply divided society.

Equal opportunity, equal rights, equal respect and concern for the individual cannot exist in a country that allows many of its people to live in that sort of situation. It flows through into so many other areas. Already, the figures of access to pre-school education, to higher education, to effective health care, show a disturbing weight against those in the lower income groups.

To allow that to continue, is to institutionalise poverty and to turn our backs on the sort of society that generations of thinking and caring New Zealanders have fought for. That decision, whether or not we are going to accept that trend, or do something about it, is the most critical choice that faces all New Zealanders today. There is not one of us that can stand aside from that choice, because we will all ultimately be affected.

That is why the Labour Party is totally pledged to fight for two unshakeable commitments. The restoration of the right to work. The restoration of the right to a basic living wage. It is out of those commitments that we have forged a very radical new taxation policy. Not because we want a batch of election year handouts. There is no room for anything like that, and our policies certainly do not represent that. But because through taxation we can leave real money in working people's hands, we can lift production and get people off the dole; we can break the poverty cycle that is placing a crippling pressure on wage, and price demands.

## Real political power

The second major choice that faces New Zealanders is to decide where real political power should lie. There is a very strong tradition of independence in New Zealand, of local decision making, and local power. Yet, we seem to have come to a point in our history where that tradition is in danger of being swept away and crushed under the juggernaut of central government.

Parliament is increasingly irrelevant and impotent. The rule of the courts, and the rule of law, are being overturned at the whim of the governing Cabinet. Local Government and local control, is being ground down by the growing central government regulation. Most important, the individual and the small group are increasingly powerless in putting their point of view and in having any influence on decision making.

That shift in power, because that's what it is, is not just an academic thing. It is affecting the lifestyle and the basic freedoms and responsibilities of all of us. Unless that balance is changed, we will have allowed the heart of the open democracy that generations of New Zealanders fought for, to slip away through sheer apathy.

There are a number of practical reforms that a political Party can offer in order to help correct that situation. The Labour Party is going into this election with a very comprehensive platform of reforms in this

area. We propose to reform Parliament, to make it more relevant, and more useful. We propose to reform the select committee system to ensure that any legislation is fully presented in open hearings before the public, before final decisions are made.

We will be passing a Freedom of Information Act and repealing sections of the Official Secrets Act, to try and open out much of the day to day decisions of Government, as they affect individual lives. We will be placing all legislation and all regulations under periodic review, so that outdated old laws and red tape don't molder on, long after they have ceased to have any purpose at all.

All those reforms will go a long way towards giving the individual back some real voice in what goes on. Certainly, they will make it a great deal harder for any Government to hide behind walls of secrecy.

## Regional development

But the shift in power that is going on reaches much more deeply than that. The Labour Party has talked a great deal about regional development over the last eight years or so. When we first developed a solid policy, in 1972, it was because we wanted to rebuild an economic future for areas of the country that were in danger of fading away. But it grew into much more than just an economic package. It touched a very real emotional cord in most New Zealanders and touched a shift in political thinking.

Regional development is not just about freight subsidies, or a "Rangitira" sailing from Lyttelton. It's about regions, and smaller communities demanding that they have a real control over their own future, rather than being shoved around at the whim of bureaucrats in Wellington. All over the country, but especially in the South Island, people are literally throwing down the battle lines, and throwing the 'we know best' arrogance of central Gov-

ernment and big industry, back in their faces.

They want to run their own lives. They want to retain the unique features of their own communities, like small industries and shops, schools, community hospitals and small pubs.

It's an important shift, and it's one that politicians will ignore at their peril, because it's the best possible sign that New Zealand is finally growing up. It does not mean that we are necessarily reaching back to the old provincial system of government. But if we have the sense to recognise it and change our entrenched institutions to respond to it, then we will have a much richer and more relaxed society.

Bill Rowling



# Let me help you make a little money go a whole lot further

If you need a little help and advice on how to make your money go further while you're at varsity, see Richard Starke at the Wellington Branch of the BNZ. Richard knows the sort of money problems you're going to be involved with as a student, and he'll be pleased to give you all the assistance and advice that's possible. Apart from the BNZ services like cheque and savings accounts, free automatic savings facility, the Nationwide Account, travellers' cheques, and so on, there are two particular BNZ services that a lot of students have found very useful.



## BNZ Educational Loans

The great thing about these is their flexibility. You can take one out for a few days, to tide you over a rough spot till the end of term, or you can borrow on the long-term and plan things out over the years you're at varsity.

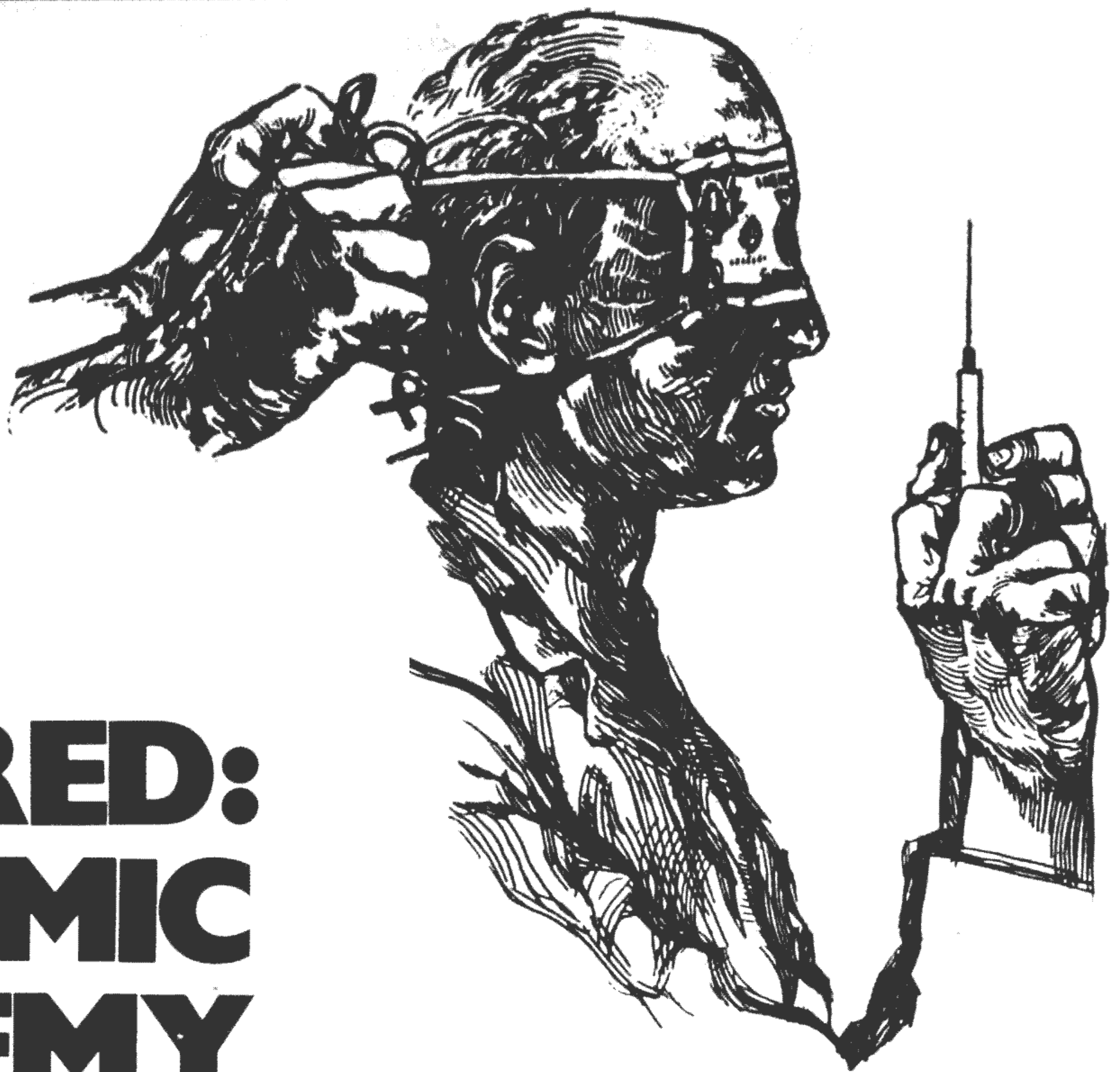
## BNZ Consulting Service

Free, helpful advice on practically any financial matter, from people who understand money and how it works. And just by the way, there's another good reason for banking with the Bank of New Zealand, it's the only trading bank wholly owned by the people of New Zealand. Call at the BNZ on-campus office and fix up a time for a chat with Richard Starke or phone him direct at the BNZ Wellington Branch, Cnr. Lambton and Customhouse Quays. Phone 725-099 ext. 702.



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Wholly owned by the people of New Zealand





# SOCRED: ECONOMIC ALCHEMY

## THE SOCIAL CREDIT ECONOMIC CAULDRON

Social Credit is often called the 'funny money' party. In fact, SC policy covers a much wider field than finance alone; a glance at their Manifesto shows that it stretches from industrial relations to parliamentary reform, from rating to road safety. The League has decked itself out with the full paraphernalia of a serious political party.

Nevertheless, financial reform is still the foundation of Social Credit politics. It is (as it were) the 'elixir' with which they would like to work their alchemy!

But whereas the alchemists of old attempted the modest task of turning stone into gold, the modern credit chemists aspire to the much more exalted ambition of conjuring gold out of thin air!

### The scenario

This is the scenario: Credit advanced by a NZ Credit Authority would make up for a supposed inherent lack of purchasing power in the economy which, freed from the fetters of a restricted money supply, would then pour out goods in abundance and lead us to the promised land of automation and the four day week, full employment, price stability and a living wage. Just as the alchemists disdained to submit to the laws of nature, so social crediters deny the existence of objective economic laws. In the words of one pamphlet circulated by the NZSC League, 'Economic laws are usually conventional laws and therefore can be altered if required.' (R S J Rands: *The Problem of Money*)

Social Credit Thinking is made up of a number of economic theories and views each of which has been given different emphasis at different times. The 'A + B' Theorem characterised the early thirties while arguments about the size of the money supply in relation to GNP, and the power of the finance industry are typical of present day NZSC theorists.

These ideas have two characteristics in common. The first is that they assert that somehow or another there is a permanent shortage of purchasing power in the economy. The second is that they fail to grasp the realities of modern monopoly capitalism.

## The 'A + B' Theorem

Major Douglas gave birth to social credit in the nineteen twenties, and social credit movements first spawned during the depression of the thirties. Like all major depressions under capitalism this one grew out of a crisis of over-production (intensified by a crisis of the financial system). The production of goods and services in the arena of the capitalist world market outran the available purchasing power and the result was falling profits, unemployment, the destruction of unsold goods in a vain endeavour to keep up prices, the collapse of Wall Street and the bankruptcy of many major European and American banks.

The social credit explanation of this crisis was that under capitalism there is an inherent, unavoidable 'gap' between the incomes distributed to consumers in the process of production, and the costs incurred by entrepreneurs in the same process. Depression is therefore inevitable unless this gap is made up by handouts of credit by the government (ie. a National Credit Authority) in the form of a National Dividend, tax cuts, discounts on the prices of goods sold or increased public works.

According to SC legend Douglas's discovery of the 'gap' pre-dated the depression, originating from a time during World War I when he had the job of overhauling the finances of the Harnborough Aeroplane works. (According to other versions, it happened when he was in charge of building a railroad in India!). Douglas noticed (so the story goes) that the amount paid out in salaries and wages did not go anywhere near equating with the final costs. He then went on to examine the balance sheets of over 100 industrial firms and in every firm he discovered the same 'fault'.

Being a 'mathematician and engineer of worldwide repute' he set out this problem as the 'A + B Theorem' according to which each firm has to pay out two main types of expenditure:-

Payments to individuals within the firm	Salaries, wages dividends, etc	A
	Raw materials	+
	Depreciation	
Other costs	Reserves	B
	Bank Interest	
	Taxation	
	Rates, etc.	

'...every business has to recover A + B costs from the public, but distributes only A incomes. Thus there is never sufficient purchasing power distributed through industry as a whole to enable the public to meet the costs of goods produced.' (*The Problem of Money*, Circulated by Waikato Regional Council of the NZSC Political League)

### More than wages

This argument is nonsense! While it is certainly possible to break down business expenditure into the categories above, it is quite wrong to say that purchasing power is only made up of payments to individuals within the firm. In fact, all the B payments represent incomes to persons other than those directly connected with the firm - raw material producing companies, transport companies, manufacturers, banks, local bodies and government - who will spend this money in their turn, buying goods or services of an equivalent amount to the B costs of the firm above. In this way, since every cost to one person is an income to someone else, production and consumption will be balanced throughout the economy.

Further to this, the 'A + B Theorem' overlooks one extremely important distinction within the economy; that is the distinction between the production of consumer goods and the production of producer goods. In a firm producing ships, machinery or factory buildings (and the like) very little of the payments to individuals within the firm will be spent on the purchase of the goods produced. Most of these payments will be spent on consumer goods. The products of the producer goods department will be bought by other firms.

On the other hand, firms producing consumer goods will produce far more that can be bought by the individuals actually working for the firm, but this excess will be purchased by workers and employers in the producer goods sector. The money earned by selling these goods is then available for the purchase of new machinery, etc. from the producer goods sector. In this way a balance is maintained between the production of consumer goods and means of production.

At this stage of the argument, the perceptive reader will be gasping at the idiocy of the A + B Theorem, but at the same time a nagging question will have come to

mind: 'It seems indeed that balance exists between production and consumption, and also between the production of consumer goods and the production of means of production. In that case, how can there be any economic crises under capitalism?'

### Anarchy in capitalism

The answer to this question lies in the anarchic nature of the capitalist system. While production proceeds on a social basis (ie in factories, building sites and other enterprises in which large numbers of people co-operate) the goods produced by society become the private property of the capitalist owners who organise production according to the criteria of profitability.

There is no common social interest which allows steady, planned economic growth. Monopoly capitalism to get maximum profits by pushing up prices and restricting production, the government increases taxation and alters the social distribution of income, professional associations put up their charges and workers' unions attempt to win higher wages by taking industrial action against their employers. Because society under the domination of the monopoly capitalists is characterised by thousands of contending interests there is no stability in the relationship between production and consumption and between the production of different types of goods. Some goods are in short supply, while others are in excess. At times there is too much demand for the amount of goods produced (and hence inflation increases) while at other times there is a general oversupply of goods and a crisis of overproduction gets under way.

The periodic crises of overproduction that occur under capitalism result from the generally anarchic nature of the capitalist system and not from any permanent and inherent gap between purchasing power and production as is claimed by the 'A + B Theorem'. If the theorem were correct, then none of the booms that have occurred under capitalism could ever have done so!

Capitalist economies would have been in a constant state of depression. In fact if the A + B Theorem was a genuine law of capitalism, capitalism would have represented no advance on the feudal system, and we would still be trying to scratch a subsistence living out of the soil today! ➤





## The Creation of Money as Debt

According to Social Credit theory, banks both create and destroy money. "On this point both Social Crediters and orthodox economists agree. Both agree that the repayment of a bank loan is a destruction of money ... Substantially, all money that comes into existence is a debt to the banks; and this is why Social Crediters refer to our present money system as a Debt System.

Social Crediters maintain that our money system will never be effective or just until some money, at least, comes into existence under proper circumstances, as a national credit without any corresponding national debt." (F.C. Jordan, *Social Credit for New Zealand*)

"... The banking system owns our money and the people, including industry, only have it on loan and pay interest on it continuously." (W.B. Owen, *Wealth or Debt*)

These views contain a mixture of truth and painful misunderstanding. It is true that most (but not all) money comes into existence as debt. It is not true, however, that banks create or destroy money at will.

A Social Credit notion of money creation was in Sir Tom Skinner's mind when he declared at the 1976 Wellington stop-work rally that "if you were the BNZ it wouldn't cost you a cracker to build that building in Willis Street. You'd only have to write a cheque." This is nonsense. In fact banks can only create credit in a regulated proportion with their reserves. They can't conjure money out of thin air in unlimited quantities. If the BNZ builds itself a building, it has to forego the interest that a similar amount of finance could bring in if they lent it out instead.

It is no more true that the repayment of a loan involves the destruction of money. When a borrower repays his bank, this money remains on the books of the bank and is available for lending to a new borrower.

It is easiest to understand the error of SC theories of money by looking at the actual processes by which the supply of money is expanded or contracted.

## The process of expanding money

Banks hold large sums of money (deposits) which large numbers of individuals and organisations (depositors) have left with them. Experience shows that depositors generally do not try to withdraw their money all at once, so banks can lend the bulk of their deposits out to people or companies who want loans. Only a low proportion of a bank's total assets (10/20/30 per cent depending on experience or government regulation) need be kept on hand to meet the day-to-day cash requirements of depositors. This proportion is called the 'reserve/asset ratio'.

Suppose (for the sake of example) that a bank gets a new deposit of \$1000, and operates to a r/a ratio of 20%. It can then lend \$800 of the original \$1000 deposit. This \$800 however, after having been spent by the borrower will find its way back into the banking system (ie, the people who receive it put it in their bank accounts). So the total increase in assets of the banking system is not just the original \$1000, but \$1800.

When the \$800 is deposited, \$640 of

this can again be re-lent (in accordance with the 20% r/a ratio). And so it goes on. The same money goes round and round, getting smaller at each step until finally the increase in total assets is \$5000. An original deposit of \$1000 has resulted in a total increase in deposits of \$5000.

This effect is known as the 'credit multiplier'. This is the actual way in which the banking system creates money. Furthermore, \$4000 of that \$5000 came into being as debt - so Social Credit is right at least on that point.

The question now arises: 'Where did the original \$1000, upon which the creation of credit was based, come from?'

There are three possible sources. First, export receipts. If export prices rise and an export boom gets under way, exporters will find themselves with increased incomes which will find their way into the banks and provide fuel for the credit multiplier. Secondly, government spending. If the government runs a deficit in its spending, and finances this by simply 'running the printing press', ie, dishing out reserve bank cheques without borrowing to cover them, then again there will be an increase in the money supply that will be multiplied by the banking system. Thirdly, adjustments to the r/a ratio. The r/a ratio in New Zealand is set by government regulation. Suppose the banks are operating on a ratio of 30% and the government decides to reduce this to 20%. This will release funds from the reserve for lending and consequently lead to a multiplied increase in the money supply.

The money supply can also be contracted (ie, money can be destroyed) by the operation of the above processes. Suppose export receipts drop, (or import payments rise), or the government runs a surplus in its expenditures or the r/a ratio is increased. Money would then be removed from circulation, and the credit multiplier would operate in reverse - the total contraction of the money supply would be several times greater than the original amount of money removed from circulation.

While Social Credit is wrong on the question of the creation and destruction of money, they are nevertheless right that most money comes into being as a debt, upon which people and businesses are continually paying interest. This, say Social Crediters, is wrong because it puts us all in hock to exploitative financiers and furthermore provides the fuel for inflation.

Before looking at these assertions more closely, however, it is necessary to look at a further Social Credit economic theory which is particularly applicable to New Zealand. This is the question of the size of the monetary base of the economy.

## The Monetary Base of the Economy

The 'monetary base' is the amount of money in circulation compared with production.

When he appeared on "Dateline" at the beginning of May, Beetham spoke at great length about the supposed contraction in the monetary base of the economy over the last twenty years.

To understand what he was talking about it is necessary to know a simple and commonly accepted equation which expresses the relationship between money supply and production:

$$\frac{\text{amount of money}}{M} \times \frac{\text{velocity of circulation}}{V} = \frac{\text{amount of goods}}{Q} \times \frac{\text{prices}}{P}$$

This equation expresses the fact that there needs to be enough purchasing power in every year to buy the goods produced at their current prices. Since every dollar is used several times in the course of a year (ie, it circulates from hand to hand) there doesn't have to be one dollar of money for every dollar of goods produced, but only a certain proportion.

For example, suppose that the economy produces 10 products at an average price of \$10 each. The total value of production therefore equals \$100. Suppose further that the 'velocity of circulation' is 5 (ie, each dollar is used for five

transactions in the course of a year), then there would have to be a money supply of \$20, if all goods are to be sold.

In terms of the above equation:

$$M(20) \times V(5) = Q(10) \times p(10)$$

If one of these variables is altered for any reason (eg, increased production, a credit squeeze, inflation etc) then one or more of the other variables must change as well to keep both sides of the equation in balance.

## The Sacred proposal

As the monetary base has contracted (so the Social Credit argument runs) the velocity of circulation has increased, largely as a result of the operations of financiers who cream off a huge profit in the process. Since the monetary base of the economy is shrinking, so money is becoming relatively scarce, interest rates are rising and the fires of inflation are being consequently stoked.

'Under modern conditions, a further reduction in the monetary base makes inflation worse. Such a policy brings financiers still higher unearned profits through interest, and also increases their power over industry and their grip on the economy.' (NZSC Pamphlet, *Cause and Cure*, 1977).

The solution to these problems is to expand the monetary base of the economy while decreasing the velocity of circulation of money. The operations of the finance houses will be phased out and the job of providing loan finance given wholly to the trading banks who will be allowed to make a service charge only for their services. The elimination of financial exploitations and an increase in the money supply are the twin Social Credit keys to the elimination of inflation.

## Problems in the proposal

Do these arguments stand up to scrutiny?

Table 1 shows the relationship between money supply, GNP, and the velocity of circulation. It shows clearly that there has indeed been a decrease in the ratio of M1 to GNP accompanied by a corresponding increase in the velocity. However, the figures for GNP are expressed in 'current dollar' terms. If inflation is taken into account, the relationship of GNP to money supply takes on an entirely different aspect. (see Table 2)

M1 has only increased about half the speed as GNP (current) but it has actually increased considerably faster than the real output of goods and services in the economy. In that case, even without an increase in the velocity of circulation, money has been becoming relatively more plentiful over the last twenty years. To maintain a stable price level it would be necessary to increase the money supply slower, not faster, than is presently happening.

It is also incorrect to assert that there is any definite relationship between the size of the money supply and the rate of inflation. Looking at the rates of inflation

TABLE 1

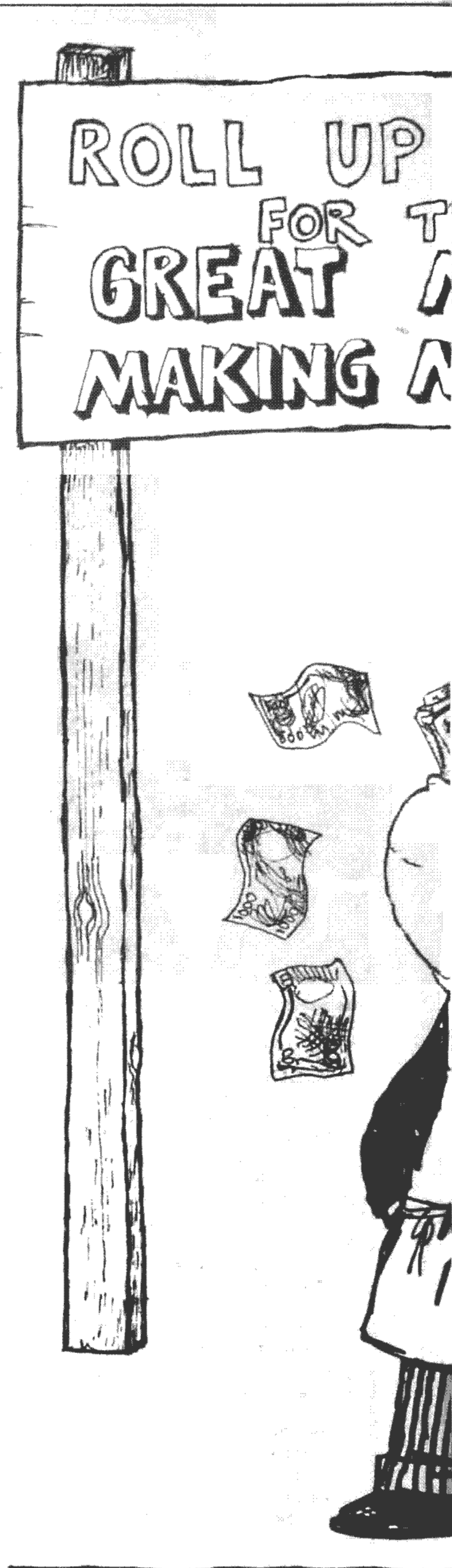
Money Supply (M1) as a percentage of GNP

March	M1, \$m	GNP \$m	M1, as % of GNP	Velocity	Inflation Rate
1955	571	1860	30.7	3.26	
1960	665	2463	27.0	3.70	
1965	745	3530	21.1	4.74	
1970	764	4809	15.9	6.29	
1974	1298	8638	15.0	6.65	9.4
1975	1332	9452	14.1	7.10	11.8
1976	1596	10914	14.6	6.84	15.7
1977	1690	12786	13.2	7.57	16.0

Table 2

Year	M1 (money supply)	GNP (current prices)	GNP (constant, 1965-66 prices)
1955	571	1860	2369
1974	1298	8636	4864
% increase	227.3	464.3	184.3

over recent years, it can be seen that in 1975-76 there was an increase in M1 as a percentage of GNP coupled with a drop in the velocity of circulation, but rather than inflation decreasing (as SC theory would lead one to expect) it in fact jumped from



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# NOW THE MONEY MACHINE



over the years so it is no longer used as the mainstay of the Social Credit argument.

In its turn, the fact that most money comes into being as debt has served as 'proof' that there is a shortage of purchasing power, while the latest theory is that the monetary base of the economy is too small and still declining.

'We therefore,' writes Rands, 'have to emphasise that the main problem is how to inject sufficient money into the economy to enable consumption to match production WITHOUT INFLATION.' (*The Problem of Money*)

Social Credit will increase the monetary base of the economy and at the same time make sure that the supply of money is directly related to the 'availability of produced resources.' (*Cause and Cure*)

These glib assertions overlook the fact that there has been enough money in circulation in the past in New Zealand to maintain full employment for a large part of the last two decades, and furthermore, that the supply of money has actually increased faster than the production of goods and services.

## The fundamental problem

The fundamental problem with Social Credit theory is that it does not grasp the nature of monopoly capitalism. It attacks the financial system without realising that there are contradictions in the system of production which no amount of fiddling with the financial superstructure can put right. Social Crediters, wedded as they are to small scale commodity production under capitalism, attack financiers without attacking the monopoly capitalist class as a whole.

The central economic contradiction of capitalism (namely, the conflict between the accumulation of capital and the distribution of consumer goods) is intensified under the conditions of monopoly. Monopolistic corporations are no longer subject to the pressures of price-competition which characterised the early period of capitalism, and subjected individual capitalists to the law of the equalisation of the average rate of profit.

Because of their control over markets, supplies and finance, monopoly capitalists can restrict production, jack up prices and earn super-profits. With the whole of modern capitalist economies dominated by monopolies, there is a constant tendency towards stagnation. In the absence of counteracting government action a monopoly capitalist economy will soon dive into a deep and prolonged depression; that was what happened in the 1930s.

After the experience of the thirties, western governments have kept 'priming the pump', running budget deficits in order to keep demand buoyant and guarantee corporate profitability. However, when a

monopolistic company encounters an increase in demand for its products it does not have to increase production in order to boost profits. Often it is simpler to merely increase prices. This is the Achilles heel of Keynesian economics. In order to avert economic crisis the 'pump' has to be primed faster and faster at the cost of accelerating inflation.

By enforcing a partial monopoly over the supply of labour, unions also contribute to the upward spiral of prices and incomes.

Beyond the occasional blank declaration that the 'price of living' must be stabilised, Social Credit has nothing to offer that grapples with the real economic and social causes of inflation. Their claim to control inflation by increasing the money supply would have exactly the opposite effect. The money supply would outpace the production of goods and services even faster, subjecting us to galloping inflation.

## The class character of Social Credit

The main enemy in the eyes of Social Credit is the present financial system and those who directly run it. In singling out the finance capitalists for attack Social Credit reveals itself as a party of the small businessman and farmer.

In the conditions of modern monopoly capitalism the 'small man' is oppressed by finance capital: he depends on bankers and financiers for working funds, for loans to expand the business and for his mortgage. He smarts under the whip of climbing interest rates almost as much as he sweats over his rising wage bill. Cheap money is a dazzling prospect, indeed.

'Social Credit theory is not just an economic fallacy, as the professional capitalist economists would have us suppose. It is also a well-founded, though necessarily confused, cry of protest raised by the remaining independent producers against the ever growing domination of the great monopolistic capitalist groups.' (Strachey, *The Nature of Capitalist Crisis*)

Social Credit's agricultural policy is particularly significant in this respect. In his maiden speech in Parliament, Beetham made a strong plea for 'justice' for the farmer. The basic price paid to the 'efficient' farmer should cover all legitimate internal costs and provide for a 'reasonable' profit.

What this amounts to is the extension of 'cost-plus' pricing into the farming industry. In the past, farmers have always been price-takers due to their great numbers and the competitive nature of the market in agricultural produce. It has been impossible for farmers to adopt the monopoly capitalist cost-plus methods and they have had to accept the prevailing world market prices. The vicissitudes of this predicament have been ameliorated to a certain extent by price stabilisation schemes and subsidisation.



## Farmers as mini-monopolists

If farmers were to get the guaranteed profit promised by Beetham they could become mini-monopolists, restricting their production so as to earn the maximum profits possible. This would certainly be paradise for the petty bourgeois - farmers could be small and safe!

The trouble is, that no matter how much Beetham guarantees farmers a profitable price, he cannot control the level of world market prices. Whereas the consumer pays through the nose for the maximised profits of the industrial monopoly capitalists, in the case of Beetham's guarantee the NZ taxpayer would pick up the bill. Or if Beetham chose to run a bigger budget deficit, we would still pay for it through increased inflation.

'Justice for the farmer', in New Zealand's present economic situation is only another way of saying 'give the farmers a bigger slice of the national cake'. Readers will immediately recognise this cry for it is repeated in various ways and with varying degrees of subtlety by representatives of all 'interest groups' on behalf of their own economic constituencies.

There is no magical way in which farmers can be given bigger incomes without depriving other classes of part of theirs, given the stagnant state of the NZ economy at present. The actual amount that each class receives is determined by the daily struggles which dominate the New Zealand economic and political arena.

These struggles take place between exploiters and exploited (workers against the employers and the state), between big capitalists and small-scale business and also within the monopoly capitalist class itself.

These are the realities of modern life, realities which are partially reflected by Social Credit policies, but which are in no way comprehended by Social Credit economic theory.

David Steele

to 15.7%. In contrast, in 1976-77, was a substantial drop in the monetary base and a corresponding increase in velocity but inflation only marginally up.

That is true is that a reduction in the monetary base (ie. a credit squeeze) pushes interest rates and does indeed increase the source of inflationary pressure. However, if the government chose to clamp down on the money supply, provoking severe recession, general deflationary pressures would outweigh the effect on increasing interest rates. Similarly, a stimulation of the economy would only bring down interest rates (as money becomes more plentiful) but would fuel the fires of demand inflation.

## Social Credit Reaction to Monopoly Capitalism

On the 'A + B Theorem' of the interests to Beetham's 'declining monetary' in 1978, there is a common thread running through all of Social Credit's thinking; somehow or another there is enough money around for the economy to grow in an unfettered manner. The money supply must be increased.

When pressed, contemporary Social Crediters will admit to still believing in the 'A + B Theorem', but its patent falsity is a source of great embarrassment





# Labour against the wall

Will increased productivity hold down unemployment? Does the Labour Party have a policy that is committed, even in the smallest way, to serving the interests of working people? These were the two biggest questions debated at a forum on unemployment organised last term by the Progressive Students Alliance.

## The official employers' view

The official employers' line was put by Max Bradford of the Employers' Federation, who argued that three alternatives faced New Zealand: adjust to a downturning economy with lower incomes; accept high levels of unemployment; increase productivity through better management and use of resources. It's an old trick to pose two unsavoury options so that your third appears more palatable, but even Bradford wasn't prepared to push it too hard. Even a 20% increase in productivity would not necessarily create more jobs, he told us, because a lot of our industries are under-utilising their machinery.

Nevertheless, the Employers' Federation was against unemployment because it meant a permanent loss of skills to the economy, cause industrial unrest and a loss of potential and outlook for the individual. Some benefit could come from retraining, subsidised schemes, overseas loans and moderation of wage and salary demands. "No group," he suggested, "can have a greater share of the cake than the economy can sustain".

## The unofficial employers' view

Graeme Clarke of the Coachworkers' Union took issue with a number of these points. He said he was well aware of the official employers' line on unemployment, but did not consider it bore much relation to their actions. He took Todd Motors as his example. At the time of the layoffs earlier this year there were 1,500 units stockpiled. People just did not have the money to buy cars.

Layoffs occurred when there were too many goods being produced and not enough money around to buy them. To increase productivity, and thus flood the market with even more goods could not possibly rectify this situation. Similarly, moderating wage demands, and thus further restricting buying power, was not the answer. Real wages had been falling since 1975, and yet unemployment had been growing.

The unofficial employers' view, he suggested, was that unemployment made people work harder and better. To demonstrate this he quoted from a top level business circular which related how at one car firm output had been increased from 165 to 200 units a week with only 40 extra staff, instead of the 70 that would have been needed last year. The article stated: "In weeding out surplus staff, employers have necessarily added to the unemployment problem, but it is hoped that with higher efficiency ... extra business can be secured."

The figures could only apply to Todds, and it was to counter this sort of attitude that the Coachworkers had initiated an overtime ban. Overtime at Todds was worked right up to the time of the layoffs, and now that the employers were finding it harder to get more from less workers old jobs were being reinstated. Needless to say, the employers were reacting bitterly.

Clarke also related a few other facts about unemployment. He put the current figure at over 100,000 (which is close to 6% in a country used to less than 1%). One of the problems was that the unemployed tended to stay out of work, because the policy of last on, first off meant every job they went to they were also first to leave. Workers who became involved in union activities were often black-listed.

## The real cause

Clarke's solution to the crisis differed sharply from Bradford's. Unemployment

was caused by the balance of payments deficit which had as a chief contributing factor the importation of materials. For this reason we needed an independent economy. Most employers weren't prepared to work towards this because they relied for their profits on the existing arrangements. Thus a stable economy in New Zealand "may not be possible without a major social upheaval".

## National non-concern

NZUSA's General Vice President David Merritt also spoke at the forum. He focused on the National Party, stating that at its recent conference no mention had been made of the economic crisis and scarcely any attention was given to unemployment. He told a long story about how difficult it was for students to get the unemployment benefit, how we are one of the only groups in the community to be means tested before we get it, and how students are rapidly approaching the situation where they can only go to university if they have both a holiday job and parental support.

Labour was represented by Eddie Isbey. He began with a perceptive analysis of unemployment as it affects students; ie he said it affected holiday employment and graduate employment. The jobless were growing in number by 1,000 a week, he suggested, and this did not account for married women and the under 16s. Half of all the unemployed were under 21.



Then it was into party politics. Labour recognised the right to work, he claimed, which is why there was low unemployment under the last government. Labour would "never tolerate using unemployment as an economic weapon," he asserted. That was precisely what National had done and now it had run away with them.

## Labour hamstrung by its track record

Most of the questions went to Isbey. When he claimed New Zealand would have to make a choice between production for profit and production for use people wanted to know what Labour was doing about it. Isbey said that if it was to be the latter choice a great many people would have to be convinced. What was Labour doing to convince them? These things take time, he replied.

Someone restated the theme of Clarke's speech: depressions aren't caused by working people, they are caused by the people who run this country, the big businesses, for unemployment is good for business. But Isbey wasn't going to listen to any marxist theories about how to solve everything tomorrow.

What about Comalco? someone else asked. Bill Rowling had actually attacked Muldoon for not honouring a contract, and had clearly revealed the extent to which Labour was prepared to fight foreign control. Other examples were used, and other fields covered. National's policy of not allowing married women the benefit was bad, but was the Labour restriction to women who had worked a straight year that much better?

By this time Isbey was getting the tensiest bit angry. Why don't you criticise National? he demanded. Why don't we talk about something else, like the Southern Africa Scholarship? But people at the forum weren't very sold on the idea that a real choice was being offered them this November. There wasn't much Isbey had to offer which reassured them.

Simon Wilson

# Youth in modern Singapore

## (Part One)

**General Introduction:** Youth in third world countries has been regarded as in a transient period between the unconcerned days of childhood and the assumption of social responsibilities associated with adulthood. In this period the aspirations of youth differ between urban and rural within the country and between urban youths of different countries, in conformity to social norms. In very competitive societies like S'pore and Tokyo, youths face stress in their struggle for achievement: the emphasis on success is overwhelming and total. Social pressures on these groups have reached peak levels.

Youth, unlike the stereotyped characters perpetuated through films and television, is infinitely complex and diverse in its behaviour. Though the early formative years of childhood provide the background for character development, the individual during his adolescence will start to shun part of his narcissism and learn to relate to others.

At this stage he begins to develop a sense of responsibility and to define for himself a purpose in life. This realm of consciousness widens as he learns about the system of values around him. He starts thinking for himself, but at the same time is extremely vulnerable and open to suggestions and influences from adults, the peer group and media.

Youth's problem, in this period, is a duality in character: the problem of identity-seeking and desire for self-assertiveness juxtaposed with a compulsion to conform.

Confronted with such extreme influences, confusion results but in a competitive developing society such as S'pore, youths have to pretty much put aside confusion and get down to the business of survival. This is done chiefly through adjustment and adaptation of the dominant values and ideals around them and the consequent result is compromise, sometimes rationalization or resignation.

Even student leaders, professing radicalism in their student days, shed their fervour and revolutionary zeal and go about the business of job-hunting like everyone else.

## The Making of a Rugged S'porean Society

S'pore is a fairly congested island, with an area slightly smaller than Lake Taupo and a density of 9,500 persons per square mile. Since its independence in 1965 it has had no natural resources. It became obvious that survival was going to depend on the people and the expertise they had to offer.

Faced with a youthful population (57% under 24), the Lee government decided early that it had to instill in the multiracial society a sense of 'national identity' and a commitment to embark on the road of rapid development which would ensure S'pore's survival as a feasible political and economic entity. Attention was focussed on the S'pore youth, the future of the nation depended on the commitment of the youth and the extent to which it ascribed to the national political philosophy.

The way the Lee government went about this was to make tens of thousands of school children take the pledge of allegiance every schoolday; the national anthem was sung every morning to the raising of the national flag. Schools actively encouraged participation in extra-curricular activities and began offering uniformed groups for student participation.

Compulsory National Service compelled the training of young men full-time for two and a half years in military discipline and practice. All this inculcation was done to suit the development policies ascribed by the government. The Lee Government was responsible for the creation of the 'new society' and the carrot used was the promise of material well-being.

Under this context youth is expected to be smart and obedient; creativity is not encouraged in school or work and deviance is dealt with severely. All sections of adult population take it upon themselves to remind the young of their expected role, to be but a cog in the huge machinery of national development, and to function with precision, in order to ensure that no breakdown of the system occurs.

Today, the Lee government takes pride in proclaiming to the world that Singapore has the highest standard of living in SE Asia and yet the only resource which could be developed was human capacity. A population geared to function as production units of a complex system, however, is bound to pay a price for its successes. This is reflected in the social costs, in terms of environmental pollution, crime, traffic congestion, and a whole array of psychological problems caused by overcrowding, an increasing lack of privacy and cultural conflicts.

The tempo of development once started, continues on ... the desired goals of achievement and affluence through ambition and diligence have to be inculcated into the youth at every stage of his growth. Occasionally, as a conscience-easing exercise, politicians remind youths to 'cultivate a high sense of personal integrity and social responsibility' but necessarily stop short of suggesting how to go about it. How is the young S'porean expected to cultivate such values when the survival factor in competitive society demands aggressive, selfish and exploitative behaviour?

Though the distribution of income is far from fair, with a firmly entrenched privileged few holding key positions, social mobility has been facilitated and an ever increasing number of people are joining the ranks of the middle class. This is the class that benefits most from S'pore's development policies. The young people of this middle class are well-educated compared to their parent's generation, are obedient, accept the standard social norms, and are determined to do their part to perpetuate the current national goals so as to have a safe, secure future for themselves and their children.

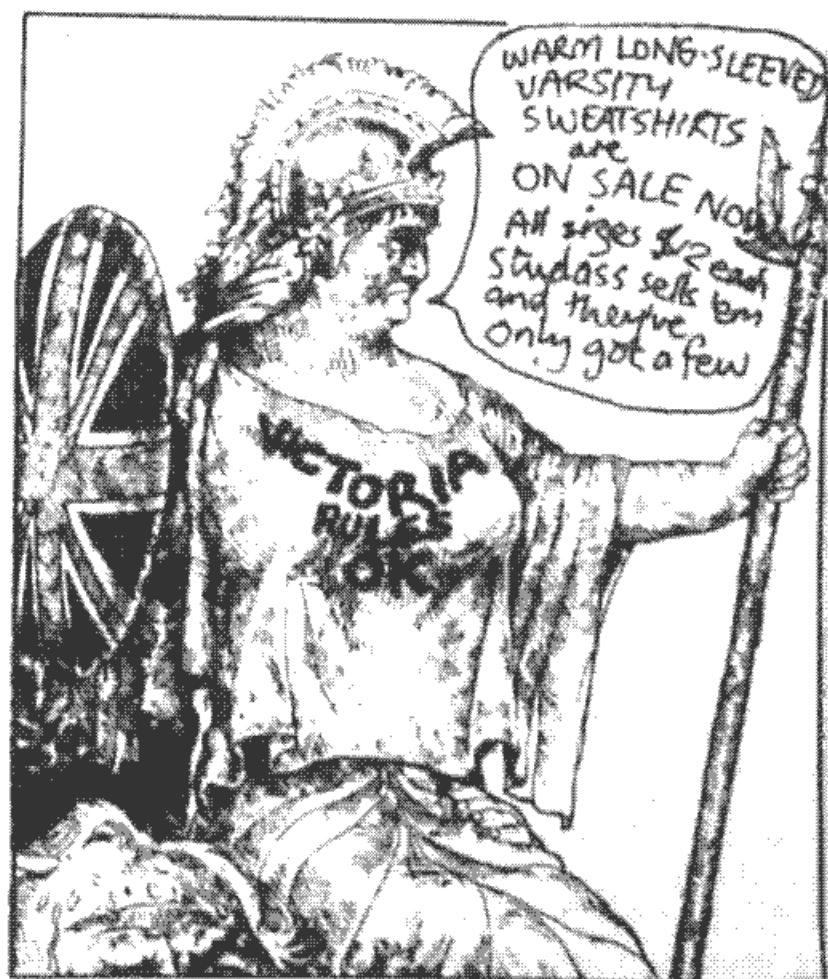
Though far from being unthinking masses, this category of people have learnt to be unquestioning (at least not out loud), preferring to place trust in the government, which, for its part, never fails to remind the citizen that nothing is for free in the struggle of survival in a precarious and tiny island-nation such as S'pore.

This ends the first part of the article adapted from an article written by Nancy Chang in the book 'Questioning Development in SE Asia'.

The reasons why this article is being printed are two-fold:

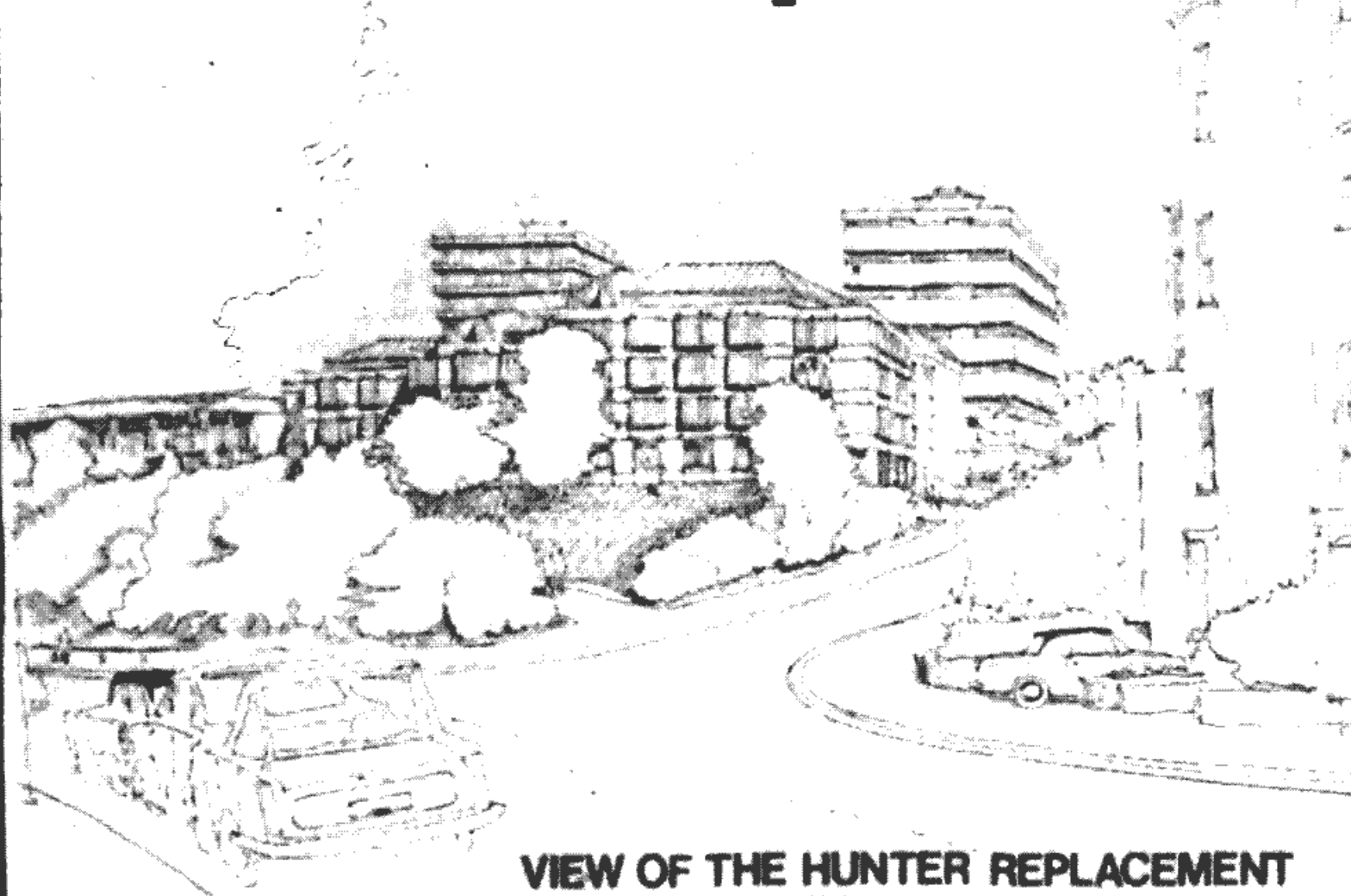
1. To offer a greater insight and evaluation to general readers of the whole system under Lee's government which claims (and has been much acclaimed and backed up by western countries) to have advanced progressively towards building a 'socialist democratic' country.
2. To stimulate the interest of M'sians, S'poreans and others in regard to their preconceived views about S'pore.

(Due to lack of space, the second part will be published in the next issue.)

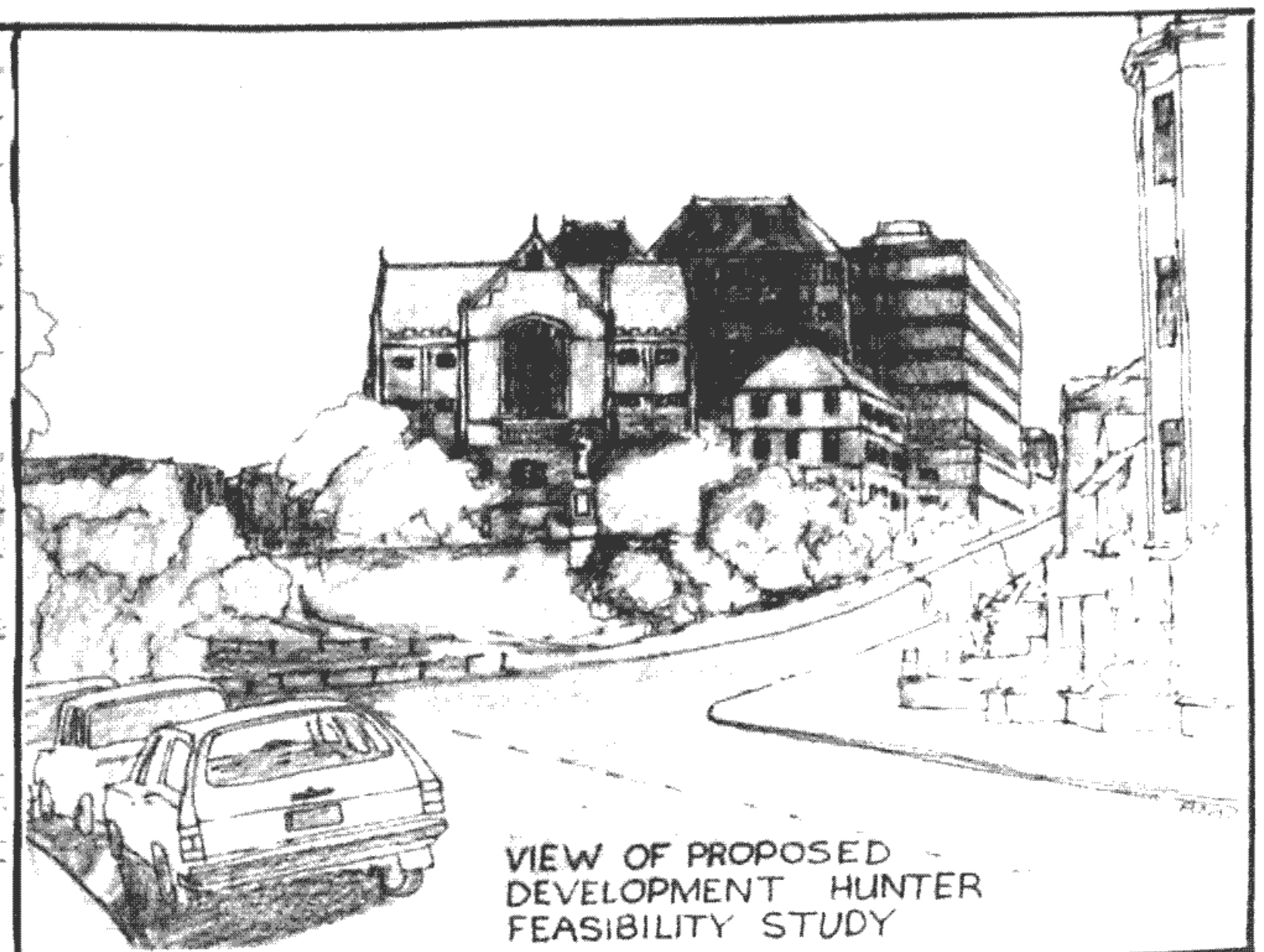




# The other other plan



VIEW OF THE HUNTER REPLACEMENT



VIEW OF PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT HUNTER FEASIBILITY STUDY

## TWO BRIEFS ON HUNTER

Does the university need a focal point, a well-recognised "main entry" for our many visitors? Or is it better to have four main entries, to allow them a choice of where they can get lost from. This is just one of the many considerations necessary when looking at the future development for the Hunter site.

The recent Hunter feasibility study achieved its main purpose and showed we have the knowledge, skill and finance to save the facade, memorial library, and stairwell of the Hunter building while still allowing renovations to the inside of the Old Hunter building so that it functions like any other well designed interior space. This can be done while still meeting all local body structural and constructional by-laws and regulations.

The study gives two methods of saving

the facade of the building. A fine steel wire and concrete mixture (similar to fibre-glass) can be sprayed over the existing brickwork; or a complete new reinforced concrete wall can be built in the cavity of the existing wall.

Both methods rely on the bricks being dry and thus soaking up the damp concrete mixture to create one homogeneous sheer wall. Then the building can be completely rebuilt using the existing facade as a basic element. We would have all the best historic parts of the building combined with completely reconstructed and remodelled interior spaces.

The feasibility study did not solve the problems of the future development of the site; it only gave one idea on how the university's requirements could be catered for.

And what could have been the alternat-

ive? In 1976 the University Council commissioned the University architects (Kingston, Reynolds, Allardyce and Thorn) to present a scheme for the full replacement of Hunter. This scheme proposed the erection of three four storeyed, near cubic, office and small lecture blocks staggered up from the Hunter lawn to the cafe, with a large courtyard stepped over a basement carpark between Robert Stout and the new complex. The total nett floor area of the scheme, as requested by the council, was 5,860 square metres.

One and a half years after the completion of this "Hunter Replacement Study", the "Friends of Hunter" ask for a list of room sizes needed. The university now requires a nett floor area of 8186 square metres, 39.7% more than the last brief, when the roll for the university has only increased by 2% over that period. (refer Table 1)

This increase, coupled with the decrease in possible land coverage, (diagram A) made it very difficult for the Friends of Hunter to present an aesthetically pleasing proposal for the future development of the rear of the site.

Are these blatant increases in space requirements a hint of the capacity of the university planning committee?

Is this extra space the Friends of Hunter were asked to provide really necessary? Surely incomplete planning would tend to discourage the public from taking an active part in the university's development.

How does this increase in the space requirements effect replacement of the Hunter building? There have been two basic arguments for the replacement of the Hunter building.

The first, safety of the occupants under severe earthquake conditions. The technology is now presented, in the Hunter Feasibility Study for the complete structural overhauling of the facade and interior spaces of the building. It could then withstand larger earthquakes, without damage, than other university buildings which were built to comply with older regulations.

The second argument for replacement

was that with the present positioning and shape of the Hunter building the only land left for development is that between New Kirk, the Memorial Library and bounded by the Robert Stout and the Hunter facade (diagram A).

This is why the brief for the future development for the rear of the site is of importance. The Friends of Hunter were to show, in some way, that the future space requirements for the university could fit on the land behind the Hunter building. The Hunter Replacement scheme was able to provide three four storeyed blocks of equal size (diagram B) with a large courtyard and carparking basement on the Kelburn Parade side. The Hunter Feasibility study, with an increase in space required and a decrease in site coverage, was compelled to construct three towers, five, six and seven stories high in addition to the completely remodelled Hunter interior.

Can we not now, treating both schemes as they were intended (as a proposed spring-board for new ideas) take the best parts of both and combine them into a better scheme: the courtyard main entry with basement car parking and lowrise development; the complete interior remodelling of the old Hunter building, and retention of the existing facade, Library and stair well.

We would then have a development which would incorporate a "main gate" while still retaining the only historic link and aesthetically pleasing building the university has. The extra space needed can be accommodated with a small increase in density of the west Kelburn Parade development.

We would then, at last, have a bit of thorough LONG TERM planning from this university giving some thought to aesthetics and history rather than the continued development of grey asphalted courtyards and a maze of rectangular buildings.

Maybe we could even get the Hunter building on the Wellington city council bus sightseeing tour.

Paul Cummack  
Architectural Student

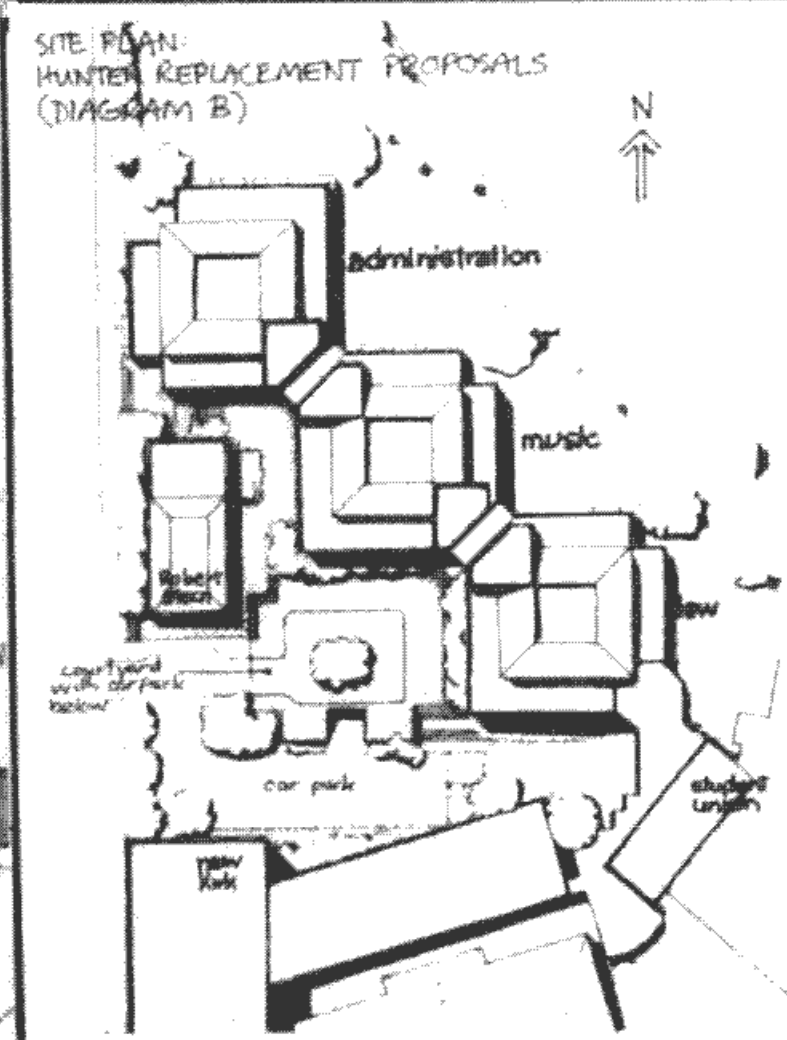
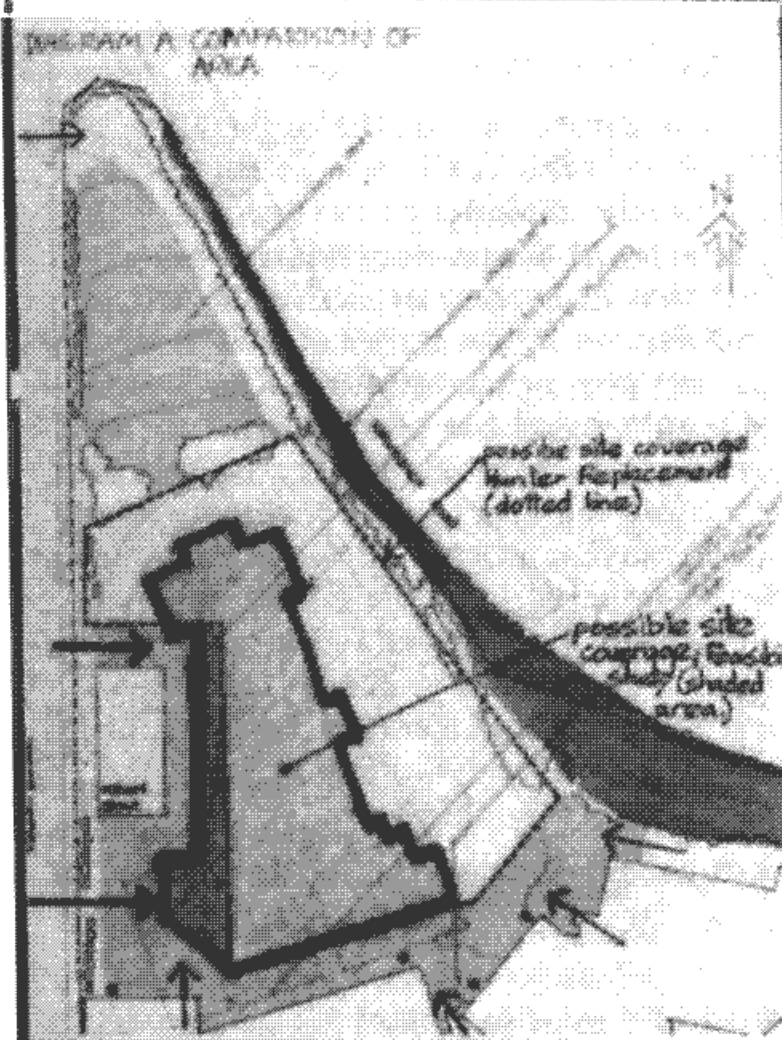
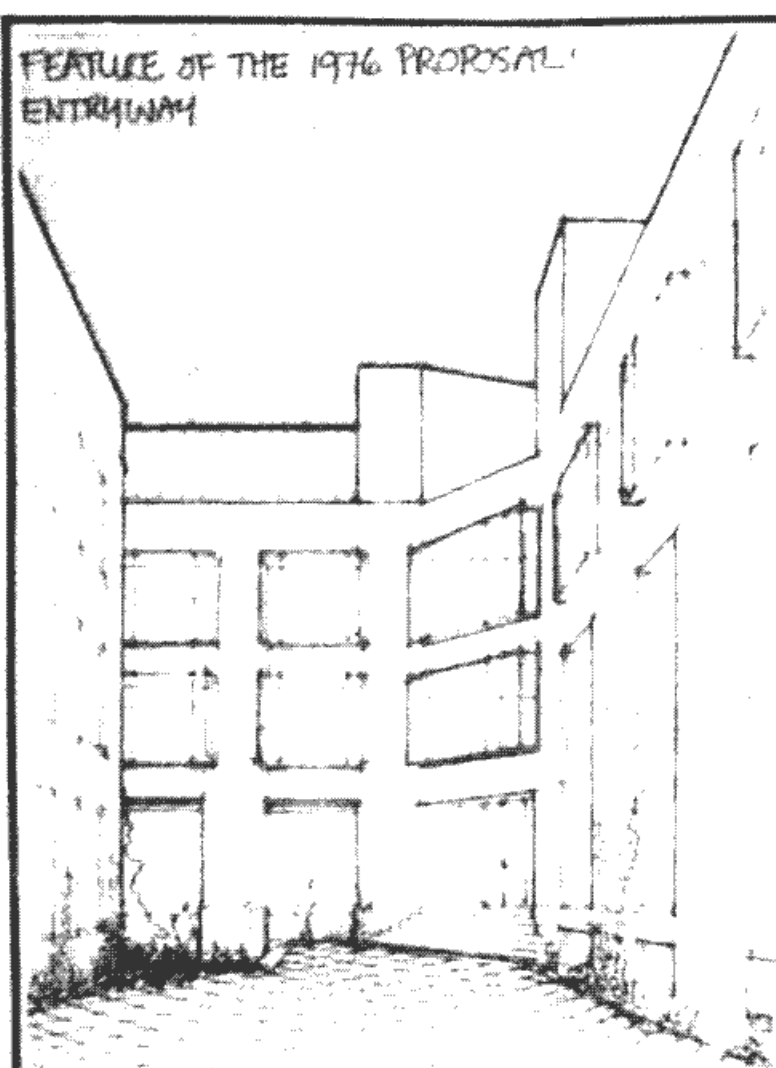


TABLE ONE

Section	Nett Floor Area Required in Brief		
	Hunter Replacement Study 1976 (1)	Hunter Feasibility Study 1978 (2)	Percent Increase
Administration	1858 m <sup>2</sup>	2415 m <sup>2</sup>	30%
University Extensions	560 m <sup>2</sup>	556 m <sup>2</sup>	-ve 1%
Staff Club	650 m <sup>2</sup>	650 m <sup>2</sup>	0
Law Faculty	2500 m <sup>2</sup>	3665 m <sup>2</sup>	47%
Music Faculty	740 m <sup>2</sup>	900 m <sup>2</sup>	22%
Total Scheme	5860 m <sup>2</sup>	8186 m <sup>2</sup>	39.7%
University Roll	6874 people (3)	7013 people (4)	2%

(1) brief of scheme presented to council Sept 1976

(2) brief of scheme presented to Friends of Hunter Feb 1978; 18 months later.

(3) 1976 roll

(4) 1977 roll



# CZECHOSLOVAKIA



## Ten years since the tanks

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA - TEN YEARS OF SOVIET OCCUPATION

80,000 Soviet occupation troops still remain in Czechoslovakia although ten years have passed since the invasion of that country by the Soviet Union and four Warsaw Pact dependencies: Bulgaria, East Germany, Poland and Hungary. The troops were supposed to have been withdrawn when the situation "normalised" but remain as symbols of Russian overlordship.

The invasion started on a night in August 1968 as Warsaw pact tanks, troops and aircraft poured across the border without warning. Taking a leaf out of the American's book they justified their action claiming they had been "invited" by the Czech government. Actually the invasion was not supported by any leading body in the Government or Communist Party. It was the first major concrete manifestation of the brutal "Brezhnev doctrine"; that is, the policy of the Soviet Union as an ascendent, imperialist superpower.

#### The battle for Eastern Europe

The key factor leading to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was the fear of the Soviet ruling class that the policies of the Dubcek grouping would lead to Czechoslovakia being drawn out of its sphere of influence and into closer harmony with US imperialism and West Germany. All the fine words about "defence of socialism" by the Soviets were mere cover for the actions of a great power asserting its hegemony over an important dependency trying to break out of its bondage.

The actions of the Soviet Union in insisting the invasion of Czechoslovakia and continuing to maintain troops of occupation ten years later form part of a pattern of ruthless subjugation of Eastern Europe. It began in the aftermath of World War Two in response to the threat of US-led imperialism.

This pattern has been well described in the booklet *The Superpowers, the Threat of War and the British Working Class* (1).

"Ever since 1945, there has been a fundamental asymmetry between the role of the USA in the West of Europe and that of the Soviet Union in the East. The USA emerged from the Second World War overwhelmingly predominant in the world economy, possessing slightly over half of the world's liberated industrial capacity in its own home territory.

"In the part of Europe it liberated, as also in Britain, it found a social system fundamentally like its own (private monopoly capitalism/bourgeois democracy), which was gravely weakened by war, but could be put back on its feet by injection of US dollars rather than bayonets. (Even in Italy and France, the CPs did not give the Anglo-American liberators too much trouble).

"The economic dependence of West European capitals on the United States allowed massive export of US capital, leading to a consequent flow of surplus-value westwards across the Atlantic, but the United States never had to contemplate using military force against the peoples of

Western Europe to maintain the status quo. Its position vis-a-vis the European bourgeoisies was that of 'first among equals', and the NATO alliance, in particular, never gave the US any direct peacetime command over European forces. The greater wealth of the West European economies, once they were rebuilt with US support (the Marshall plan), also exerted a constant subverting effect on the Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe.

#### The role of the Soviet Union

"The role of the SU in Europe has been fundamentally different. Suffering the most terrible invasion from Nazi Germany, it bore the main brunt of the anti-fascist war in Europe and defeated the aggressors at an immense cost in human life and resources. The Soviet Union could not appear in the countries it liberated as a wealthy benefactor, and yet it was determined that there would be no new imperialist attack from the West.

"The road it chose to ensure this was to forestall US penetration of Eastern Europe with the so-called 'iron curtain', making it clear that the United States would not be able to use its economic power to gain influence in the sphere allotted to the Soviet Union by the Yalta agreement. The US response to this, of course, was to try and reverse the Yalta partition and use the nuclear threat to 'roll back' the Soviet presence in Eastern Europe though it flinched from the all-out war that would have been necessary to achieve this end.

"The concern of the Soviet Union to create a reliable buffer zone between itself and US imperialism was understandable. But the choice that was made, whatever the reasons behind it, meant not relying on the peoples newly liberated from fascism and their common interest with the Soviet Union in rejecting US imperialism and a new war, but relying instead on the military supremacy of the Soviet Army in Eastern Europe to maintain a sphere of influence, even at the cost of provoking major anti-Soviet sentiment among its 100 million people.

#### Great power chauvinism

"The flagrant great-power chauvinism that the Soviet Union exhibited in Eastern Europe, forcibly transforming the social systems of the countries under its sway after its own model, quite irrespective of the interest or sentiment of the working class in those countries, both says something about the nature of Soviet society and the state at this time, and already provided a constituent element of the pattern of social-imperialism ('socialism in words, imperialism in deeds': Lenin) that was to take full shape in the 1960s. And because the Soviet Union could only transform Eastern Europe to its desired social conditions by forcible means, it has ever since played a completely different role vis-a-vis the European people than that of the USA.

"In Western Europe, the economic revival of the 1950s and 1960s, the formation and extension of the EEC and the relative decline in the economic supremacy of the USA, has weakened American control of the West-European countries, which

was exerted from the beginning by economic means. The American burden that Western Europe has to bear can be in no way compared with the burden inflicted by US imperialism on the South American countries, for example, whose economies it fetters, or develops in grotesquely one-sided ways, while enforcing its rule through military juntas that it trains and bribes.

#### Soviet military might

"In Europe it is the Soviet burden that is heavy, while the American burden is relatively light, and far easier to remove altogether. In Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union only maintains regimes allied to its own by sheer military force. In four cases it has had to send tanks against the people of these supposedly independent countries to prevent them from changing their government.

"The same asymmetry applies to any prospective expansion by either of the superpowers of their spheres of influence in Europe. The USA would certainly like to see Eastern Europe opened up to American capital, and undertakes various kinds of subversion in support of anti-Soviet tendencies in the various East European countries that might be favourable to a rapprochement with the Western camp (though with far less vigour now than it did in the 1950s).

"The Soviet Union, however has far less opportunity for 'peaceful' expansion to the West, at least so long as the Atlantic Alliance remains united. Already dependent on its military force to hold down Eastern Europe, it would have to expand in the same terms."

#### Dubcek's "Czech road to socialism"

In January of 1968 when the Dubcek faction in the Czechoslovak Communist Party deposed the ruling Novotny faction Czechoslovakia was suffering under fascist rule by a bureaucratic elite. Far from offering "socialism with a human face" Dubcek and his followers only offered bourgeois democratic reforms.

Following a long period of fascist oppression these new democratic liberties were welcomed by Czech workers. They were also welcomed by large numbers of pro-Western bourgeois and former Nazi elements who were allowed to openly organise as a result of the "Prague Spring" instituted by the Dubcek regime in early 1968.

At the same time as they instituted bourgeois democratic reforms in the political sphere the Dubcekites moved to further entrench capitalism in the economic sphere: control of enterprises in the enterprise themselves, co-ordination by the market, material incentives, control of the means of production and their products in the hands of the privileged elite of managers and technocrats, and widening income differentials.

These internal changes in the economy were matched by a new desire to co-operate with Western imperialism in the form of taking loans and credits as well as the setting up of joint enterprises on Czech territory.

The effect of these changes was to open wide Czechoslovakia to growing Western imperialist political and economic influence.

The Soviets saw these moves as leading to the loss of a key dependency. In these circumstances the doctrine of "limited sovereignty" was born and the invasion took place; the Soviets again demonstrating that their position in Eastern Europe was only maintained by military force.

The Dubcek grouping crumbled in the face of Soviet might. They advised Czechoslovakians to "remain calm" and not to oppose the invasion. Resistance was confined to symbolic acts while the Soviets imposed a new leadership and the bourgeois democratic reforms were withdrawn. Since then Czechoslovakia has remained firmly under Soviet domination.

The Czech people, betrayed by the Dubcek group, continue to oppose Soviet domination, but lack leadership and organisation. Opposition is still confined to symbolic acts such as the sabotaging of the TV broadcast of a major speech by Leonid Brezhnev during his visit to Czechoslovakia earlier this year.

#### A Soviet satellite

Today Czechoslovakia is firmly tied to the Soviet Union. It is totally dependent on the Soviet Union for its oil supplies. When the Soviet Union arbitrarily raised the price of oil to Czechoslovakia following the OPEC rise, Czechoslovakia had to completely alter its five year plan for expanding industrial production.

Through COMECON the Soviet Union exploits Czechoslovakia along with its other East European dependencies. It uses its dominant position to dictate prices to its COMECON "partners". In one case, Hungary, export prices to the Soviet Union went up 15% in 1974 while in the same year prices of Soviet imports jumped 52%.

East European workers are drafted to work on Soviet industrial projects while two-thirds of COMECON investments are made in the Soviet Union. As a result the Soviet Union has grown economically while Eastern Europe has declined. In 1960 the Soviet Union had 69.5% of total COMECON industrial production. In 1970 it had 76%.

#### The Brezhnev era

At the time of the Czech invasion Soviet apologists were quick to spring to the defence of the Warsaw Pact action. Some like the SUP, ignored the fact that they had wholeheartedly supported, only weeks before, the ill-fated "Czech road to socialism". They claimed that the Soviet Union was "defending peace".

Since then, under Brezhnev's leadership, the Soviet Union has decided to "defend peace" on a worldwide basis. They have launched provocations against China, fomented the war which separated Pakistan, masterminded, supplied and payrolled the Cuban takeover of Angola, supplied and payrolled the Cuban mercenaries again in Ethiopia to suppress liberation movements in the Ogaden, Tigre and Eritrea, incited and aided Vietnamese expansionism in Indochina and occupied and conducted military manoeuvres in sovereign territories of both Japan and Norway.

In order to "defend peace" on such a vast scale the Soviet Union has maintained a non-stop pace in expanding its armed forces. In reality the Soviets are no peace-bringers but out and out imperialists, a characterisation that has been proven by the bloody realities of Soviet expansionism in the Brezhnev era.

The anniversary of the subjugation of Czechoslovakia ten years ago this month is a timely reminder of the aggressive character of Soviet imperialism and of the fact that its current offensives in Africa and South East Asia are not new in content but merely the latest manifestations of a policy that has been pursued for well over ten years. The difference is that during those ten years the Indochinese liberation movements have dealt a death blow to US imperialism while Soviet imperialism has grown stronger and more ambitious. The Soviet Union now threatens not just the vassal states of Eastern Europe with its fascist domination, but the peoples of the whole world.

#### James Morgan

1. *The Superpowers, The Threat of War and the British Working Class: Second World Defence pamphlet No.1, February 1976.*



# MALAYSIA 21 years since "independence"

## Introduction

Every August 31st Malaysian embassies throughout the world throw open their doors to host an extravagant National day celebration. This will be the 13th anniversary of the formation of Malaysia and the 21st anniversary of 'independence' granted by her British colonizer. Many Malaysian student organisations in New Zealand and other overseas countries follow suit in glamourizing the occasion, egged on by the Malaysian authorities. Such a display of jingoism, oblivious of its political implications is a sad reflection of apathy. It is time to awake from such blind ignorance, to question and expose these elements harbouring reactionary political motives behind the guise of celebration come loyalty to the nation.

Part 1 of this article is a brief historical account leading to the making of Malaysia. That making was thinly disguised conspiracy and collaboration between the local aristocrats and the British colonialist to suppress the strong anti-colonial and anti-feudal forces of the people of North Kalimantan and Malaya (including Singapore). The second part (to be printed next week) of the article examines what 21 years of 'Merdeka' of 'independence' has brought to the peoples of Malaysia.

## PART 1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

When the fascist Japanese invaded Malaya during the Second World War, the British colonialist fled, tail between its legs. But immediately after the war, this shameless opportunist came back. However the fire of independence was already kindled in the people's war against the Japanese aggressor. Our people's aspirations for national independence was so high and organisationally the anti-colonial movement was so strong that in 1948, the British had to resort to outright military rule to suppress the people's movement. This was the beginning of the so-called Emergency Period which was to last till 1957.

### British atrocity during the Emergency

The stain of brutality and uncountable heinous crimes committed by the British Colonialist during those 10 years will never be washed away from the history of Malaya. However despite military rule, our people fought on with dignity. Two young Indians, Gunapathy and Veerasamy, Chairman and Vice-chairman of the Pan Malayan Federation of Trade Unions, were leaders of the anti-colonial working class movement. Gunapathy was murdered in cold blood while Veerasamy was hanged by the British for allegedly possessing an illegal weapon. (The death sentence for possessing a weapon was reintroduced in 1976 under the Essential Regulations, which resulted in a 14 year boy and many others being charged.)

On a wider scale, even innocent poverty stricken rural folk were not to be spared. In Pusing, 1,000 peasants were fined a total of \$40,000 in January 1951 for refusing to give information regarding the execution of a British planter.

We must not forget that the people who suffered also included members of the armed forces who were conned and coerced to lay down their lives for the British Colonialist. Usman Awang, a well known poet and writer joined the Malayan police at the young age of 18. Later he was to realise his dilemma: for he was hunting down his own people who were fighting for independence.

His brief service with the police force also served as the basis for his later literary works in which he describes the sense-

lessness of the war, and the plight of a policeman. "Voice from the Grave" was one of his satirical poems, exposing the hypocrisy of the Government. The authorities were indifferent to their conditions and safety and the agony suffered by their families, but upon their death would bestow them as 'National Heroes'.

## VOICE FROM THE GRAVE

Mother,  
weep your old tears  
from an older poverty  
I see they offer wreaths  
and lengthy condolences  
most impressive  
over our bloody death

Father,  
no more will you receive the few dollars  
I wrung each month from a wretched pittance  
(my pay; cost of a suit for a minister)  
and my promise of a new attap for the hut -  
forgive me, father - will never be fulfilled

My wife,  
your grief shall not last long  
I hear they are collecting donations  
why such kindness after we are dead  
in life did they ever ask  
about our crowded rooms, our month's pay

Dear children,  
your school uniforms are torn  
you will have to patch them again  
and who will buy your books this year?  
Like your father,  
just dream, dream my children  
if you still possess dreams:  
That you will study at the University

### ii

They talk a lot about my death  
they grieve and get donations  
but they could never spare a piece of land  
no land for us  
except for burial  
(even this, one day they shall think  
how much better to build a factory on it)

They who never noticed us  
today wrinkle up their faces in sorrow  
They who never asked about us  
now write and deliver speeches  
and call us heroes

Dear friend, you and I have died  
for a prosperity not ours  
so the tuans can sleep and dream deep  
so each estate can gather its rubber  
so each mine can pile up its tin  
so each bank can count its profits at leisure  
so each industry can survey its profits in peace  
(for everything not ours for these we die)

Parliament meets with royal speeches  
Rural progress - Prosperity for the people  
and schemes for raising taxes  
of the brilliant finance minister.

Our death is talked of for a while  
then with the gift of a cheque -  
payment for my life - forgotten by all  
except my mother, father, wife  
and beloved children who shall suffer  
all their lives

Today, 30 years later, curfews and emergencies are still being imposed in various areas of the country. Military operations in the jungle continue to increase in number and with them the proportion of innocent lives taken. The Government still pays "homage to the Martyr".

### Independence of Malaya 1957

In 1957, the Malay Peninsula was granted 'independence' by her colonial master. With independence came a new system in politics: 'Parliamentary Democracy'. A group of compradore-bureaucrats were elected to be overseers of the neo-colony.

What has independence brought to the people of Malaysia? The following poem by Usman Awang was written after 'independence'. The picture of rural poverty and hope was painted in the poem. Today, 21 years later, the poem reflects like a mirror the scene we still see in the countryside, despite the superficial prosperity we are meant to believe in.



Troops at the main entrance of the University of Malaya.

## FATHER UTIH

He has one wife - he will embrace her till he dies  
Five children who want to eat every day  
An old hut where an inherited tale is hanging,  
A piece of barren land to cultivate.

The skin of his hands is taut and calloused  
Accustomed to any amount of sweat  
O Father Uti, the meritorious peasant  
But malaria comes hunting,  
Even though he offers a million prayers

And Mother Uti calls the village medicine man  
For magic formulas, curses repeatedly chanted  
The Medicine man with his rewards goes home  
With money and a pullet tied together

In towns the leaders keep shouting  
Of elections and the people's freedom,  
Of thousand-fold prosperity in a sovereign state,  
A golden bridge of prosperity into the  
world hereafter.

When victory brightly shines  
The leaders in cars move forward, their  
chests thrown out.

O, the beloved subjects wave their hands.

Everywhere there are banquets and festivities  
Delicious roast chicken is set before them,  
Chicken from the village were prosperity  
was promised.

Father Uti still waits in prayer  
Where are the leaders going in their limousines?

## Anti-Colonial Movements in the Region after World War 2 BRUNEI

In 1956, the Nationalist Party Ra'ayat was formed by Azahari under the strong influence of the anti-colonial Dutch movement in Indonesia. With backing from the people it immediately launched into a constitutional struggle. Britain was forced to announce the first constitution and the first General Election. In the 1962 August election, Party Ra'ayat won all 55 seats with opposition to the formation of Malaysia as a major part of its manifesto. The British summarily banned the party and arrested its leaders. Azahari retaliated with a spontaneous armed uprising, but it was brutally suppressed and turned into a bloody massacre by the far stronger British forces.

## SARAWAK

The Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP) was formed in 1959 and was strongly backed by the anti-colonial independence movement. The people's opposition to the 'Malaysia' concept was unanimously shown in the hundreds of rallies and demonstrations that were held despite propaganda and rigged referenda (like the Cobbold Commission and the UN assessment). SUPP leaders were thrown into jail and the farcical commission declared the people were in favour of the plan, under the coercion of British armed forces at its door step!

## SINGAPORE

The People's Action Party (PAP) was formed in 1954 to lead the anti-colonial movement. It had enjoyed the support of a wide section of the population, left-wing trade unions and the students to win the election of 1959. Unfortunately, the opportunist lackey Lee Kuan Yew (disguised

as a nationalistic lawyer) had managed to worm his way into the party.

Collaborating with the colonial government he usurped power by having the party leaders arrested. By the end of 1961 when the issue of the Malaysia Plan came to a head there was a major split in PAP and Barisan Socialist was formed to oppose the merger with Malaysia.

PAP had to call a new election by 1963, and with only a one seat majority in Parliament, Lee Kuan Yew knew he had no chance against the Barisan Socialist. So on February 2 1963, Lee Kuan Yew threw 131 of his leading opponents into jail. It is 16 years since the infamous operation 'Cold Store', and some of his opponenets are still languishing in the torture chambers.

Lee Kuan Yew's anxiety to join Malaysia and to retain his power can be seen by the many concessions and the unfair terms Singapore made to enter Malaysia. The 'marriage of convenience' was to last less than two years, enough time for Lee Kuan Yew to establish and entrench a police state.

## INDONESIA

Indonesia was at that time leading the anti-imperialist movement in South Asia through its expulsion of the Dutch Colonialist. Many neighbouring countries were following suit in the struggle. The British and Americans were anxious to isolate Indonesia and keep the independence movements from spreading.

## UNITED KINGDOM

Britain was losing its influence over her vast empire in the far East for several reasons:

1. The destruction of her economy during the Second World War.
2. The strong independence movements in her colonies.
3. Rising US imperialism and its infiltration into the Asian markets.
4. The increasing pro-US tendency of her puppet regimes in these countries. Because of the changing situation Britain was forced into adopting a new strategy, moving from direct control to neo-colonialism, the Malaysia Plan was part of this strategy.

1. Maintain her political, economic and military interest in the region.
2. Pool all her right wing lackeys to control the people's independence movements in these regions.

imperialist movement  
nesia. Also by incor-  
porating North Kalimantan into Malaysia,  
Britain could avoid a direct confrontation  
with Indonesia over the claim of the North  
Kalimantan states.

4. Let the strong racist government of the Malay Peninsula control and oversee the other states.
5. Check the pro-US tendency of her puppet regimes.

Hence, against the wishes of the majority of the people in these regions, a neo-colony 'MALAYSIA' was declared on August 31 1963.



# Zionism in search of an argument

There is an idea floating around this campus that students aren't interested in issues which do not directly affect them. The argument doesn't hold up well if one looks at the attendances at forums and debates on issues of national and international importance. The Middle East debate held late last term was such a case in point, with more people filling the hall than many an SRC.

The debate was jointly organised by the Progressive Students' Alliance and the Jewish Students' Society. The topic, "Do the Palestinians have a right to a homeland?" was argued for by Don Carson, and against by Michael Hirschfeld. The JSS had asked Israeli ambassador Yaakov Morris, but in his usual fashion he declined the invitation to meet Carson in open debate.

## Zionism and Judaism

Carson was first to the microphone. He said that it was his intention to present the historical case for the Palestinian people, but before doing so he defined some terms. "A Palestinian", he said "is a future concept. It refers to someone who will live in a free Palestinian state". He went on to define a Zionist. "A Zionist should not be confused with a Jew. A Jew is a follower of a religious faith. A Zionist however is a Jew who believes that Israel is the Promised Land. To fulfill his commitment to his faith, a Zionist must actually live in Israel."

To further draw the distinction between Zionism and Judaism, Carson claimed that Zionists actually welcomed waves of anti-Semitism when they occurred, as they enabled fresh fuel to be added to the fight for Israel. He quoted from a paper (the authenticity of which was disputed by Hirschfeld) which related how a prominent Zionist had viewed with favour the increased anti-Semitism leading up to the Second World War.

Carson then moved into the debate proper. He explained that the Palestinians claims to their homeland in considerable detail, but for sake of brevity I will include only what I think to be the main points. He spoke first of historical Palestine. "When the Zionists took over Palestine in 1917 they didn't walk into an empty desert there were people living there. Palestine was originally settled around 640AD, and by 1918 about half the population was settled on the land, no longer nomadic." He conceded that Palestine had not existed as a nation during this period, "There have been a constant succession of foreign powers who have controlled the region, including the Turks, the British and currently Washington."

## The "Children of Israel"

Carson then went on to examine "the five main arguments the Zionists have used to justify the existence of Israel". The first justification he looked at was the biblical promise. "But who are the children of Israel?" Carson claimed that in that context the Arabs were also the Children of Israel. But if it meant Jews, he went on, how might one determine who were the Jews that were the Children of Israel? "There is no single factor which determines Jews", he argued, "one cannot point to any characteristic which could be used to recognise all Jews." He went on to say that the Eastern Jews are not descended from Moses, but from Kazad who converted to Judaism in 740. In that sense

he said it is meaningless to talk about the Jews of Eastern Europe having Israel as their historic homeland. "Ultra-orthodox Jews don't support the return to Israel. Judaism is a religion, it has nothing to do with states, much less a state taken and held by force."

## The Balfour Declaration

The second argument which Carson examined was the mandate from the British cabinet contained in the Balfour Declaration. "The Balfour Declaration said that the British Government viewed with favour the creation of a national homeland for the Jewish people". It also said "That nothing should be done to upset the existing population, 92% Arab at the time."

The mandate of the Balfour Declaration must be treated with some reserve, because at the same time as promising the land to the Jews, the British Government had promised it to various other Arab groups as they undertook the carve up of the Ottoman Empire after the War. "During this period the Arabs were concerned about the Jews taking over their homeland, however they did allow them in as refugees. Now we are told that even the Arabs let the Jews into Israel!"

## The UN resolution

"The third mandate often quoted is the UN resolution". By this time the number of Jews migrating to Israel had risen to such proportions as to threaten the Arabs, so the matter was debated in the General Assembly. In the debate the Arabs claimed that they had the right to all the land of Palestine, while the Zionists said they would accept only part of the land. "So the Zionists accepted part of the land when in fact they had no right to any of it. The arguments of the Zionists must in any case be seen as merely tactical moves, because as soon as the British had withdrawn the Jews took over about 77% of the land. The first exodus of over 400,000 Palestinians took place."

## Zionist terrorism

This brought Carson to the fourth mandate the Zionists use, that the Palestinians left. "It is not surprising that they left in view of the amount of terrorist activity directed against them." He detailed, as an example of this terrorist activity the massacre at Dier Yasin, for which the Israeli Prime Minister, Menachem Begin was responsible. "The Zionist leaders of the time believed that immediate preventive war against the Arabs was necessary".

One argument often put up for the Arabs leaving was that there were repeated requests from the Arab leaders for their people to leave Israel broadcast over the radio. Carson stated that the British army, which had monitored all broadcasts in Palestine at the time, had no evidence to back the Zionist claim. "There is no primary evidence that the Arabs left of their own free will. There is no reason why they should."

## Military might

The last mandate that Carson mentioned was of a rather different character. "The justification of brute force and military might". If this is to be an acceptable criterion for justifying the creation of a national state, then Israel's existence is certainly justified. "Israel has been the greatest recipient of US military aid except for South Vietnam and South Korea. It currently

receives 46% of all American overseas aid."

Carson finished his opening address with a few remarks about the nature of the Israeli state. He quoted Yaakov Morris' "Israel has never been the homeland of the Palestinians, it has always been the homeland of the Jews", and Golda Meir's "There is no such thing as Palestine". We were told of the 3000 political prisoners in Israel. Opposition towards Israel's expansionist policies on the West Bank: "only one member of the United Nations voted in favour of the settlements on the West Bank of the Jordan, even the United States wouldn't support them on that one."

Regarding the morality of the Israeli leaders he said, "Israel is now a major exporter of arms; most of these exports go to South Africa, a country which has made enormous investments in Israel. The Israeli government has encouraged these investments to such an extent that they now involve some \$80m, excluding arms." Carson finished by saying "My statements may be partisan echoes of the PLO, but I've been making them for some time now and no-one has pointed out any errors yet."

## The other side begins

I expect that I will be accused of biased reporting of this debate as Mr Carson's arguments have been presented in greater detail than Mr Hirschfeld's will be. Not that the latter spoke for any lesser an amount of time, but rather that much of what he said had little bearing on the topic for discussion. It is certainly proper to attack the claims of other speakers, that is what debating is all about. Hirschfeld went further than that however.

He spent much time pointing out errors and inaccuracies in various articles which have appeared in Salient from time to time, although none of the articles he referred to had been written by Carson. He spent a long time rubbing Carson for mistakes he was supposed to have made in previous debates. This went on for so long that it appeared he was indulging in a character assassination campaign, directed not only at Carson, but at anyone who had had the temerity to question in public the Zionist position.

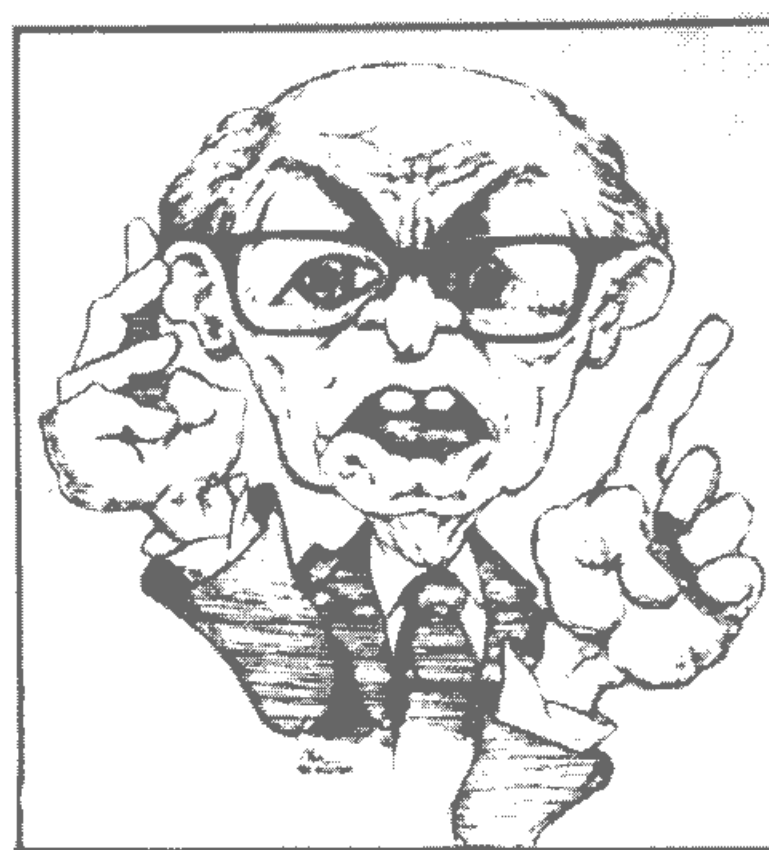
The Zionist position is also harder to report on, as unlike Carson, Hirschfeld did not methodically run through his arguments, but jumped around the place, speaking in terms of isolated incidents rather than considering the general picture. By sifting the fragments into some sort of order, it seems Hirschfeld's argument went something like this.

Concerning the trade relationships between South Africa and Israel he said, "New Zealand also has contact with South Africa, we do not for that reason deny New Zealand the right to statehood." With regard to Carson's comments on the views of the ultra-orthodox Jews he said, "ultra-orthodox Jews comprise less than 1% of the Israeli population."

## Missing the point

Here and right throughout the debate, Hirschfeld seemed to completely miss the point of Carson's statements. Obviously the South Africa connection does not of its own accord deny Israel the right to exist. The comment was to illustrate what Carson feels are some of the undesirable attitudes of the Israeli government.

The context in which Carson made his obser-



ations of the attitude of orthodox Jews was one of examining the biblical justification for Israel's existence. If scholars of Judaism reject the idea of a mandate for Israel from biblical times, then it may not be a valid argument. I find it hard to believe that Hirschfeld was unable to grasp these points. In the light of his continual missing of the point, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that he was deliberately avoiding the issue.

He quoted Elridge Cleaver as saying that the Arabs were as racist as the Jews (although what this was meant to show, I don't know). "There are presently 1/2 million Arab Israeli citizens" ("and how many Palestinian refugees?" someone asked). Carson's claim that Zionist agents were dispatched to burn a synagogue to increase the appearance of anti-Semitism, is a total lie" (as no-one produced any evidence for either claim, you can take your pick as to who to believe).

He thought it relevant however to tell us that "Iraq recently executed 12 Jews in front of TV cameras". From this single action we were asked to form two conclusions. Firstly that because Jews were executed, the PLO sympathisers would stop at nothing to murder innocent Jews (no-one was able to tell us what the dead dozen had been charged with). Secondly that the other Arab states were not democratic, secular or free (a point repeatedly made). It is a moot point just how much one can rely on single incidents to characterise the actions of a group: atrocities have been committed on both sides.

Returning at last to answer the points Carson had made, Hirschfeld said that prior to 1917 70% of the land was owned by the Turks and the British. As Carson had already conceded that Palestine had been dominated by foreign powers from time immemorial, it is hard to see what point Hirschfeld was trying to make from this.

## Another non-sequitur

Carson had claimed that in the six months after the end of the British mandate the Zionists had driven out the Palestinians. Hirschfeld replied that "The day the British mandate to Palestine ended, the massed forces of the Egyptian, Iraqi and Jordanian armies moved into Palestine". From the day of its creation the state of Israel has been fighting for its survival. Again a non-sequitur, for the state of Israel has no right to exist, then it certainly has no right to fight for its survival. Contrary to expectations no justifications for Israel's existence were produced.

Then it was back to tit-for-tat. Carson had made a mistake over some of his dates, and this fundamental contradiction, which negated Carson's entire argument, was exploited to the full. "The French have supported the Arabs in weaponry in much the same way as the Americans have supported Israel".

"Do the Palestinians have a right to a homeland?" At last, I sigh, finally after all this hedging the truth is going to come out. "The Palestinians are a people, and as such have their rights." "Israel is not ready to make peace yet but Begin is kindling it." Unfortunately he did not make it clear whether this homeland the PLO Palestinians were entitled to was the same one the Jews were entitled to.

Going straight to the heart of the issue, Hirschfeld started to discuss the PLO. "The PLO recently executed two people who were guilty of the crime of suggesting discussions with the Israeli Government." "The PLO, in its charter is committed to the destruction of Israel through armed struggle."

I am sure that supporters of Israel will feel that I have not done Hirschfeld's arguments justice. It may well be so. However I find it very difficult to produce a balanced report of a debate in which one of the speakers delved persistently into irrelevencies, avoided the issues and very rarely even spoke to the topic he was meant to be discussing. While Carson put quite clearly the case for the Palestinians, Hirschfeld failed to justify the position of his "side". Is this because there is no justification for it?

Peter Beach



Prison for Palestinian Arabs in Israel



# SRC

## Motions of the SRC, 9 August 1978

Moved: Wilson/Morris

That this SRC condemns the Government's decision to ban private students from Southern Africa from taking part in political activities and further that this SRC treats it as an infringement on Civil Liberties; and that a telegram be sent to the Minister of Immigration and the Minister of Education and also the Leader of the Opposition informing them of this decision.

The following elections were held:  
Commerce Faculty Rep. - D. Elliott  
Committee on Open Day of the Southern Extensions to the Rec Centre - K. Callinicos  
Catering Sub-Committee - A. Tees

Moved: Burke/Naylor:

That VUWSA agrees to the establishment of the NZ Students' Arts Council's Reserve Fund and authorises the payment of 25c per student to the Reserve Fund.

Moved: Brown/McHugh

That VUWSA urges NZUSA to present submissions to the forthcoming Royal Commission on Maori Land.

Moved: Murray/Gavriel

That VUWSA condemns the proposed amendments to the Misuse of Drugs Act 1975 on the grounds that they are an infringement of civil liberties and that the guilty until proven innocent nature of this Act represents the antithesis of the fundamental premises upon which New Zealand's judicial system is based.

Moved: Gavriel/C Norman

That a telegram be sent by VUWSA to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Health conveying the sentiments expressed in the above motion and also requesting the institution of a programme of decriminalisation, aimed at legalisation of the possession and cultivation of marijuana for personal use.

Moved: P Norman/Treen

That this SRC recommends to the Executive that the NZUSA levy be raised up to \$3.00.

Moved: Wilson/Robinson

That VUWSA opposes any moves to place student teachers on the standard tertiary bursary, in the belief that any such moves would not assist the achievement of this Association's policy, and further that all students should receive a living allowance rather than an inadequate grant-in-aid. The motion was put and carried.

Moved: Norman/Holden

That VUWSA urges NZUSA to make submissions to the Interdepartmental Committee and the Minister for the Environment on the proposals for a new West Coast National Park, supporting the establishment of the Paparoa Park and the inclusion of "Okariko" into the existing park structure.

Moved: Norman/Holden

That VUWSA urges NZUSA to make submissions to the Commission and Minister for the Environment, calling for the establishment of the commission for the Environment as a separate independent non-ministerial body.

Moved: O'Brien/O'Connor

That all Executive members wear academic gowns as a mark of their dignified status with little badges with their names on them. An amendment was moved:

Moved Sainsbury/Thompson

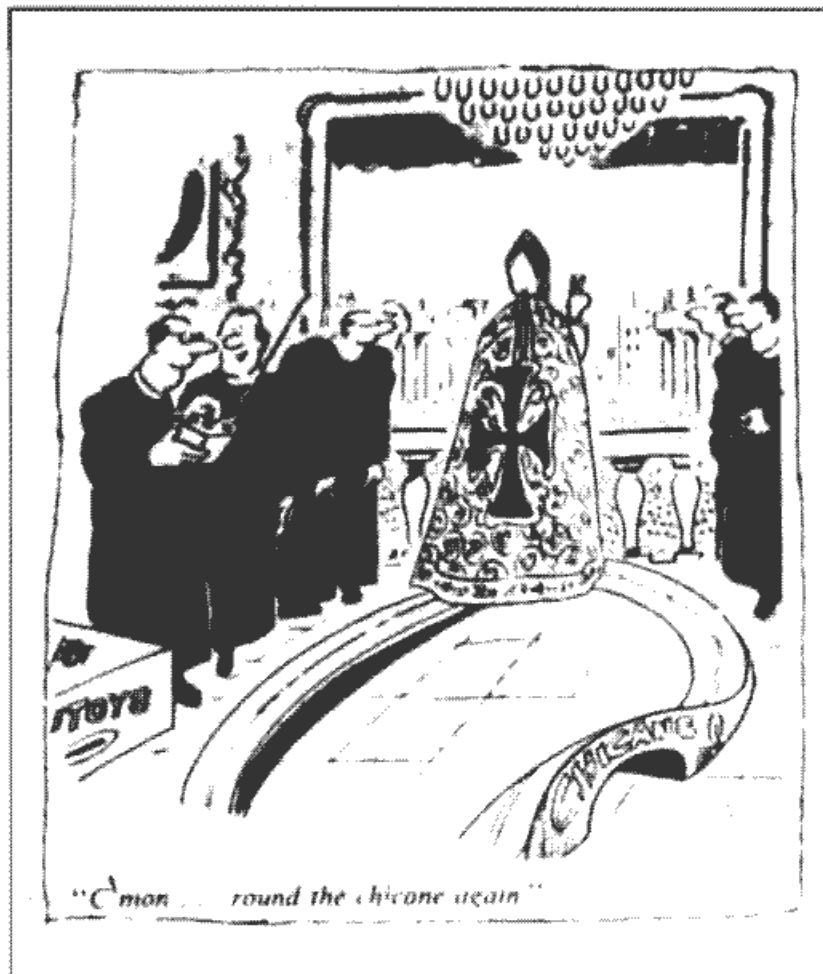
That not only should the above motion apply to Executive members, but also to Messrs Murray, Tees, Treen and Norman, who should be made honorary Executive members in view of all the good work they have done for this Association.

The amendment was put and carried ( dissent: J Heberton)

S Wilson suggested that the motion should be amended to include the following: That all Executive members be made to wear gold lame suits and that they be required to walk on six foot stilts as a mark of their dignified status.

With the leave of the meeting this was incorporated into the motion.

# EDITORS WANTED



## HANDBOOK 1979

The greatest competition since the Commonwealth Games has started: the race to win the editorship of the 1979 Handbook. As editorial experience is not essential the shirkers who failed to work on Salient this year may enter the race, but the Selection Committee (the Publications Board) anticipate that the applicants would have reasonable competence in magazine layout and familiarity with university life.

The lucky winner is expected to produce a dramatic masterpiece which will contain information of inestimable value to both new and returning students. As these guidelines are fairly wide it is asked that applicants provide a written curriculum vitae detailing their proposals for the content and presentation of the handbook.

S/he who is granted permission to mount the victory dias will receive a gold medal, redeemable at the Students' Association Office to the value of \$250, and a blank cheque which will bounce if they attempt to draw more than \$300 from the account. The Board envisages that this latter sum will be sufficient for working expenses (typesetters wages, technical supplies, etc).

Applications close on Wednesday 6th

September at 5.30 pm, at the meeting of the Publications Board where the appointment (and disappointments) will be made. It is expected that all applicants will attend this meeting.

## SALIENT 1979

The Masochists' Association has pleasure in announcing that the highpoint of their year has arrived. Yes, applications are open for the editor of Salient 1979. While anyone may apply, the MA warns that only confirmed masochists who enjoy 26 weeks of solid abuse, look forward to working through Thursday nights without sleep, delight in seeing their names slandered in the letters column each week and their sexual deviations exposed in lurid details on the toilet walls, will be able to withstand the pressure.

The Publications Board invite all persons who don't mind starving on \$46 pw (from 2 weeks before the first issue to 1 week after the last) to put their left foot forward, before 13 September 1978, 12 noon when nominations close. At this time the applicants are required to present themselves for scrutiny and self-criticism to the Board, where the appointment will be made. Applicants are required to present a written curriculum vitae detailing their proposals for the paper.

# BREAST CANCER

## 8 Points toward peace of mind

**BREAST CANCER IS A FACT** none of us can ignore but, with regular self examination, you can save yourself a lot of worry maybe even your life.

**BECAUSE BREAST CANCER IS CURABLE** in its early stages, your best protection is early detection

**FOLLOW THIS SIMPLE SELF EXAMINATION TECHNIQUE ONCE A MONTH**, before and after the change of life, it's your surety of peace of mind.

The best time to examine your breasts is a few days after menstruation, when congestion of the breasts associated with menstrual periods has ceased. The object of self examination is to detect a single isolated lump. Multiple lumpiness is seldom significant, but one part of your breast definitely different from the rest may be important.

After the menopause, this examination should be made on the 1st of each calendar month and continued indefinitely. It is just as important at 75 as it is when younger.

1. (a) Remove all clothing to the waist. Sit in front of a mirror giving view of entire chest. Place arms at sides and relax. Examine each breast thoroughly for any change in size, shape or contour. Note any bulge, swelling, puckering or dimpling. Examine nipples for bleeding, discharge, retraction or difference in height from other nipple.
- (b) Repeat all these observations with arms over head.
2. To examine the left breast, lie flat on bed and place a small pillow under left shoulder. Bring left arm to side. Relax. Using the flats (not the tips) of the fingers of the right hand, carefully feel the tissues which extend well into armpit areas.
3. Working downward in successive horizontal lines, carefully feel the upper, outer quadrant of the breast, coming in as far as the nipple line.
4. Now go over the lower quadrant of the outer half of the breast, feeling, still with the flats of the fingers, in successive horizontal lines from the outer margin of the breast as far inward as the nipple line.
5. With pillow still in position, raise the arm over the head and rest the hand beneath the head. Relax. This spreads and thins the breast tissues better for the remaining examination.
6. Still using flats of fingers, and beginning at breastbone, gently press tissue of inner half of breast against chest wall, moving in a series of steps from breastbone to middle line of breast and in a series of horizontal steps downward as far as the nipple.
7. At this point, carefully feel the nipple area and the tissues lying beneath it, still with flats of fingers. Get used to the feel of normal tissues, but note any lumps.
8. Complete examination of inner half from nipple downward. Along the lower margin of breast you may find a ridge of firm tissue, which is normal.

**NOW REPEAT THESE EIGHT STEPS FOR THE RIGHT BREAST, PLACING THE PILLOW UNDER RIGHT SHOULDER.**

For further educational information contact your local division of the  
**CANCER SOCIETY OF NEW ZEALAND INC.**

**WHO TO CONTACT... DIVISIONS**

**AUCKLAND** P.O. Box 1724, Auckland  
Phone 540-023

**WAIKATO/BAY OF PLENTY** P.O. Box 134,  
Hamilton. Phone 80-638

**CENTRAL DISTRICTS** P.O. Box 142,  
Palmerston North. Phone 72-149 or 70-635

**WELLINGTON** P.O. Box 11-125, Wellington  
Phone 726-876

**CANTERBURY/WESTLAND** P.O. Box 373,  
Christchurch. Phone 65-864 or 5132 Sumner

**OTAGO/SOUTHLAND** P.O. Box 1245,  
Dunedin. Phone 77-042 or 43-857

FIVE MINUTE FILM ON EXAMINATION TECHNIQUES  
SHOWING ALL THIS WEEK BEFORE THE MAIN UNION  
FEATURE. DON'T MISS IT.



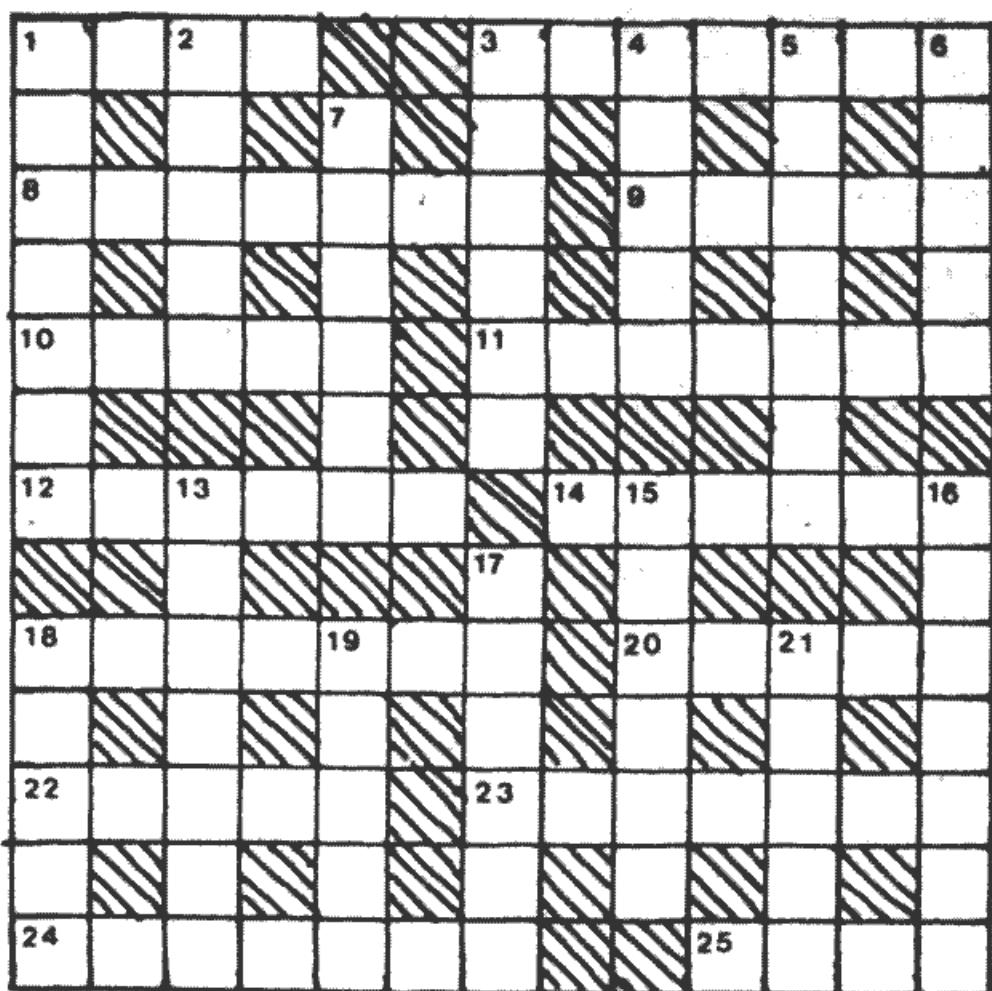
# Crossword

## ACROSS

1. Monarch
3. Crevice
8. Dairy food
9. Command
10. Rank
11. Ingredient
12. Stockings
14. Christmas decoration
18. Quite a few
20. Of charged particles
22. Healed
23. Eminent
24. Irish dogs
25. Extremely

## DOWN

1. Superman's home planet
2. Thing (anag)
3. Chain
4. Part of a wheel
5. Strip
6. Wading bird
7. Large bowl
13. Young hare
15. Imbeciles
16. Lasciviousness
17. Sides
18. Footwear
19. Spur
21. A peer



## SOLUTIONS TO LAST WEEK'S CROSSWORD:

ACROSS: 1. Massey 4. Kissed 7. Remainder  
9. Ewer 10. Zero 11. Knelt 13. Precis  
14. Yelled 15. Priest 17. Slings 19. Kitty  
20. Bans 22. Isle 23. Steam-bath 24. Corpse  
25. Enmesh

DOWN: 1. Makeup 2. Seer 3. Years 4. Kindly  
5. Suez 6. Devoid 7. Redesigns 8. Replenish  
11. Kiosk 12. Telly 15. Public 16. Tirade  
17. Stable 18. Sleuth 21. Step 22. Item

# Chess

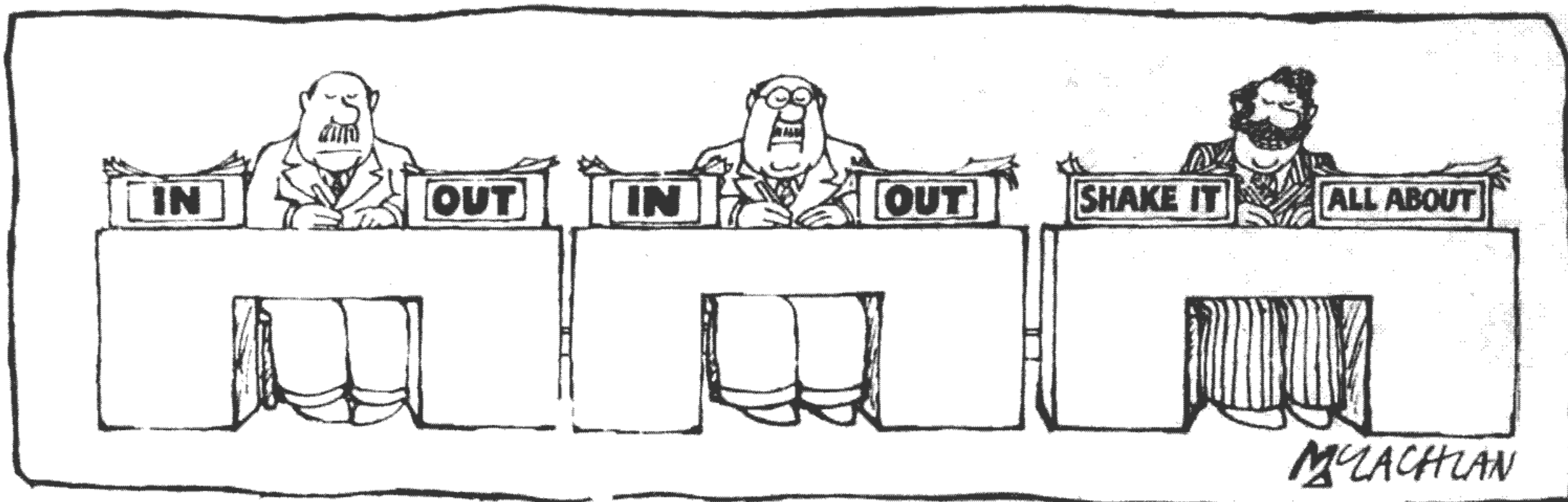
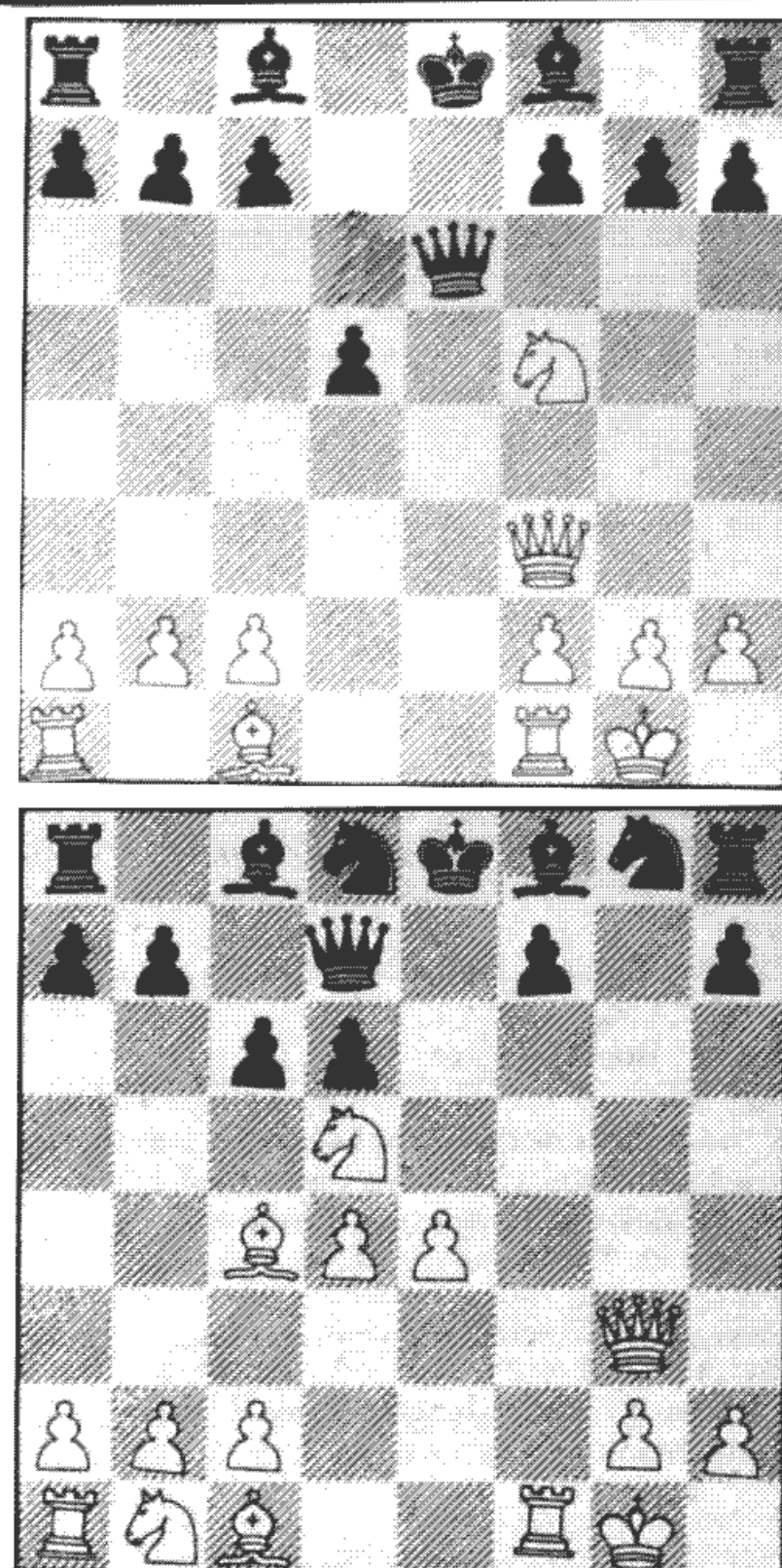
As is well known Universities are places where vigorous, inquiring intellects are engaged in uncompromising pursuit of truth, ruthlessly rejecting any ossified dogma they might encounter en route. This predisposition towards iconoclasm might be expected to manifest itself in a disinclination by chess playing students to heedlessly follow general principles such as the hoary old injunction to develop one's pieces as rapidly as possible. Law student Peter Hawkes however demonstrates in this week's position that a judicious observance of these principles can reap rich rewards. Playing against Max Wigbout in the Wellington Interclub Tournament Peter had established a commanding lead in development and proceeded to vigorously realize his advantage with 1. Bg5! (threatening to win the queen with 2. Re1) Qf5; 2. Rf1 ch., Be7; 3. Re7 ch., Kf8; Qa3! (threatening a devastating discovered check from which there is no escape) Be6; 5. Re8 ch. and Black resigned.

## CURIOUS CONTINUATIONS (Sponsored by Paramount and Penthouse Cinemas)

In this week's problem White is to play and gain a decisive material advantage. Solutions should be handed in at the Salient office by mid-day Wednesday. The first correct solution drawn out of a hat wins the prize of a double pass to either the Paramount or Penthouse cinemas.

The solution to last week's problem was 1. Qc6ch., bc6; 2. Ba6 mate. Last week's winner was G. Carter. Tickets can be picked up from the Salient office.

David Beach



Chris Mackay  
Representative for  
**NATIONAL MUTUAL.**  
  
Live life with  
**ASSURANCE**  
  
Phone 738-670 (Bus)  
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## DOWNSTAGE THEATRE

**THE MERCHANT OF VENICE**  
Scenes of Flesh and Gold

First production of "Fancy's Child":  
a festival of Shakespeare.

"The most brilliant Merchant you  
may ever see" (Bruce Mason,  
Dominion).

**SHAKESPEARE THE SADIST**  
Late night in Halfway Up  
Midnight start Thursday, Friday,  
Saturday. Not for the faint hearted.

**ROMEO AND JULIET**  
A Youth Theatre Production  
Begins next week for one week only.

THIS MAN NEVER JOINED  
THE PROGRESSIVE STUDENT ALLIANCE



# Tenants strike back

## TENANCY BATTLE IN THE US

In a recent issue of Salient an article was published giving a basic outline of Wellington Tenants Union. A group that is struggling for fair rights for tenants. To see what can be done by having unity among tenants it would be a good idea to show what is being achieved by other tenants unions. One union is based in Somerville, Mass. USA, and the article that follows is about the problems faced by Portuguese immigrant workers and their battle with a well known slumlord, Frank Privitera. It was published in a recent edition of the 'Free Press'.

How could we have thought that a landlord renting an apartment would maintain it and keep it free of sanitary code violations? In our building (Privitera's Vinal-Highland Building) there has never been a token attempt at maintenance, let alone compliance with the minimum Housing Standards. We all work hard here to earn money to pay the rent. Privitera works not at all, yet collects all the money. After months of being taken advantage of, we decided to strike back. So, year after year, we have had to use our right to rent strike in order to force Privitera to make repairs in our buildings.

At one time or another every tenant in the building had called Privitera's office for repairs. Unfortunately our requests fell on deaf ears. As we talked, we each began to realize that other tenants in the building had similar problems. We decided to have a meeting and compare experiences and decide what we could do together.

As a result of our meeting we all applied for inspections from the Somerville Board

of Health. We knew that under the new State Health Code, inspectors must make full inspections - not just look at the problem for which they were called. Also tenants are supposed to receive a copy of the inspection results right away. The inspection of our building was incomplete; it included only the violations we reported.

Since we all were seasoned from our battles against Privitera, we gave each other the energy to fight further. We appealed to the State Department of Public Health for review of the violations and to the local Somerville Health Department Director for a hearing.

In preparation for the hearing, we compiled a list of all conditions which we felt were in violation of the Sanitary Code. At the hearing we presented this list to the Board of Directors of the Somerville Health Department and an official from the Department of Public Health. Our work paid off - our entire list of over 70 violations was certified below the minimum standards of human habitation!

In addition to the Board of Health inspection, we have requested inspections from the Building, Plumbing and Fire Departments. We also went on rent strike, and have applied to the Rent Control Board for rent abatements because of the violations we were forced to live with.

Each time we have fought with Privitera, we have become more unified. We all come to realize that if we were not organized, we would get nowhere. The battle is not over. We have to stick together to make sure these violations get repaired and repaired well.

# JOURNEY TO THE CENTRE OF THE I

the emergence of a new age consciousness  
by Terry Sands. Foreword by Indra Devi.

**What is described in this book is not  
fiction . . . It actually happened.  
MAYBE IT'S HAPPENING TO YOU?**

Published by:

**THE INNER LIGHT FOUNDATION PRESS**  
P.O. BOX 7108 PALM. NORTH.



# Salient notes

Announcing the Salient staff in an orderly manner:

Editor: Simon Wilson

Technical Editor: vacant

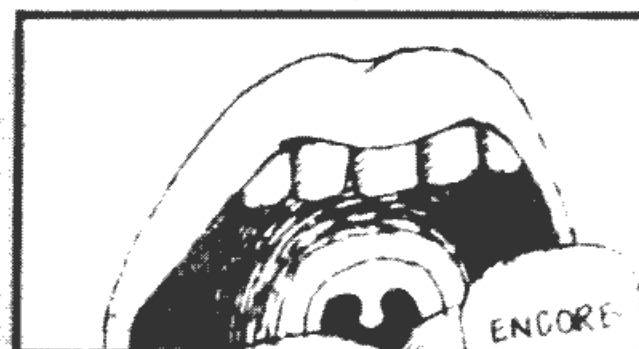
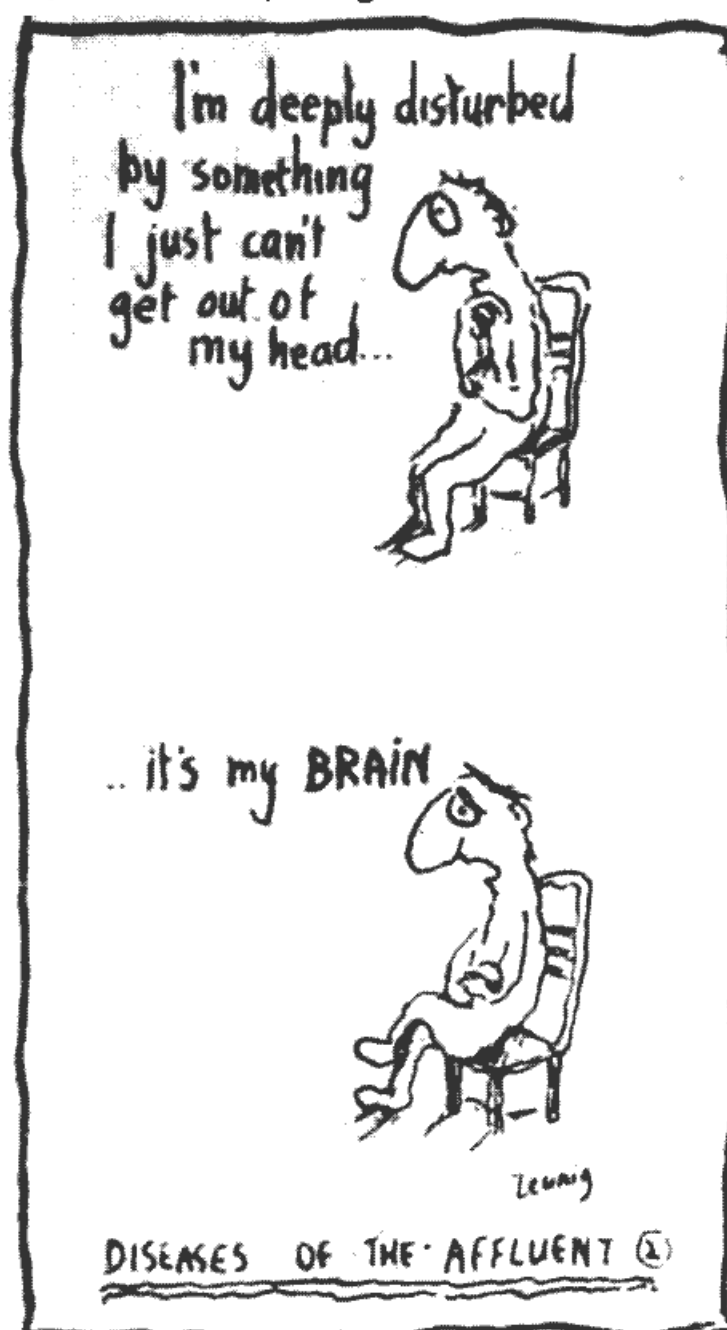
Advertising Manager: vacant

Typesetter Operator: vacant  
(though many thanks to Victoria Kennedy and Peter Beach who did most of this issue).

Chief persons of great personal sacrifice and undying commitment during the holiday period when everyone else is away enjoying themselves: Peter Beach and Lorraine Robinson

Staff: Lamorna Rogers, Jim Brown, Helen Aikman, Geoff Adams, Debbie Montgomery, Martha Coleman, Karen Lyness, David Murray.

Salient is published by the Victoria University of Wellington Students' Association and printed by Wanganui Newspapers Ltd., Drews Avenue, Wanganui.



## OSO speaks!

### The Overseas Students' Officer reports:

As most of you realized, there must be something in the winds or I wouldn't be reporting. There is good news and bad news. The good first: NOSAC will be having (drum roll....) a NOSAC Activities Week from 30th August to 2nd September. Tentatively, we will have Sports between local students and overseas students, a forum on the Third World, hopefully, with speakers from CORSO and World Vision, Get-togethers (they should be fun) and a slide show attempting to get local and overseas students to mix in an atmosphere of goodwill. Also a debate between overseas and local students, not forgetting a food fair to end the week.

This is an ambitious programme, its success depends solely on the response of participants and the general students, that means YOU. If you feel that you can contribute in any way, such as the food fair, or the get-together, don't hesitate to contact me (ask for Victor, ph 758-099) or your own students' clubs representatives. Programmes for the Week's Activities will be given out later.

Now, for the grim news. The Labour department has decided to implement a new regulation concerning ALL overseas students:

At a recent meeting of the Interdepartmental Committee on Private Overseas Student Policy it was decided that overseas students should not be granted extensions to their Student Permits solely for the purpose of enabling them to attend graduation ceremonies. This will bring private students into line with Government sponsored students who are also required to return home shortly

## NOTICES

### UNCLAIMED LOST PROPERTY

Enquiries should be made to the main desk for the following items of property found in the Library and remaining unclaimed at the end of July.

one sacking carry bag  
one comb  
one jacket  
two scarves  
one corduroy jacket  
two pencil cases  
three calculators  
one umbrella  
three combs  
one cigarette lighter  
one bookmark  
assortment of keys  
one glove  
one appointment diary  
one parka  
two change purses  
one handkerchief  
a sum of money  
one leather glove  
one earring  
one soft-cover notebook  
one watch  
one pen

ALSO: assorted lecture notes and folders, miscellaneous books, periodicals.

### MSA BALL

Don't miss the MSA's Annual Ball this Saturday 2nd September, Union Hall, 7.30pm. \$5 per ticket, available from any committee member. Limited door sales: you better hurry!

### DEPTROMLANGSITALISSIMO

The Italian Brigades are aiming their last two shows of the year straight at YOUR kneecaps:

### PRECIPITEVOLISSIMEVOLMENTE

pasta: A live farce 'Non tutti i ladri vengono per nuocere', billed as a real dag (uno stupendo dago) with semiotic sub-titles for anglophones.

DRAMA HOUSE (93 K.P.):

Tuesday 5th Sept. 8.00pm,  
Wednesday 6th Sept. 12 noon

pianza: DANTE'S 'INFERNO' in the MEMORIAL THEATRE on Wednesday 13th Sept. 12.15pm a Happening: Hell is cheap (facilis accessus: 50c), visual (eg you name it), sonic (eg Gary Brain on percussion.)

What could be more relevant to your third term?

Trip with Dante!

### RADIO ACTIVE

In the air  
all this week  
Weekdays: 7am - 12 midnight  
Weekends: 10am - 12 midnight

ON YOUR RADIO, 1260kHz.

after the completion of their courses. This decision affects all students except those who complete their qualifications in the minimum time or the minimum time plus one year and are granted extensions to their student permits to gain practical experiences.

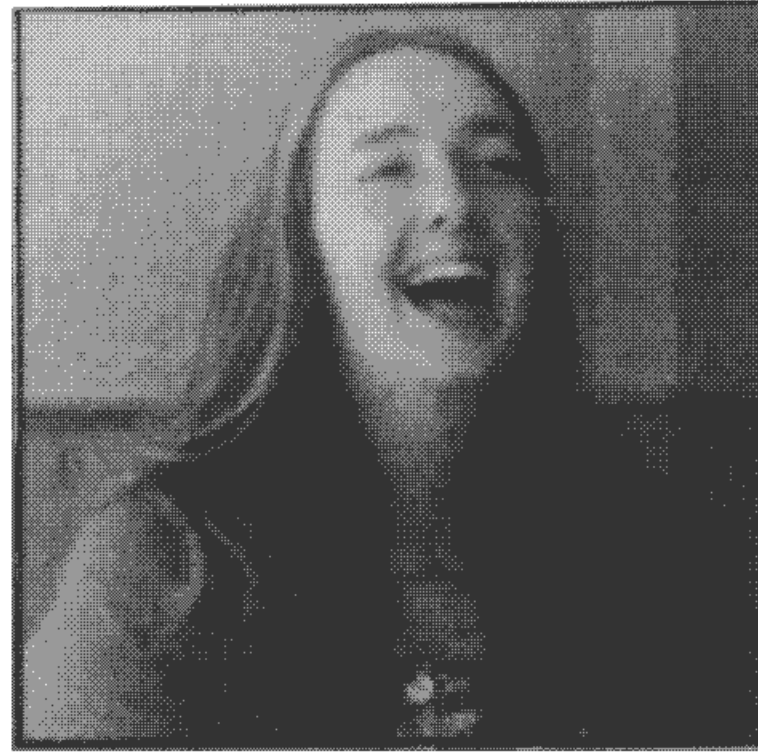
This policy was passed on 10/5/78. The old idea that the Gov't will allow us to stay 2 years to do practical work now is up for questioning. If you are interested in doing something about this unfair treatment of overseas students then come to the meeting (to be held on the first week of 3rd term). Especially those of you in the final year, this year - you will be the first batch to face this regulation - the first guinea-pigs. Are you prepared to be apathetic and face this policy (taking a gamble that the Gov't might not implement it at the end), or are you prepared to do something? If you are come to the meeting and help us to decide what to do, FOR YOUR SAKE, not for mine. Hopefully, we might get somebody to clarify the situation for us by then.

Regarding news around this campus and others, I have passed a motion in the SRC that VUWSA condemns the actions taken by the Labour Dept. to attempt to forbid Overseas Students to extend their student permit solely for the purpose of attending their graduation ceremony, and that the Student Association release a press statement regarding the matter. And the SRC has asked our representative in the University Council to move a similar motion.

In Canterbury, there has been a NOSAC meeting regarding the same matter. In Waikato, the overseas students might go on a picket regarding this issue. The question, now, is What are we going to do about it? Until the next time, Cheerio!

Victor  
OSO

# President



There is a well known piece of graffiti which describes the University involvement throughout the year: "First term too early, second term too cold, third term too late". Though this saying was originally meant to justify academic inactivity it could equally be applied to political, cultural and sporting activities.

When times are hard, people tend to think of themselves first and others second. Life at university becomes even more competitive and insular. Most students decide it is more important to get a "good degree" than participate in University life. Shortsightedly they see gains as being more immediate: a "good" job, a comfortable home, a warm loving family and money for the occasional overseas trip. But, in times of economic recession the achievement of these aims becomes more difficult as opportunities decrease. Though some people will be able to survive by themselves, the majority will be worse off, each struggling to get further up the rung by pushing others out of the way, only to be squeezed out later themselves.

When the employment market narrows, graduates, who thought they at least had job security, find themselves turning up at the Labour Department with labourers, factory workers and waitresses. Issues such as unemployment, the economic crisis and the infringement of civil liberties

assume more significance. The problem and the solution are no longer seen purely in individual terms, but in the overall context of society. But sometimes, like the third term, it is too late.

By the time you read this, the latest Government infringements on civil liberties may be "old news". The Government announced that private students coming to New Zealand to study from Southern Africa would not be allowed to take part in any kind of political activity or speech. This was particularly aimed at the Southern African Scholarship, whose last recipient was Henry Isaacs. Mr Gill described him as an "irritant" in the New Zealand community because he had spoken to a number of meetings and told his version of what was occurring in South Africa.

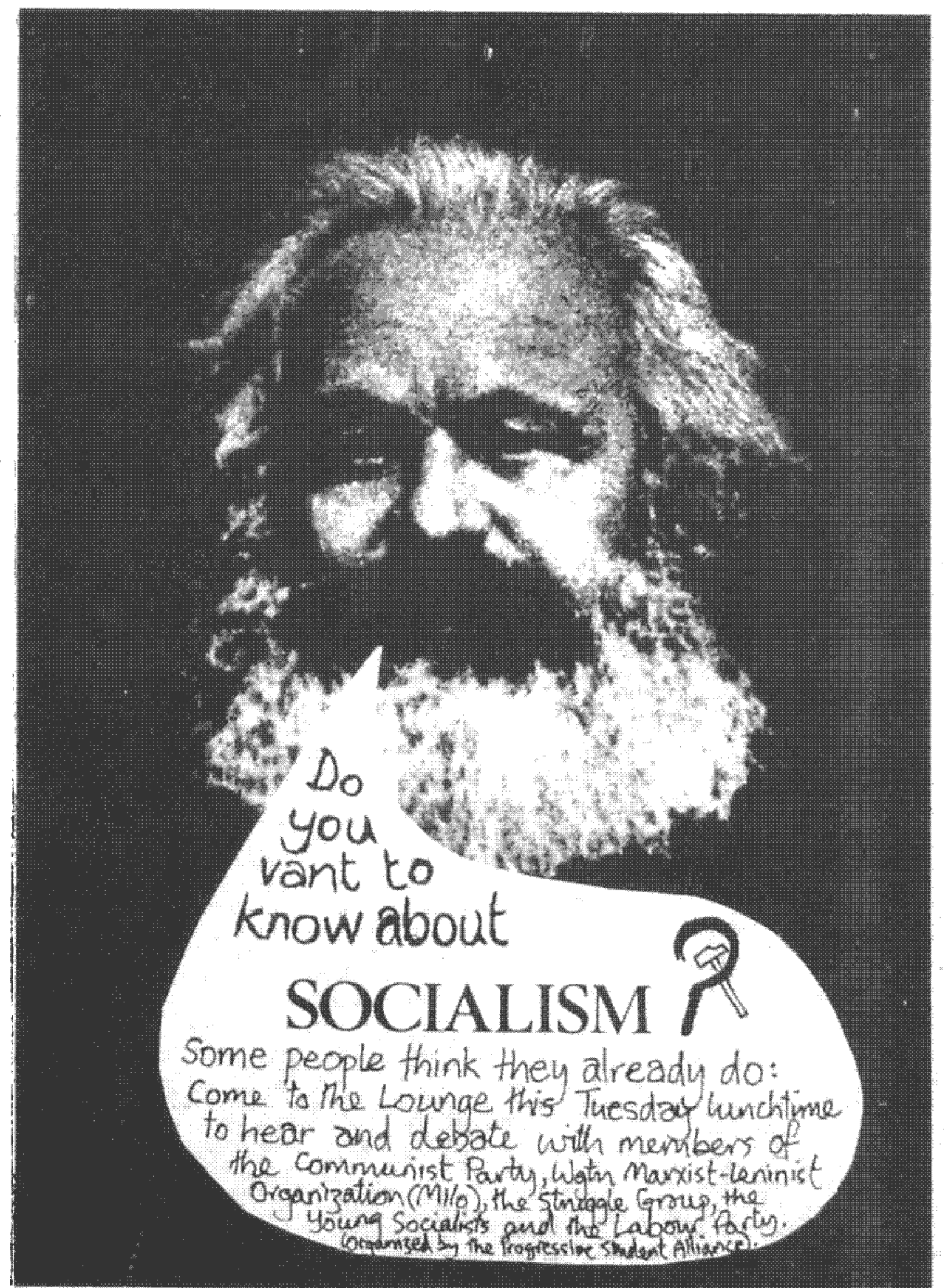
Now the Government has also announced that the Fretilin representative who was planning to visit this country would only be allowed a visa on the grounds that he too would not participate in public political speaking.

Most New Zealanders used to take basic democratic rights for granted. Now it is impossible to make a political stand in our community without being labelled a "dissident", an "irritant" or a "terrorist". Freedoms such as the "right" to criticise the Government, the "right" to hear the "other side", and the right to be politically different, are rapidly being eroded.

What does this mean to students? Most of the students that have bothered to read about these Government encroachments will feel some concern. Very few will do anything about it.

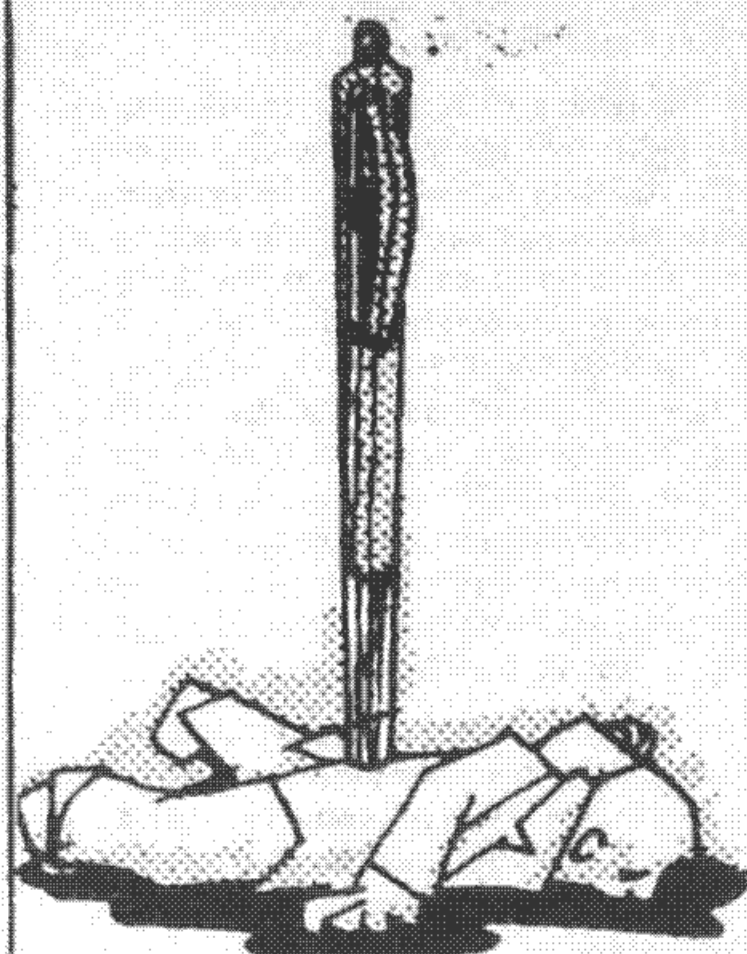
Because the third term is academically busy, students tend to regard it as an extra-curricular washout. But if students are to obtain satisfactory employment relief schemes than they must be prepared to help lobby the Government. The third term will also be busy because of the General Election fiasco in November. It is easy to say that academic work makes you too busy for involvement in any other area. But if you don't get involved now, you may not be able to later.

Lindy Cassidy





# Letters



Letters must be typed, double spaced on one side of the paper, and should not run on and on boring everybody to death. They can be dropped into the letters box just inside the Salient door (middle floor of the Union Building, graveyard end), left at the Studass office, or sent c/o VUWSA, Private Bag, Wellington

## One of us is wonderful

Dear Editor,

An honest student actually exists. Thank you, the person who returned my Test ticket. Never has so much been owed to so few, by one,

J.M. Green

## OSO on apathy

Dear Editor,

I am very concerned on reading the various letters written by Malaysians criticising Tiaw Ngee. Though I am not in total agreement with everything he said, I feel that the criticism hurled at him is not so much the content as the manner of his writing. For anyone to claim that the Malaysians in Wellington are not apathetic, (the main criticism of TN) is naive. Apathy is a bitter yet true fact regarding Malaysians here. Ask yourself this question, how many of you really feel something about the Movick case — even the Cutback issue itself?

How many of you actually care about what is going on at home? How many actually just accept things as they are, never bothering to look deeper into the matter? If anyone does, if he finds that our society has so many ills, what do we call them? COMMIES! Yes indeed, it is a true and fair view to claim that the people are apathetic here.

It is not enough to just accept this and that's the be all and end all. We must do something to change such attitudes, for apathy never serves any good. It seemed strange to me that many Malaysians had come to expect the association to work for them, not the other way round. The failure of the various functions are due to this. While we are not willing to contribute anything to the functions, we criticised it for being badly run, when the reason for it being badly run was simply that there was not enough manpower. If we wanted to see effective association, we must be prepared to help in whatever way we can. The elections of both associations are just around the corner. If those who think they can do much better than the committee members this year, let those, then, stand, otherwise shut up!

Finally, Fellow Malaysians, it is pointless to argue about apathy. Let us do something about it besides talking!

Yours,  
Vic.  
OSO.

## Persistent Sexism

Dear Simon,

I would like to congratulate you and your staff on an excellent issue last week. Your special issue on women was both enlightening and constructive. The question that has bothered me for some considerable time, however remained unanswered. Why is it that in some overseas countries, Sweden in particular, where extensive government programs have been carried out, with a view to changing old fashioned ideas about sex roles, women still stay at home and young girls still choose traditionally female school subjects?

Sweden, in an attempt to get more women in the work force, instigated massive legislation, to abolish the sex-role stereotyping they found in their education system. Literature for children was reviewed and in many cases re-written, male pre-school teachers were recruited and other attempts to overcome the traditional prejudices

were made. However, despite this large-scale government legislation, research has shown that the children who underwent this form of education in the early 70s, now at school age, persist in choosing school subjects such as needlework in preference to metalwork, home science such as cooking etc. in preference to woodwork, etc.

I am puzzled by this turn of events and somewhat alarmed. Social scientists, psychologists and educationalists have tried everything, could it be that the traditional beliefs about women are so firmly entrenched that even ideologically liberal countries like Sweden are unable to alter?

I would be interested to hear what the males in this country can do, to change these old, outdated and impractical ideas that have been forced down our throats, in the media, at school and all too often at university.

Yours sincerely,  
Michael Carr-Gregg.

## Fat chance of success

Dear Simon,

I see that someone is under the mistaken impression that that scourge of society, namely the Foundation of Druid Practices, has once again come into the fore by advertising that luxury of luxuries; Exosss Groops. Is this country now so unsafe that a true capitalist can no longer screw the unwary for a few more devalued dollars?

I must state that Exosss Groops are no more or less dangerous than an Extra Sensory Pork Sausage in the paws of a ravaged lion which has an acute case of hiccups. To illustrate this I draw your divided attention to the case of Fred Y., a part time Elephant sexer who had seen better sights and days, who although being condensed to the size of a dry cow pat by a rough Tsetse fly which mistook him for the posterior extremity of a stunted Hippopotamus was still identified by the number of stitches in his monogrammed EG.

No one has yet tried to relate the large bulls-eye hand embroidered with love and care on the rear of his EG with his rather early demise and nobody shall either.

The bogus testimony given by the Society for the Eradication of Exosss Groops on the behalf of the so called deceased Fred X cannot be counted as valid as Fred X omitted to sign the affidavit presented to him.

Like wetsuits for Hamsters, EG should be taken in moderation and not be combined with bootpolish and Meths. But all being said and you being done EG are still the best thing for chilly mornings or if you prefer (and some deviates do) for chilly nights. So help me to become a millionaire and join the thousands of New Zealanders who are buying Exosss Groops and other crapped merchandise now.

Yours monetarily,  
I. Makafortuna.

## The environment resource centre and the library

Sir,

Environment Week at the Students' Association Building helped to draw attention to the new Environment Resource Centre in the library.

When the Resource Centre was described in the Evening Post of June 19, mention was made of the inadequacy of the library to cater for the needs of students of the environment. There was implication that inadequate funding of the library meant that material was not being bought, and complications in using the classification system were preventing rather than aiding students from finding what was there.

There is no doubt that the library already possesses virtually everything which the new Environment Resource Centre plans to obtain except, perhaps, pamphlets; and very much more besides. There are cards representing about 400 books in the Subject card catalogue under the headings ENVIRONMENT or ENVIRONMENTAL alone, and this takes no account of the many hundreds of periodical articles in journals which the library possesses, articles which are easily found through the periodicals indexes which the library has. These indexes are a big library's major tools for finding information. The Environment Resource Centre is most unlikely to be able to afford them, if, indeed, they have even been heard of by members of the Centre. The Environmental Impact Reports, of which the library has an almost complete set, are very easily located through the card catalogue. They have been asked for by only 8 students this year, who between them wished to see only 12 issues.

This points to the fact that the trouble may lie in lack of familiarity with the techniques needed by students to locate material in the library itself. Admittedly no classification system will permit all books on different aspects of the environment to be shelved together. However, by consulting the Subject card catalogue first, books should be located easily.

Students who have any difficulties finding material on the environment (or any other topic) should ask the Reference Dept staff, who

are there to help them. Both Reference and Periodicals Dept staff are always glad to show students how to locate periodical articles on a particular topic. We are interested in you and want to help you. We cannot approach you, but you can approach us. I hope this letter will encourage more of you to do so.

Yours, etc.  
Dorothy Freed  
Reference Librarian.

Sir,

Ra, ra, ra for the music student who complained about the state of the listening facilities in the library. The record collection is good, but the equipment is stuffed, headphones don't work sometimes, interference is frustrating, adequate staff service minimal (one has to wait in a line of people for varying periods of time in order to relisten to a track, or to avoid one of the numerous scratches) and sometimes listening in the art exhibition area is very inconvenient (with other people interfering and not being able to read the score properly (and why are the music scores not closer to the records?))

In my view the whole system needs to be considered with an eye to complete replanning. Perhaps there should be a music room in the library with records and listening facilities, with scores near by, and with suitable staff to run it.

Unsigned.

## A closet editor from Auckland

Dear Simon,

Most letters to student papers reveal their author's opinions to be in line with, or opposed to, those of the staff. (Alternatively they have no opinions, only the desire to see their words in print.) Somehow Salient has polarised opinion so well that word of your exploits has penetrated to the independent republic of Auckland; I read in a letter to Craccum that not only is the editor of Salient biased, but he even admits it.

Leaving aside the question of an editor's right to bias, which I believe in, let's see just how biased Salient is. After leafing through a few back issues in the Auckland studass reading room, both of Craccum and Salient, it seemed to me that relative to the controversy and bias existing around Salient five or six years ago, today's atmosphere is quite mellow. This probably has nothing to do with changes in people's character — I'm sure we would still disagree completely on political questions, for I am still fundamentally conservative (right-wing) and you, no doubt, are still fundamentally radical (left-wing for want of a better label).

Much more likely there is less to fight about. Vietnam is a continuing story, but the role of western powers has diminished. The civil rights campaign and the struggle to remove corruption and oppression within western societies are far from over, but the movements for reform have been much strengthened simply by recognising that the problems exist, and a consensus in favour of solving them.

Additionally, your critics accuse you of journalistic incompetence. Even in Craccum, articles have appeared criticising (humourously) Salient's grammar and spelling — on one occasion nothing appeared amiss with the passage from Salient they held up to ridicule, so I asked the Craccum staff why it was printed. They swore somebody in the typesetting staff, some imp, had "corrected" their copy! and this sort of sabotage will continue in Salient or Craccum so long as either rag continues to employ staff with a sense of humour.

There is no question that typography and layout show more imagination than they once did; the July 3 issue demonstrates also that staff are aware of the POWER they wield — which letter-writers ignore at their peril.

All contributors to a paper write because they like to see their words in print and read. This is no bad thing provided ideas clothe words with form. In the absence of ideas, only ego remains, and we have something akin to indecent exposure. Part of an editor's job is to discourage this, as it leads to terrible temptation. If a letter or article betrays an infantile mind or ulterior motives, you can publish without comment and watch the poor author turn slowly, slowly, in the breeze — which in the Capital can be brisk.

The titles you give to letters can damn or praise in advance. If provoked beyond endurance, you can append short comments whose effect is to humiliate the writer and destroy his reasoning, beyond appeal. It is a source of constant amazement to me that anyone should be willing to set themselves up as a public Aunt Sally. But where there are students, there also are fools, not excepting myself.

Salient staff are in a fine position to PRAISE, as well. In particular I note the close relationship between the president of VUWSA (Lindy Cassidy) and Salient. Here in Auckland

Craccum keeps Merv Prince very firmly in his place, without being hostile. Perhaps Miss Cassidy deserves her good press. But looking at her "card" in the July 3 issue, I am inclined to suspect that someone on the staff is worshipping from afar. Who wrote those cards, anyway?

I hear you have been in hospital lately. Me too. Whatever was wrong I hope you have recovered fully. Best wishes for the rest of the year, and long live Muldoon!

Snoopy in exile

PS: Sorry about the anonymity; it is not the censure of my enemies I wish to avoid, but that of my friends.

(I wrote the cards, for consistency, and then the staff discussed them and we amended some in accordance with this discussion. I have not been in hospital. You are not the first person to think I have, and I am right now reviewing the staff position of the person who so flagrantly abused his position (that's for the Auckland readers). There is one editorial function you do not mention: restricting the contributor's tendency to ramble -Ed.)

## Teacher assessment -- part I

Dear Simon,

To our newest lecturer:

"The first lecture wasn't so bad. I admit you lost me and I still don't have a clue what you were talking about. But at the start there is always hope. The second lecture was fractionally worse (if you can talk of fractions when dealing with infinite magnitudes). Here the steps of confusion jumble one after the other so fast that the dividing line between ease and incomprehension is expanded to encompass the whole spectrum. I await all your subsequent lectures with that too-human fascination for disaster."

Love, 331.

## Social-imperialism stooges object

Sir,

Another attack on the Council for World Peace in Salient. Question, why does Salient not support world peace or will it do so only on terms dictated by Huo Kuo-Feng? Question two: who are the members of the Council who did not receive invitations? Question three: there are two people from the University Students Association on the committee yet they haven't attended a meeting for 4 months — why? Some answers would be appreciated.

Edward Smith,  
Member of the CWP

## Issues on a platter

Dear Simon,

I recently attended the inaugural meeting of the Progressive Students' Alliance, where I was amazed to hear the view expressed that one of the reasons for the decline in involvement in Student Union activities was the lack of nationally important issues which directly affect students. I was even more amazed however, when after a week of news items including:

- the branding of Trevor Richards as a traitor,
- restrictions imposed on the 'political activities' of SOME overseas students,
- the gag on Horta over the Fretilin's cause;

that the Student Representative Council's agenda for 9 August should ignore these issues. Surely questions of civil and academic liberty should should take preference over such trivia as items (4) and (5) relating to the dress of executive members and the singing of self-praise. It seems ironical that a protest about overseas students by Canterbury, the most conservative student union, should have made national radio news.

No doubt, after the holiday recess, these issues will seem distant and less important and a few more political freedoms will have been eroded or just brushed under our Bremworths!!!

Dianne Yates

## Low profile modesty

Dear Sir,

Listening to Radio Active the other day I couldn't help thinking how much the jock calling himself Gary O'Keefe sounds like Gary Lewis, one of the station's big shots. Is Lewis merely being modest (as I first thought) or are we witnessing the results of some campaign to make every jock sound like the boss?

Yours  
Pinky

PS: I don't want any smart answers from Lewis either. I can spot a sordid little affair when I see one.