

"Australia's most evil and repugnant nightspot"
Memories from those involved:
The FOCO Club, Brisbane, 1968-69

Peter Gray with recollections by Frank Neilsen

In the 1960s, the restless first wave of "baby-boomers" were just learning to spread their adult wings; to be able to vote, and, importantly for some, to drink in Queensland pubs. I was a 1946-model "boomer" from an average family, and had been brought up with the parental admonition to "*never discuss religion, politics or money*". Of course, sex should have been on the taboo list, but that particular word was never mentioned.¹

In 1964, I was privileged to start working as photographic assistant to Geoff Dauth at his Petrie Bight studio. Geoff was undoubtedly Brisbane's leading photographer, a world-class creative talent, an interesting bohemian character, and a great friend.

It cannot be overstated how repressively conservative the status quo was in Brisbane during the 1960s. From many of the younger generation's point of view, Brisbane was a mind-numbing, cultural desert. Yet, despite everything, oases began to appear.

At a time when the drinking age was twenty-one, there were very few places in Brisbane where young people could 'hang out'. I fell into the habit of frequenting the hippest place in Brisbane, the Primitif Café, located in the basement of the Piccadilly Arcade in Queen Street. It was run by Geoff's friend, a glamorous woman named Peter Cox. The Primitif had interesting music, served great food, and Peter's Swiss husband, Kurt, knew how to make a perfect coffee. This is where I first met Larry Zetlin, who was a student at the University of Queensland.

Larry had recently returned from a trip to Melbourne where he had negotiated a new job as the Brisbane correspondent for *Go-Set*, Australia's first pop-music newspaper, published weekly from February 1966 to August 1974. Larry invited me to team up with him as their Brisbane-based "rock photographer". That sounded interesting, so I agreed to lend a hand as an extra-curricular activity; mainly for the fun of it as the pay was a pittance.



The cover of the first Go-Set

Late 60s Music Scene

In early 1966, Larry and I started attending just about every gig in town, from way out in suburbia (including the reputedly dangerous Inala) to the inner city. We interviewed and photographed nearly every musician around the scene at the time, including overseas arrivals such as *The Yardbirds*.



Larry Zetlin with The Yardbirds

Left-to-right: Chris Dreja (bass), Keith Relf (vocals), Jimmy Page (guitar), Jim McCarty (drums), and Larry Zetlin (Go-Set) (photograph © Frank Neilsen)

We covered the very popular, though entirely conservative *Battle of the Bands* events at Festival Hall, and were regularly ejected by its eccentric manager, Bert Potts, for daring to photograph off-duty, uniformed police in action; paid by Potts to hurl fans off the stage. The kids would scream their lungs out for performers like *Normie Rowe* and *Johnny Young*. Festival Hall had also presented famous musicians such as *The Beatles*, *Peter, Paul and Mary*, and *Thelonus Monk*.

There was also the Petrie Bight basement venue known as *THE SCENE*. Geoff Dauth and I provided some of their wall décor, mural-sized photographs printed on the newly-released fluorescent paper, which looked really cool under the UV lighting. *THE SCENE* hosted regular performers like the ill-fated Mike Furber (*Mike Furber & the Bowery Boys*), and Matt Taylor's first band, *The Bay City Union*, which formed in March 1966. Later, Taylor would achieve national fame as the lead singer of the pioneering Australian blues band, *Chain*. *Bay City Union*'s Glenn Wheatley would go on to join *The Master's Apprentices* when music took a more psychedelic turn.

Another hip venue was the *Red Orb*, which presented music of the rhythm and blues genre, featuring *Thursday's Children*.



Brisbane City Hall was a regular venue for major overseas performers such as *Josh White*, *Odetta*, *Judy Collins*, and *Sonny Terry & Brownie McGhee*. There were also some pretty wild gigs at the old *Cloudland* up on the hill where performers like *Buddy Holly*, *Jerry Lee Lewis* and *Johnny O'Keefe* appeared. In the early 1960s, promoter Ivan Dayman took the reins and turned *Cloudland* into a major live music venue signing top 'beat' bands including *Tony Worsley* and *The Blue Jays*, *Normie Rowe*, *Ronnie Burns* and *Mike Furber*.

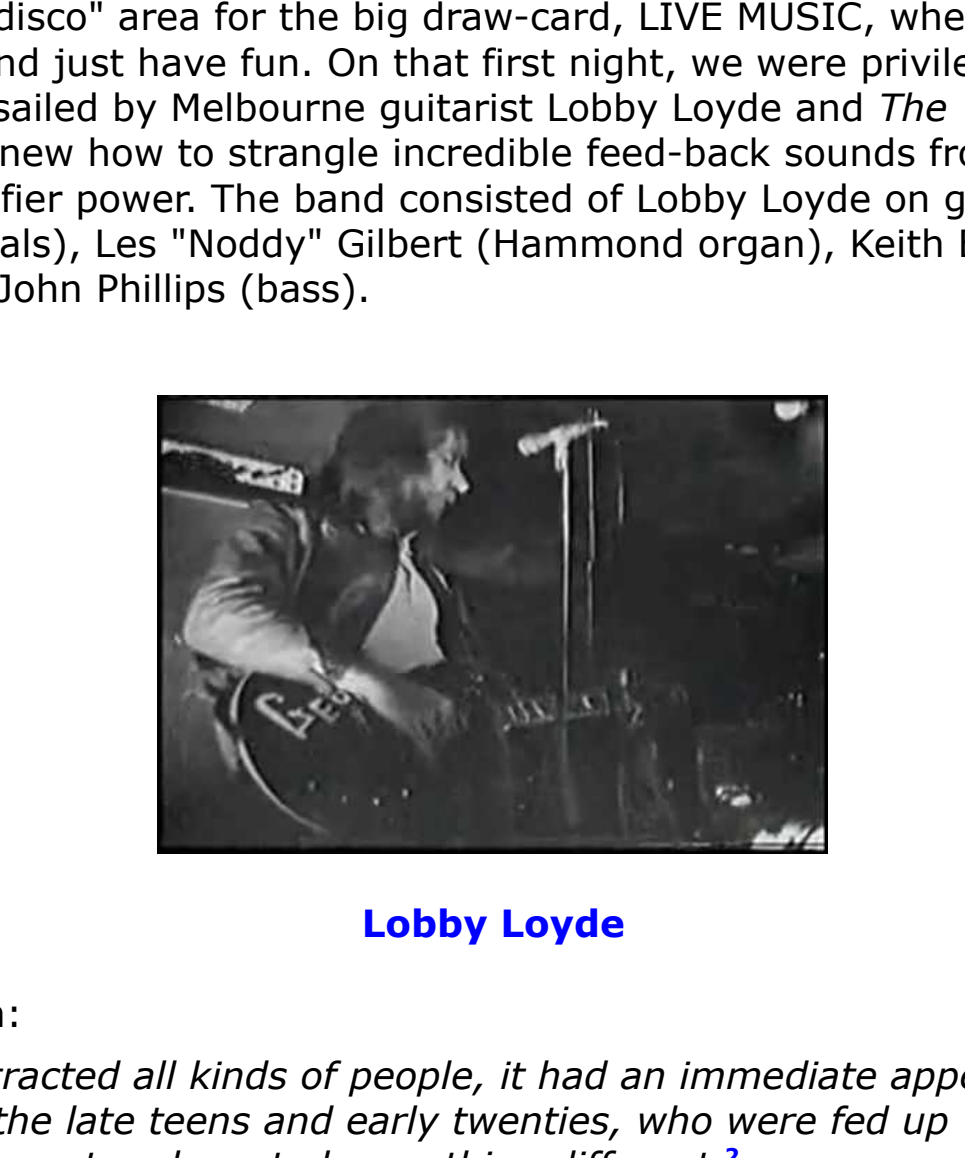
Brisbane also had a thriving folk music scene, based mainly at *The Folk Centre* in Anne Street which provided a trouble-free, friendly environment where people could go for a sing-along with resident band, *The Wayfarers*, or listen to influential bohemians such as *Margaret Kitamura* and *Don Henderson*. *Shayna Bracegirdle* and *Margaret Roadknight* were also favourites of the "folkies".



The Wayfarers at the Folk Centre in Brisbane.

FOCO Opens

Then out of the blue, the opening of a new club was to have a huge impact on the cultural landscape of 'sleepy old Brisbane'. On Sunday, 3 March 1968, the FOCO Club opened on the third floor of the Trades Hall building. FOCO was a multifaceted extravaganza incorporating music, poetry, political discussion, film, literature and theatrical performance.



FOCO opening night poster
(scan courtesy Ted Riethmuller)

Many presumed that the name, 'Foco', had something to do with folk music. FOCO is a Spanish word meaning focus, or centre, and is connected to Che Guevara's Foco theory of revolutionary warfare. At the time, Che Guevara was emerging as an iconic revolutionary figure shortly after his death at the hands of the Bolivian army and the C.I.A. in October 1967. He had postulated that armed resistance spearheaded by small rebel groups in developing countries ('focoist uprisings') might spark a chain reaction leading to popular rebellion. Throughout its existence, the FOCO Club was decidedly, and very openly, political. It was also a place where you could let your hair down and have a bit of fun.

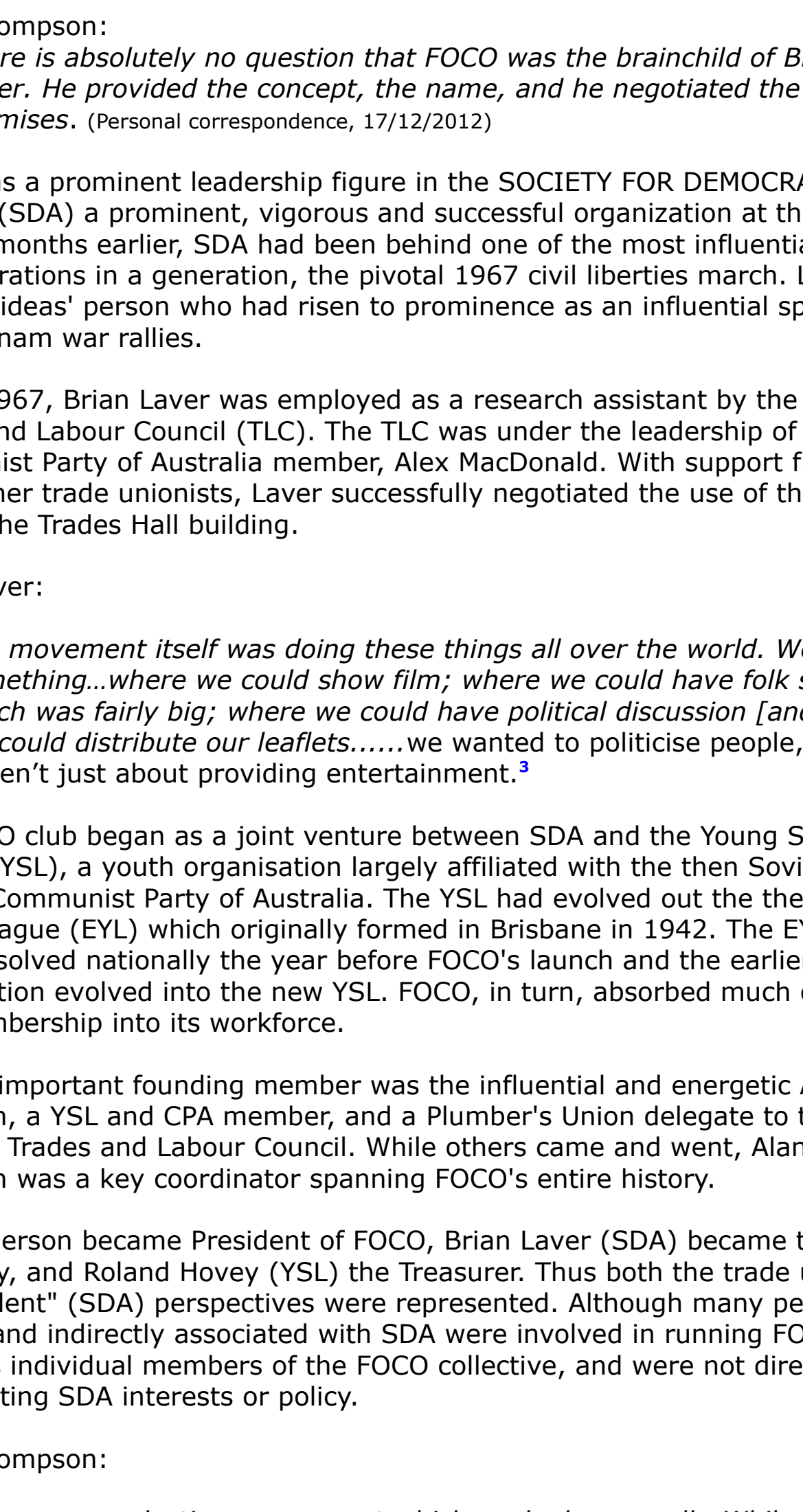


A promotional sticker featuring the revolutionary figure, Che Guevara

Alan Anderson:

*The overall environment was very political, but FOCO never pushed a hard line, politics was allowed to co-exist with entertainment, and rarely dominated.*²

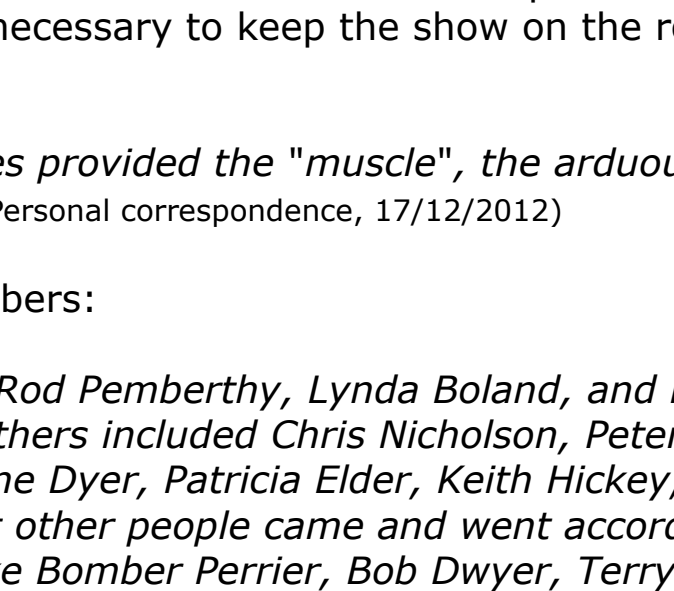
At the opening night, my initial impression was the bare wooden floors and lack of decor within the building made the whole thing seem quite spartan, almost forbidding. A range of events were presented that members were encouraged to explore. Each area was partitioned off by fabric-covered boards, which were cleared away after each FOCO event so the daily business of Trades Hall could continue during the week.



FOCO operated weekly on the third floor of the old Trades Hall building (now demolished) at the intersection of Turbot Street and Edward Street in Brisbane

(photo: Fryer Library / University of Queensland)

There was a "disco" area for the big draw-card, LIVE MUSIC, where people could dance and just have fun. On that first night, we were privileged to have our senses assailed by Melbourne guitarist Lobby Loyde and *The Wild Cherries*. Lobby really knew how to strangle incredible feed-back sounds from his 400 watts of amplifier power. The band consisted of Lobby Loyde on guitar, Danny Robinson (vocals), Les "Noddy" Gilbert (Hammond organ), Keith Barber (drums), and John Phillips (bass).



Lobby Loyde

Alan Anderson:

*FOCO attracted all kinds of people, it had an immediate appeal to the disco crowds: the late teens and early twenties, who were fed up with consumer entertainment and wanted something different.*²

The place was jumping as the music pumped out, with atmospheric effects provided by the ACME Light Show Inc. run by Rob MacColl, Larry Franks, Bob Hickey and Jeff Olive, among others. The light show was produced by projecting moving patterns over the stage from a shallow glass tray sitting on an overhead projector. The tray contained a mixture of oil and water-based coloured dyes which would repel each other creating abstract patterns. The heat from the projector lamp, together with the repulsion properties of the oil and water mixture, would keep the patterns moving slowly. The operator could also manually agitate the mixture and squirt in different coloured dyes as needed, to set up rhythms which would, with a bit of luck, fit perfectly with the music.

ACME Light Show promotion from a FOCO newsletter

Other types of lighting trickery would be employed, including what would become standard disco fare, the almost epilepsy-inducing strobe lights; not to mention ultraviolet lamps which made everyone's teeth glow and look weird.

Larry Zetlin:

A FOCO member, a physicist named Doug Rickards, who had worked on the Mariner project with NASA, loaned FOCO a small strobe that he had used in his research. That initial puny light was soon replaced by a large scientific commercial strobe supplied to us by a member of a visiting US research ship that used the strobe to identify floating buoys at sea. I believe the strength of that strobe compares with strobes used on commercial planes today. I am not sure if the captain of the ship ever knew that he had inadvertently contributed to Brisbane's cultural life! By the way, Doug Rickards (now deceased), besides being a genius, was also an excellent maker of lutes and guitars. (Personal correspondence, 12/8/2012)

Larry also describes:

.....discovering the joys of making loops from clear 16mm film (and film with images already on it) and drawing directly onto the film using colored felt pens; then projecting the loops onto the dance floor and the bands. These lighting effects were considered the height of hi-tech at the time. Although rather primitive by today's standards, they had a profound effect on the audience. (Personal correspondence, 12/8/2012)

Origins

Mitch Thompson:

There is absolutely no question that FOCO was the brainchild of Brian Laver. He provided the concept, the name, and he negotiated the premises. (Personal correspondence, 17/12/2012)

Laver was a prominent leadership figure in the SOCIETY FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION (SDA), a prominent, vigorous and successful organization at the time. Just six months earlier, SDA had been behind one of the most influential demonstrations in a generation, the pivotal 1967 civil liberties march. Laver was a noted 'ideas' person who had risen to prominence as an influential speaker at anti-Vietnam war rallies.

In late 1967, Brian Laver was employed as a research assistant by the Brisbane Trades and Labour Council (TLC). The TLC was under the leadership of Communist Party of Australia member, Alex MacDonald. With support from some other trade unionists, Laver successfully negotiated the use of the third floor of the Trades Hall building.

Brian Laver:

*The movement itself was doing these things all over the world. We needed something...where we could show film; where we could have folk singing, which was fairly big; where we could have political discussion [and] where we could distribute our leaflets.....we wanted to politicise people, we weren't just about providing entertainment.*³

The FOCO club began as a joint venture between SDA and the Young Socialist League (YSL), a youth organisation largely affiliated with the then Soviet-aligned Communist Party of Australia. The YSL had evolved out the the Eureka Youth League (EYL) which originally formed in Brisbane in 1942. The EYL had been dissolved nationally the year before FOCO's launch and the earlier youth organisation evolved into the new YSL. FOCO, in turn, absorbed much of the YSL membership into its workforce.

Another important founding member was the influential and energetic Alan Anderson, a YSL and CPA member, and a Plumber's Union delegate to the Brisbane Trades and Labour Council. While others came and went, Alan Anderson was a key coordinator spanning FOCO's entire history.

Alan Anderson became President of FOCO, Brian Laver (SDA) became the Secretary, and Roland Hickey (YSL) the Treasurer. Thus both the trade union and the "student" (SDA) perspectives were represented. Although many people directly and indirectly associated with SDA were involved in running FOCO, they did so as individual members of the FOCO collective, and were not directly representing SDA interests or policy.

Mitch Thompson:

This was an eclectic arrangement which worked very well. While many people were associated with SDA, they were not acting as SDA agents, so to speak! (Personal correspondence, 17/12/2012)

Alan Anderson:

On a personal note and as a Trade Unionist and a CPA member I was acutely aware about how remote the labour movement was to young workers and thought how important it would be if we could be part of their joys as well as their troubles. FOCO achieved this connection. The combination of the disparate groups involved was important in ensuring its phenomenal success. (Personal correspondence, 13/9/2012)

The student and SDA contingent provided many of the ideas and key personnel, while the young Socialists were disciplined and hard-working supporters of the project.

The SDA had many talented members, including Mitch Thompson, who was noted for his exceptional organisational and financial skills. Mitch recalls:

The real creativity and energy came from a whole lot of people such as Larry and Di Zetlin, David Guthrie, Bob Daly, Doug Anders and others who came and went. They were the ones who provided the ideas, energy and organised the shows and people (bands etc.). (Personal correspondence, 17/12/2012)

YSL members provided much of the essential manpower and undertook many of the day-to-day tasks necessary to keep the show on the road.

Mitch Thompson:

The YSL comrades provided the "muscle", the arduous setting up of the nuts and bolts. (Personal correspondence, 17/12/2012)

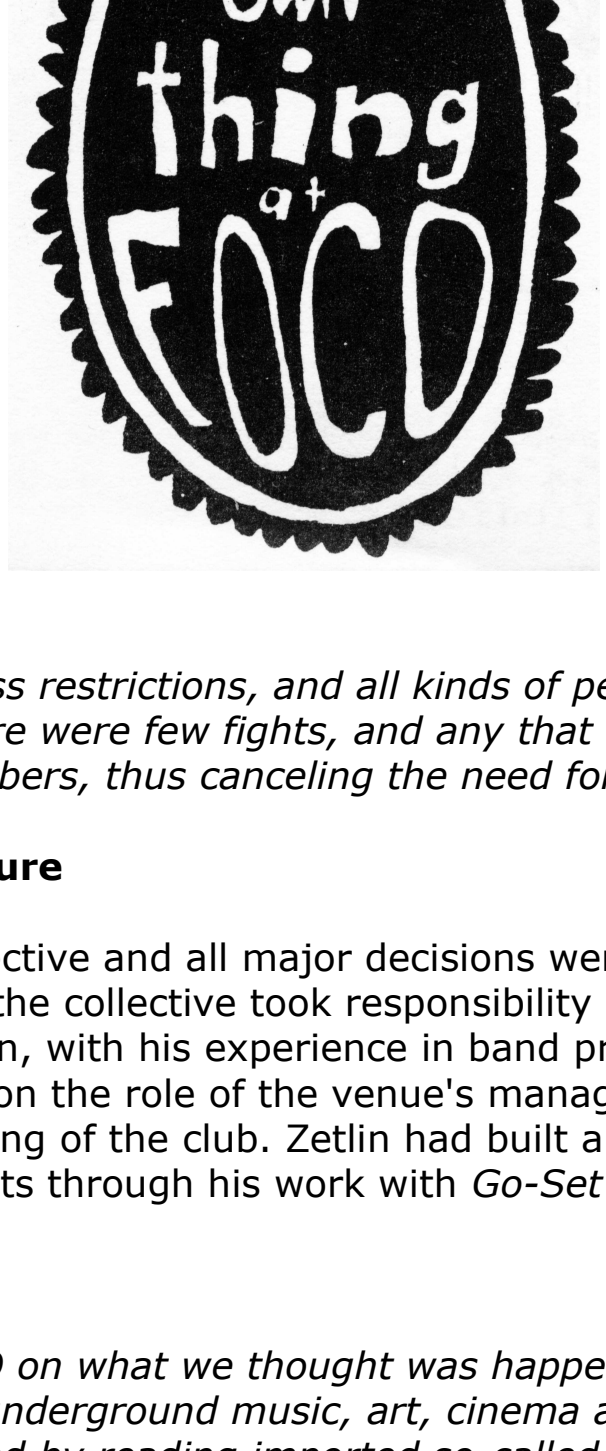
Alan Anderson remembers:

Lee Walkington, Rod Pemberthy, Lynda Boland, and lots of Lynda's friends were the core. Others included Chris Nicholson, Peter Bryson, Pauline Anderson, Lorraine Dyer, Patricia Elder, Keith Hickey, and members of the Gould family. Like other people came and went according to their circumstances like Bomber Perrier, Bob Dwyer, Terry Johnston, and Vic Slater. It was always a vibrant passing parade. There were scores of people, too many to mention, who came and went or performed but a solid core was necessary week after week to keep the show going. The role played by Alec Macdonald, TLC secretary, was also crucial. (Personal correspondence, 26/9/2012)

FOCO attempted to unite working class youth with middle-class students in an experiment where the borders between politics and culture were intentionally

blurred and melded together. There was an atmosphere of camaraderie in which everybody could relax, knowing that their point of view would be respected.

FOCO newsletters published in June 1968 proclaimed "you can do your own thing at FOCO" and "FOCO: where the price of entry is your mind".



Alan Anderson:

*There were no dress restrictions, and all kinds of people moved around free of attack. There were few fights, and any that did erupt were quickly broken up by members, thus canceling the need for bouncers.*²

Organisational Structure

FOCO was run as a collective and all major decisions were made by this group. Individuals from within the collective took responsibility for key areas of activity. For example, Larry Zetlin, with his experience in band promotion and underground film, took on the role of the venue's manager and was responsible for the day-to-day running of the club. Zetlin had built an extensive network of music and media contacts through his work with *Go-Set*.

Larry Zetlin:

*We modelled FOCO on what we thought was happening internationally. My knowledge of the underground music, art, cinema and performance scene(s) was gained by reading imported so-called Underground magazines, such as *Rolling Stone*, *Village Voice*, the *San Francisco Free Press*, etc. which I received for free because of my role with *Go-Set* in Australia.* (Personal correspondence, 11/9/2012)

Zetlin promoted FOCO during weekly radio broadcasts with Brisbane's much-admired and most "switched on" DJ, Tony Macarthur, a member of 4BC's "Geoff, Tony and Bob" team of DJs, and a great promoter of interesting new music. (Tony eventually left Australia to work with the pirate station, Radio Luxembourg.)

FOCO music

Word about the FOCO experiment spread quickly, and large crowds started to arrive. According to Laver, typical attendances were between 500 and 800 people per night. Local musicians got to show off their talents, and the popularity of FOCO grew with the regular appearances of resident band *The Coloured Balls*, featuring the enigmatic Mick Hadley (harmonica/vocals/rhythm guitar; ex-*Purple Hearts*), Bob Dames (bass; ex-*Purple Hearts*), Mick "Sam" Shannon (lead vocals), Peter Miles (drums; ex-*Bay City Union*), and Robbie Van Delft (guitar/flute; ex-*Mike Furber & The Bowery Boys*). The band was influenced by the English band, *Jethro Tull*, and the group's guitarist doubled as their flute player.



The Coloured Balls on the set of "Everybody In" at QTQ Channel 9 studios. Left-to-right: Peter Miles (drums), Bob Dames (bass), Mick "Sam" Shannon (vocals), Mick Hadley (vocals/harmonica/guitar), Robbie van Delft (guitar/flute). Sitting far right is ABC's Greg Jeffrey, one of the presenters of the show along with co-presenter, Kerry Ann Wright (not present).

The popular band, *Max Merritt and the Meteors*, made special trips from Sydney to play at FOCO, which further boosted its reputation as a great venue. Larry Zetlin recalls that the crowds at FOCO swelled to close to 2000 people when *Max Merritt and the Meteors* played. Larry explains:

We fitted the greater numbers in at Trades Hall by opening all the areas into one large space and canceling movies and folk areas. And the numbers were even greater when Foco held free concerts in the city botanical gardens. (Personal correspondence, 12/11/2012)

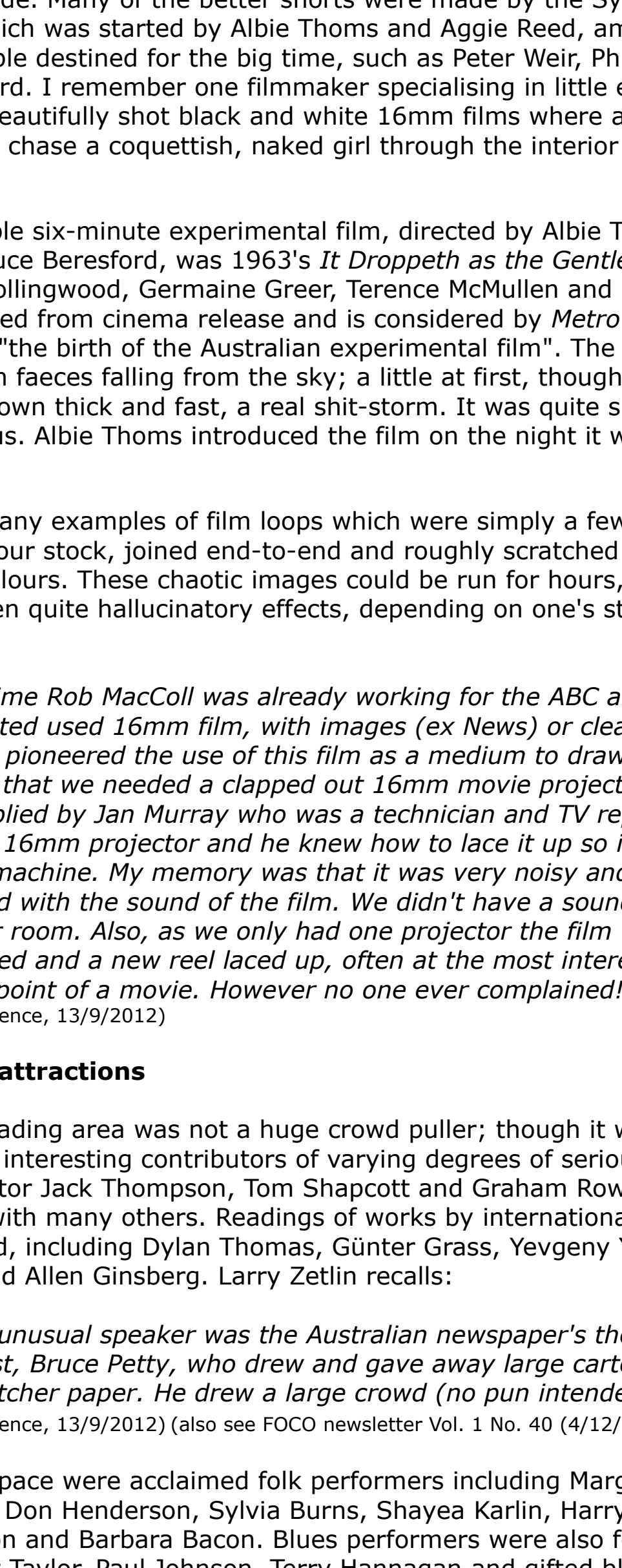


Membership

The FOCO Club opened every Sunday night at 7pm. It operated as a membership-based club to avoid restrictive legislation which kept all venues in Brisbane closed on a Sunday (except those associated with the church). Being a registered club, FOCO was exempt from this antiquated, draconian law. It cost one dollar to become a member of the FOCO Club and 70 cents to attend the regular Sunday events. This money was used to offset the operating costs which included some remodeling at Trades Hall, hiring of bands, renting films, and importing radical literature. Right from the outset the club did very well financially.

Alan Anderson:

*That FOCO was successful is beyond question. It was an immediate hit involving what to us were enormous crowds – sometimes as many as 1200, but mainly around the 500 mark for the first six months. Our membership grew to (over) 3000, all of whom received our weekly newsletter.*²



Examples of FOCO membership cards

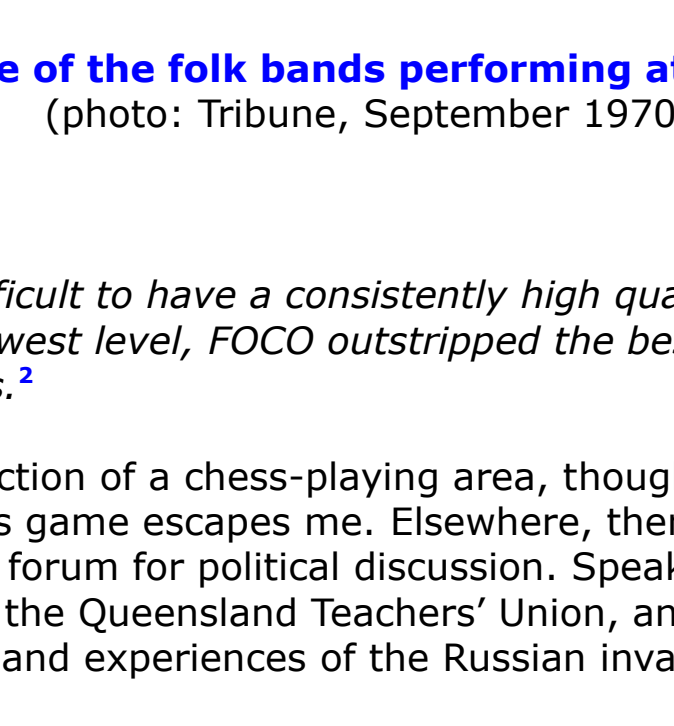
Colin Beasley:

A scan of my membership card no. 1112 authorised by Matthew Lambourne. I presume this is an earlier version of the later card that features Che Guevara within the heart-shaped circle of Love. My card was much plainer and printed on fairly thin (and now quite fragile) brown card. The fact that this slip of paper has survived, when almost every other bit of memorabilia (I used to have quite a collection) has not, is testament to the intoxicating effect and life-long impression that FOCO made on me as a fresh-faced, working class kid straight out of high school. (Personal correspondence, 11/8/2012)

Alan Anderson:

*Large crowds of people always turned up. FOCO became a real threat to commercial discothèques, nightclubs, hotels, church groups and the Young Liberals. Sometimes, whole disenchanting Young Liberal branches arrived. FOCO was having a tremendous effect on the Establishment.*²

The mood amongst the revolutionary subculture was thrown into shocked despair just one month after that opening night by the assassination of the man everyone thought could bring about a resolution to the conflicts which were eating away at American society - the hugely inspirational Martin Luther King Jr.



A promotional sticker featuring Martin Luther King Jr.

FOCO films

There was an area at FOCO screening films, where people could drop in and out to watch feature-length movies such as Fellini's "8 1/2", or Vittorio De Sica's wonderful "*Umberto D*", or short experimental films, many of which were Australian-made. Many of the better shorts were made by the Sydney-based UBU films, which was started by Albie Thoms and Aggie Reed, among others; involving people destined for the big time, such as Peter Weir, Phillip Noyce and Bruce Beresford. I remember one filmmaker specialising in little erotic adventures, beautifully shot black and white 16mm films where a hand-held camera would chase a coquettish, naked girl through the interior of a Sydney house.

One memorable six-minute experimental film, directed by Albie Thoms (1941 - 2012) and Bruce Beresford, was 1963's *It Droppeth as the Gentle Rain*, which starred Lyn Collingwood, Germaine Greer, Terence McMullen and Cam Perry. The film was banned from cinema release and is considered by *Metro Magazine* to have marked "the birth of the Australian experimental film". The story centred around human faeces falling from the sky; a little at first, though by the end it was coming down thick and fast, a real shit-storm. It was quite surreal, and totally hilarious. Albie Thoms introduced the film on the night it was screened at FOCO.

There were many examples of film loops which were simply a few metres of blackened colour stock, joined end-to-end and roughly scratched to reveal its component colours. These chaotic images could be run for hours, providing what were then quite hallucinatory effects, depending on one's state of mind.

Larry Zetlin:

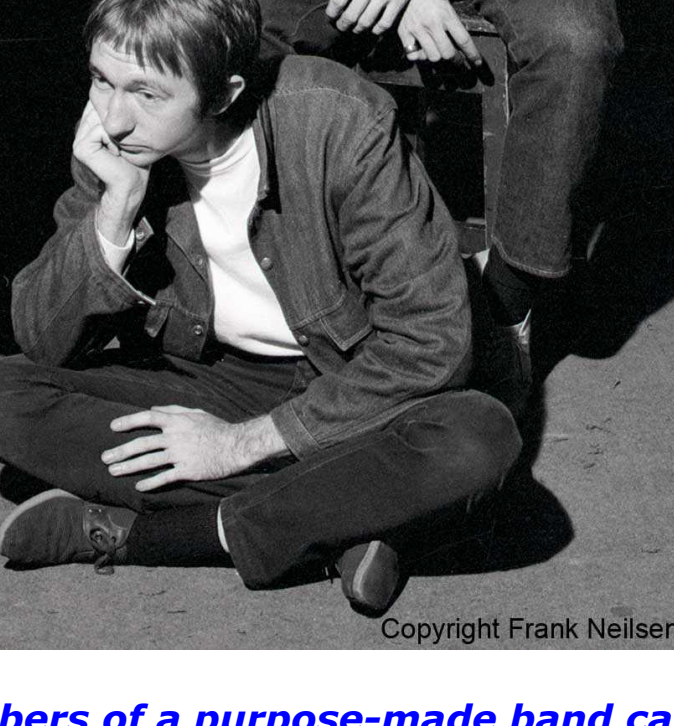
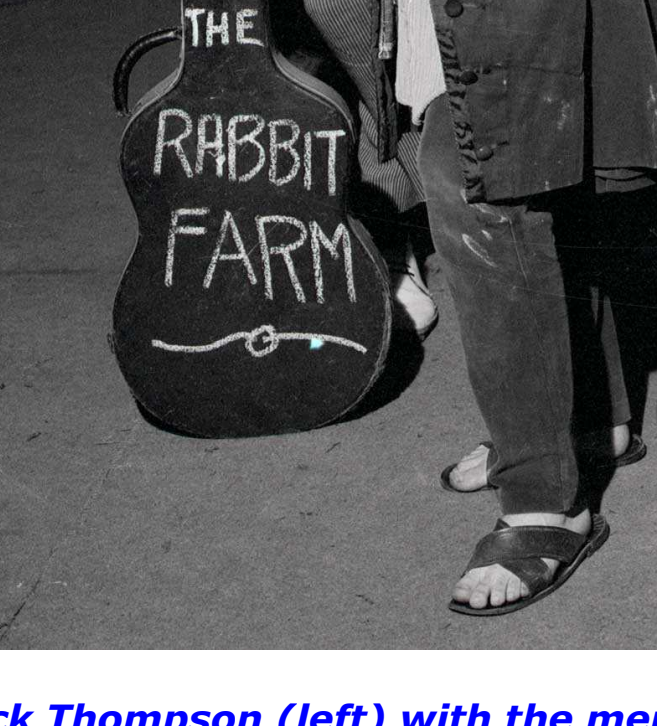
At that time Rob MacColl was already working for the ABC and had access to unlimited used 16mm film, with images (ex News) or clear and it was Rob who pioneered the use of this film as a medium to draw on. However it meant that we needed a clapped out 16mm movie projector and this was supplied by Jan Murray who was a technician and TV repair bloke. Jan owned a 16mm projector and he knew how to lace it up so it fell to him to run the machine. My memory was that it was very noisy and often interfered with the sound of the film. We didn't have a soundproof projector room. Also, as we only had one projector the film would need to be stopped and a new reel laced up, often at the most interesting and exciting point of a movie. However no one ever complained! (Personal correspondence, 13/9/2012)

Other FOCO attractions

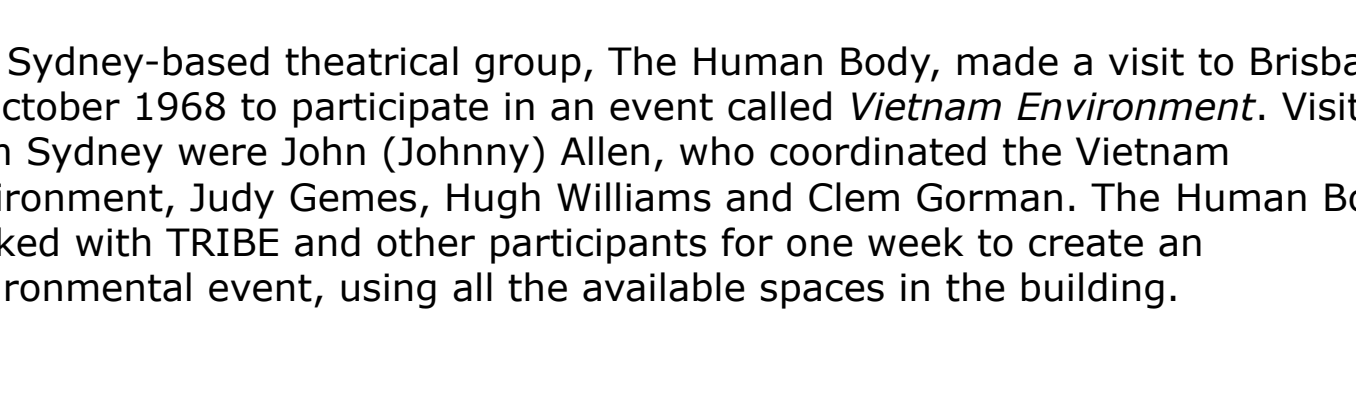
The poetry-reading area was not a huge crowd puller; though it was attended by some very interesting contributors of varying degrees of seriousness and talent. The actor Jack Thompson, Tom Shapcott and Graham Rowlands all read there, along with many others. Readings of works by international writers was also presented, including Dylan Thomas, Günter Grass, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, Bob Dylan, and Allen Ginsberg. Larry Zetlin recalls:

Another unusual speaker was the Australian newspaper's then resident cartoonist, Bruce Petty, who drew and gave away large cartoons drawn on white butcher paper. He drew a large crowd (no pun intended)! (Personal correspondence, 13/9/2012) (also see FOCO newsletter Vol. 1 No. 40 (4/12/68).)

Sharing this space were acclaimed folk performers including Margaret Kitamura, Declan Affley, Don Henderson, Sylvia Burns, Shayea Karlin, Harry Robertson, Chris Nicholson and Barbara Bacon. Blues performers were also featured including Matt Taylor, Paul Johnson, Terry Hannagan and gifted bluegrass player Chris Duffy on banjo, mandolin and guitar. The *Red Belly Stompers Jazz Band*, *The Ram Jam Big Band* and the *Rammitta 'P' Jug Band* were also popular, as was the flamenco guitarist, Brian Crawford.



Don Henderson



One of the folk bands performing at FOCO
(photo: Tribune, September 1970).

Alan Anderson:

*It was always difficult to have a consistently high quality of entertainment but even at its lowest level, FOCO outstripped the best offered by commercial rivals.*²

I have a vague recollection of a chess-playing area, though how anybody could concentrate on a chess game escapes me. Elsewhere, there was a coffee-making section, and a forum for political discussion. Speakers included Ted Baldwin, the leader of the Queensland Teachers' Union, and Brian Laver, who spoke about his first-hand experiences of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Public forums were held on such diverse subjects as the US Civil Rights movement, rock music, the global press, Brisbane architecture and the environment, Australian folklore, Catholicism, Transcendental Meditation, the Vietnam War, and the European Student/Worker Movement. Audience participation was encouraged during such events, leading to much spirited discussion.

Radical literature

The books, posters, and other paraphernalia for sale at FOCO were a comprehensive collection of revolutionary material dealing with the situations in countries such as Cuba, Nicaragua, China and Czechoslovakia, which was then experiencing the 'Prague Spring'. On sale for the first time in Brisbane were global 'underground' newspapers like *The Village Voice*, as well as London's *Peace News* and the *International Times*.

Larry Zetlin recounts this story about FOCO's opening night:

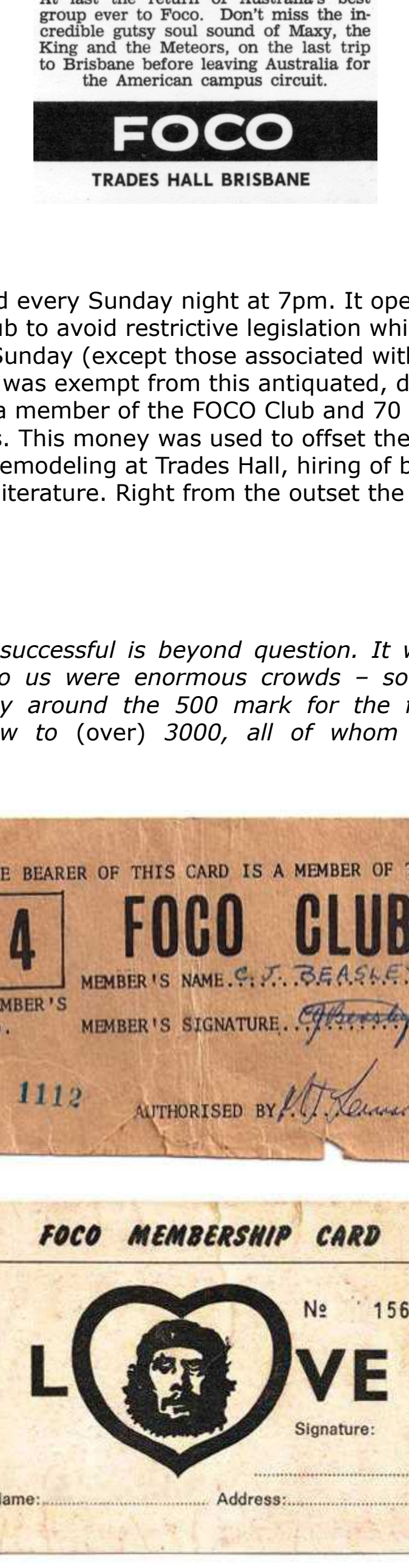
Brian Laver, without consultation with the group, set up a table selling various leftist books from 'his' Red & Black bookshop. I was appalled, as I thought this would drive away the opening-nighters who were there predominantly for the music. I was wrong! The books on sale added a frisson of danger and excitement and intrigued most of the new membership. (Personal correspondence, 8/8/2012)

Larry Zetlin:

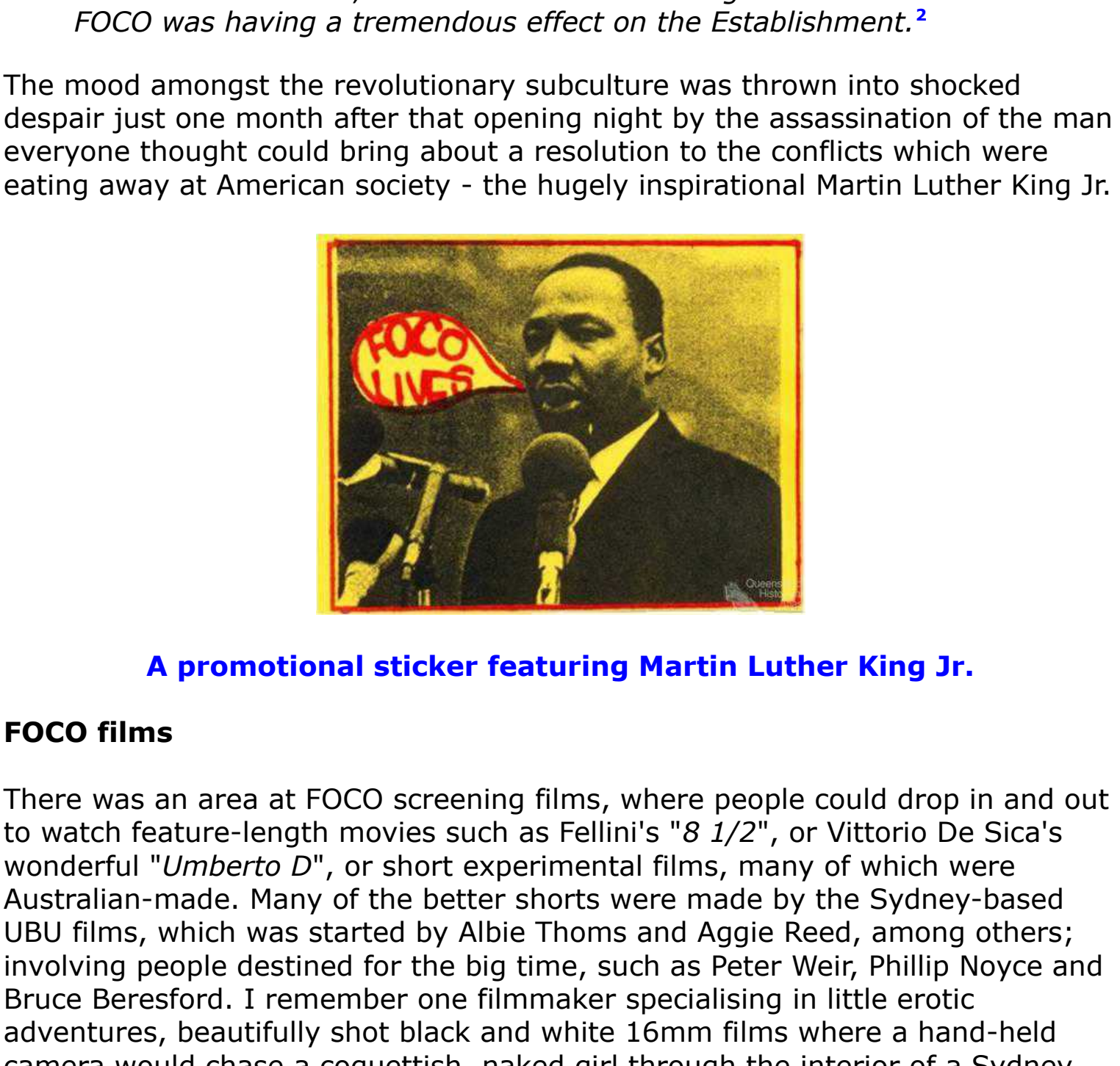
We modeled FOCO on what we thought was happening internationally. In late 1968, when Di and I travelled to live in London, via the west coast USA, we realized that we were far in advance of what we saw overseas. Our cultural cringe had caused us to overreach and exceed what was actually happening overseas. Further the venues internationally were usually run as commercial ventures whereas FOCO was spared that limitation and we could be far more experimental. Also the disco subsidized all the other activities and allowed FOCO to run frequent free events. (Personal correspondence, 11/9/2012)

Radical theatre

The theatrical performance troupe, *THE TRIBE* (originally *The Dire Tribe*), consisted of players from the University of Queensland who would enact *avant garde* 'happenings' for the delight and/or mystification of the audience. The troupe included Doug Anders, Elizabeth (Libby) Nosworthy, Barbara Bacon, Barbara McCarthy, Di Fuller, Ross Gilbert, Robin Gurner, Brent McGregor, and Dianne Neale (who would become Di Zetlin after she and Larry married in late 1968). This experimental group gave performances of Samuel Beckett's 'dramaticule', *Come and Go*, as well as Harold Pinter's *The Black and White*, the controversial *Motel* by Jean-Claude van Itallie, and Wymark's *Coda*. Audience participation was encouraged.



The theatre troupe had originally formed for the production of Jack Thompson's *ALICE IS*, which was staged at the Avalon Theatre in St. Lucia in 1966. *Alice Is* was conceived as a theatrical musical extravaganza featuring the music of The Wild Cherries, the band featured at FOCO's opening night launch, together with an another band called The Rabbit Farm. Tragically, a court injunction was issued in response to a neighbour's complaint about the "noise" the Cherries produced during their first afternoon's rehearsal. The show opened minus The Wild Cherries who were an integral part of the musical extravaganza.



Jack Thompson (left) with the members of a purpose-made band called The Rabbit Farm, which played (at much reduced volume) without The Wild Cherries for the production of ALICE IS. Lead guitarist Dennis Urrey (with hat) and seated on floor is Peter Miles, drums, from The Coloured Balls. (photograph © Frank Neilsen)

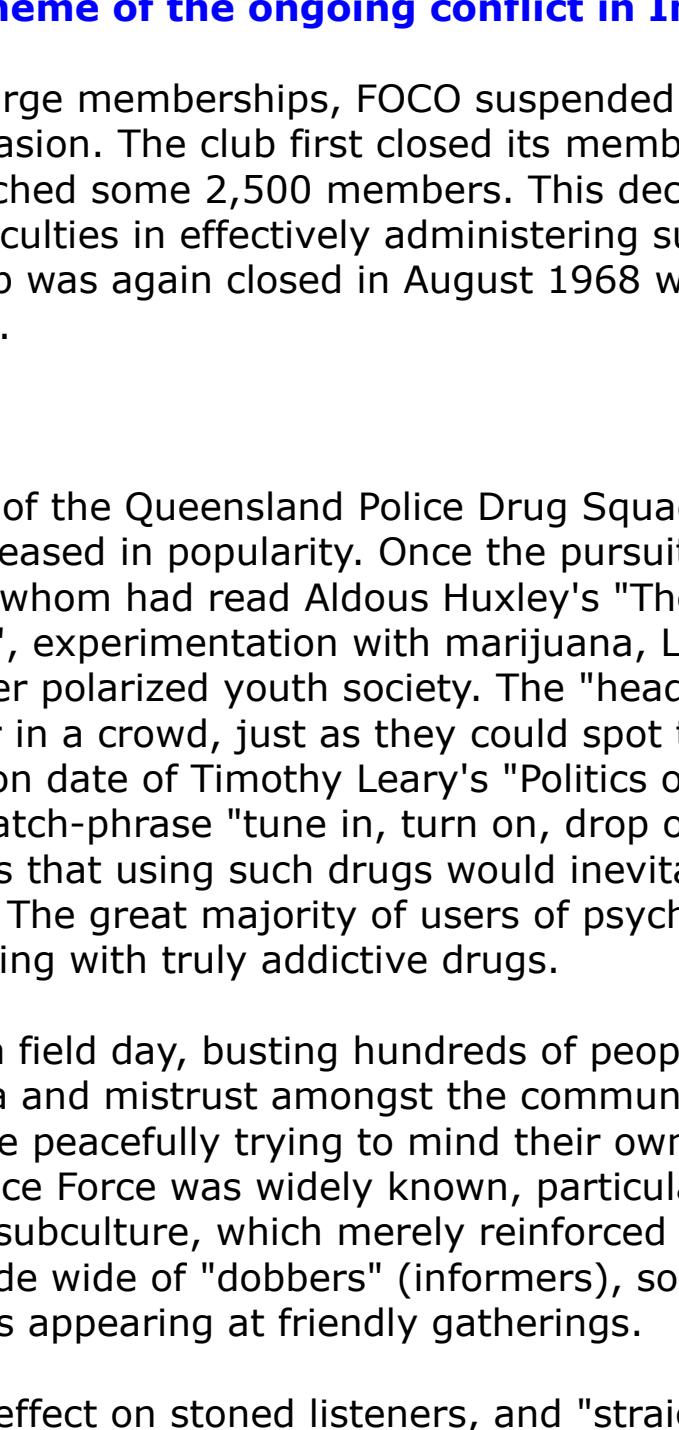
The Sydney-based theatrical group, The Human Body, made a visit to Brisbane in October 1968 to participate in an event called *Vietnam Environment*. Visiting from Sydney were John (Johnny) Allen, who coordinated the Vietnam Environment, Judy Gemes, Hugh Williams and Clem Gorman. The Human Body worked with *TRIBE* and other participants for one week to create an environmental event, using all the available spaces in the building.

John Allen:
*When I saw the potential of the building I wanted to use everything - pop, fighting, stairs, fire escape, film, music, sound, action, violence, blood, symbols of life, advertising, the comic strip approach to reality and the reality of the comic strip.*⁴

John Allen:
*Vietnam Environment, using the whole of FOCO, and bringing in many outside people, poets, readers, painters, architects, environmentalists, dancers. At its centre an American young-anarchist anti-Vietnam script called 'American Atrocities in Vietnam'.*⁵

*Tribe performed a series of Vietnam sketches. A boy in a clear plastic cylinder of ox blood wiped the blood across the plastic view which people had of his prison before breaking out to spread ox blood among the crowd." Then, Allen recorded, "audience members were extracted, put through an interrogation box, and either offered a lucky dip or pushed onto the fire escape. The pop band played an abstract sound poem based on the siren of an ambulance, and the TRIBE improvised an interpretive dance under strobe lights. Chants of 'stop the war', 'leave Vietnam', were passed around and picked up.*⁶

Alan Anderson:
...Vietnam night complete with blood and lawn mowers to represent de-foresting. After the event, the blood seeped through to one of the offices below causing Alec MacDonald and I much difficulty. (Personal correspondence, 21/11/2012)



The FOCO Vietnam Environment, a special night held on Sunday 6 October of 1968, incorporated film, theatre, music, painting ... architectural structures ... anything which could be used to explore the central theme of the ongoing conflict in Indochina.

Overwhelmed by its large memberships, FOCO suspended taking new members on more than one occasion. The club first closed its membership rolls in mid-July 1968, having reached some 2,500 members. This decision was based on overcrowding and difficulties in effectively administering such a large number of members. Membership was again closed in August 1968 when the numbers reached around 3,200.

Drug culture

Prior to the formation of the Queensland Police Drug Squad, marijuana smoking had exponentially increased in popularity. Once the pursuit of a clique of intellectuals, many of whom had read Aldous Huxley's "The Doors of Perception" and "Heaven and Hell", experimentation with marijuana, LSD and psilocybin mushrooms had further polarized youth society. The "heads" could wordlessly recognize one another in a crowd, just as they could spot the "straights". 1968 was also the publication date of Timothy Leary's "Politics of Ecstasy", popularising Leary's catch-phrase "tune in, turn on, drop out". The popular wisdom of the day was that using such drugs would inevitably lead to the "hard stuff", namely heroin. The great majority of users of psychedelics never had any interest in experimenting with truly addictive drugs.

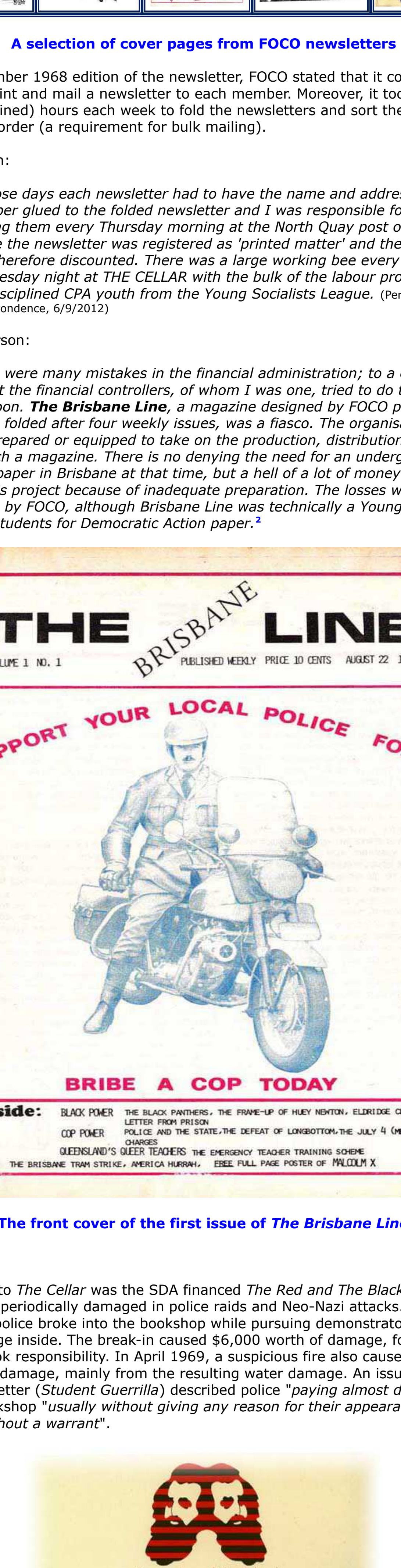
The Drug Squad had a field day, busting hundreds of people, and creating a general air of paranoia and mistrust amongst the community of users, the vast majority of whom were peacefully trying to mind their own business. Corruption in the Queensland Police Force was widely known, particularly amongst members of the drug subculture, which merely reinforced the "enemy" status of police. The police made wide of "dobbers" (informers), so one always had to be on guard for new faces appearing at friendly gatherings.

Music had a powerful effect on stoned listeners, and "straight" pop music was shunned in favour of the more potent stuff. "Psychedelic" rock from American bands such as *Jefferson Airplane*, *The Grateful Dead*, *Country Joe and The Fish*, and *The Doors* was far preferable to most of the hit-parade pap. Modern jazz performers Roland Kirk and Miles Davis were highly influential. Janis Joplin was hailed as "The Queen of Psychedelic Rock". The Australian Top 40 hit parades did not feature this music, though there was still a strong influence of English groups such as *The Beatles*, *The Small Faces* and *The Rolling Stones*. Pointing up the conservatism of the general listening public, the 1968 No.1 pop song in Australia was Johnny Farnham's "Sadie The Cleaning Lady", which made most of the "heads" squirm with embarrassment.

The Cellar

SDA's headquarters, *The Cellar*, had already been established in the former Roma Street Markets prior to the launch of FOCO. *The Cellar* became the organisational and promotional centre for FOCO. It was also used as a more intimate venue hosting events such as drama groups, film nights and folk sessions. It was promoted as an extension of FOCO's activities in an environment *"unhindered by noise and great crushes"* to distinguish it from the main venue.

FOCO published a weekly newsletter which was mailed to each of over 3,000 members, advising them of the upcoming Sunday's events or 'happenings'. Each newsletter featured interesting, often humorous, cover designs and graphics, many created by the talented artist, Bob Daly, who usually took care of the layout as well.



Cover page of a FOCO newsletter
(publication: FOCO Collective)

The SDA-owned printing press was located at THE CELLAR and regular work parties gathered there to get the newsletters ready for mailing each week. The regular work party included Lee Walkington, Lynda Boland, Patricia Boland, Sue Otway, Wendy Otway, Heather Gould, Bill Gould, and Bob Gould, among others.

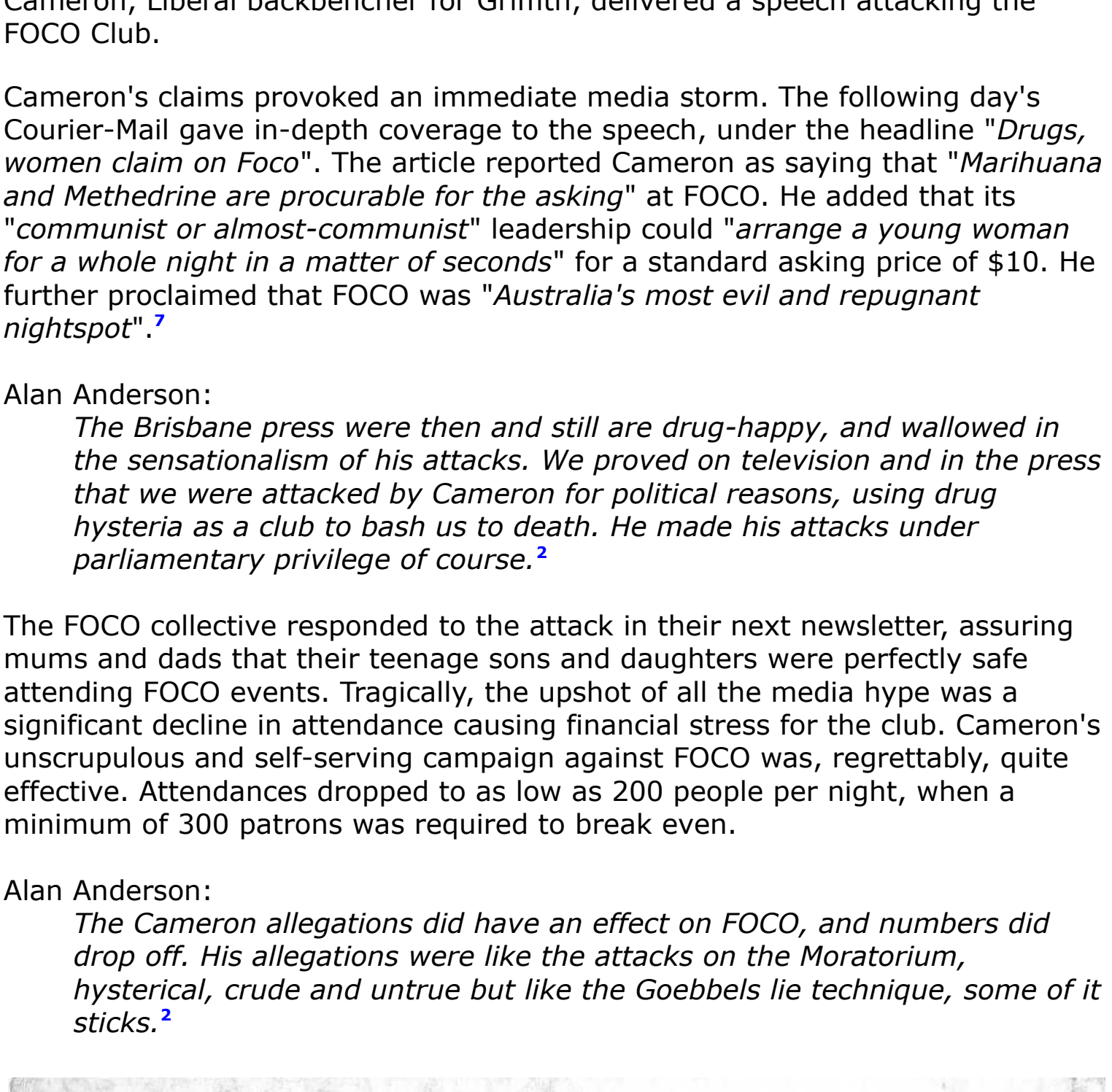


The Multilith model 1250 offset press that Bob Dwyer, Mathew Lambourne and others used to print the FOCO newsletters each week in THE CELLAR.

Lynda Boland:

The printshop had a large poster of Joe Stalin on the wall on which someone (probably Bob Dwyer) had placed the following words in white leterset - 'To David, Mitch and Brian, Love, Joe' referring of course to Dave Guthrie, Mitch Thompson and Brian Laver. (Personal correspondence, 11/9/2012)

The FOCO newsletter was offset printed on both sides of a foolscap sheet, which was then folded in half to create a conveniently-sized four-page booklet. Sometimes, a coloured ink, and/or coloured paper, was used for variety, or to add interest.



A selection of cover pages from FOCO newsletters

In a November 1968 edition of the newsletter, FOCO stated that it cost over 2 cents to print and mail a newsletter to each member. Moreover, it took about 100 (combined) hours each week to fold the newsletters and sort them into post-code order (a requirement for bulk mailing).

Larry Zetlin:

In those days each newsletter had to have the name and address of the member glued to the folded newsletter and I was responsible for bulk mailing them every Thursday morning at the North Quay post office, where the newsletter was registered as 'printed matter' and the postage was therefore discounted. There was a large working bee every Wednesday night at THE CELLAR with the bulk of the labour provided by the disciplined CPA youth from the Young Socialists League. (Personal correspondence, 6/9/2012)

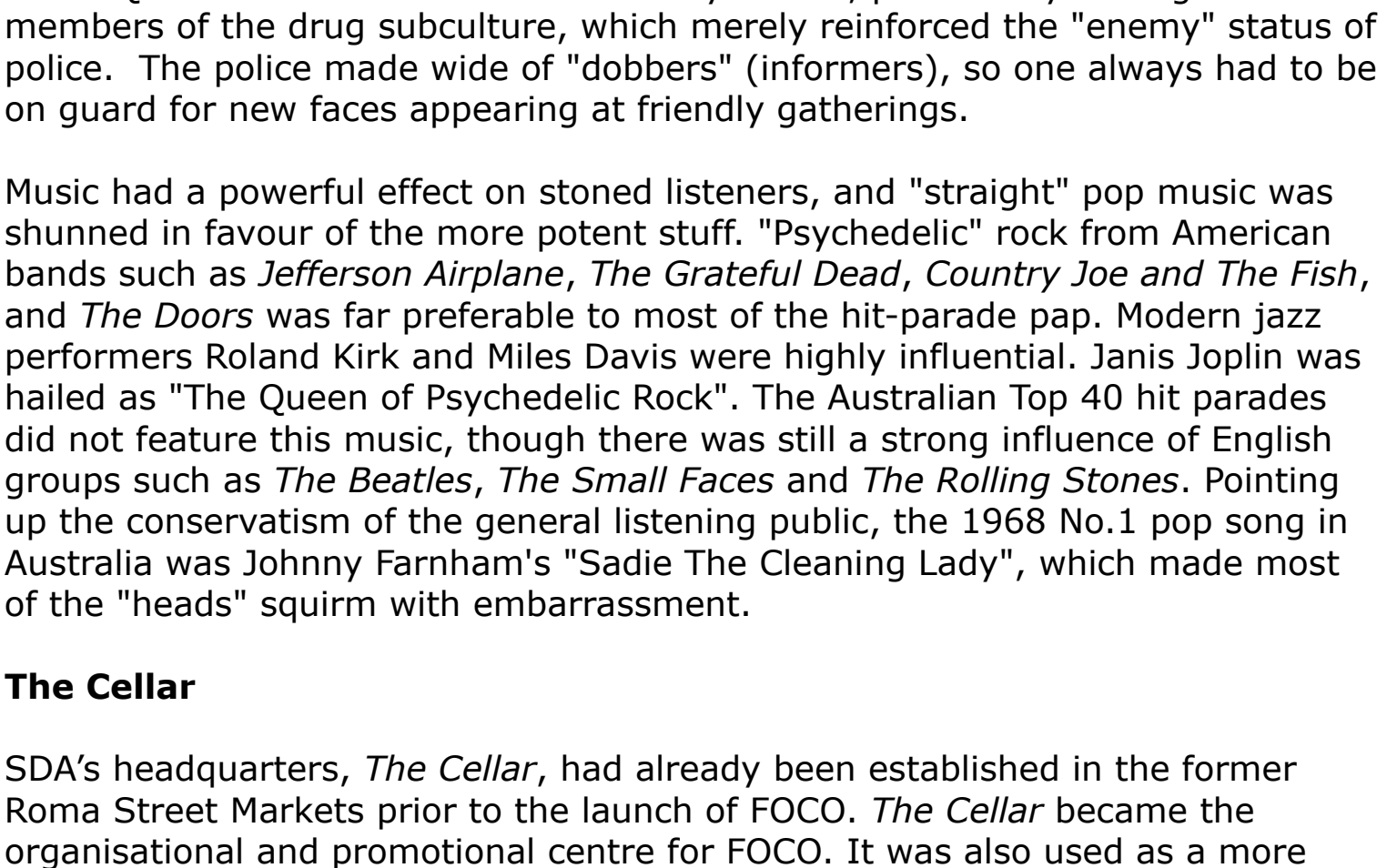
Alan Anderson:

*There were many mistakes in the financial administration; to a certain extent the financial controllers, of whom I was one, tried to do too much too soon. **The Brisbane Line**, a magazine designed by FOCO people, which folded after four weekly issues, was a fiasco. The organisation was not prepared or equipped to take on the production, distribution and sale of such a magazine. There is no denying the need for an underground newspaper in Brisbane at that time, but a hell of a lot of money was lost on this project because of inadequate preparation. The losses were largely borne by FOCO, although Brisbane Line was technically a Young Socialists and Students for Democratic Action paper.*²

The front cover of the first issue of The Brisbane Line

Bookshop

Next door to *The Cellar* was the SDA financed *The Red and The Black Bookshop*, which was periodically damaged in police raids and Neo-Nazi attacks. On one occasion, police broke into the bookshop while pursuing demonstrators who had taken refuge inside. The break-in caused \$6,000 worth of damage, for which nobody took responsibility. In April 1969, a suspicious fire also caused significant damage, mainly from the resulting water damage. An issue of SDA's own newsletter (*Student Guerrilla*) described police *"paying almost daily visits" to the bookshop "usually without giving any reason for their appearance, and always without a warrant"*.

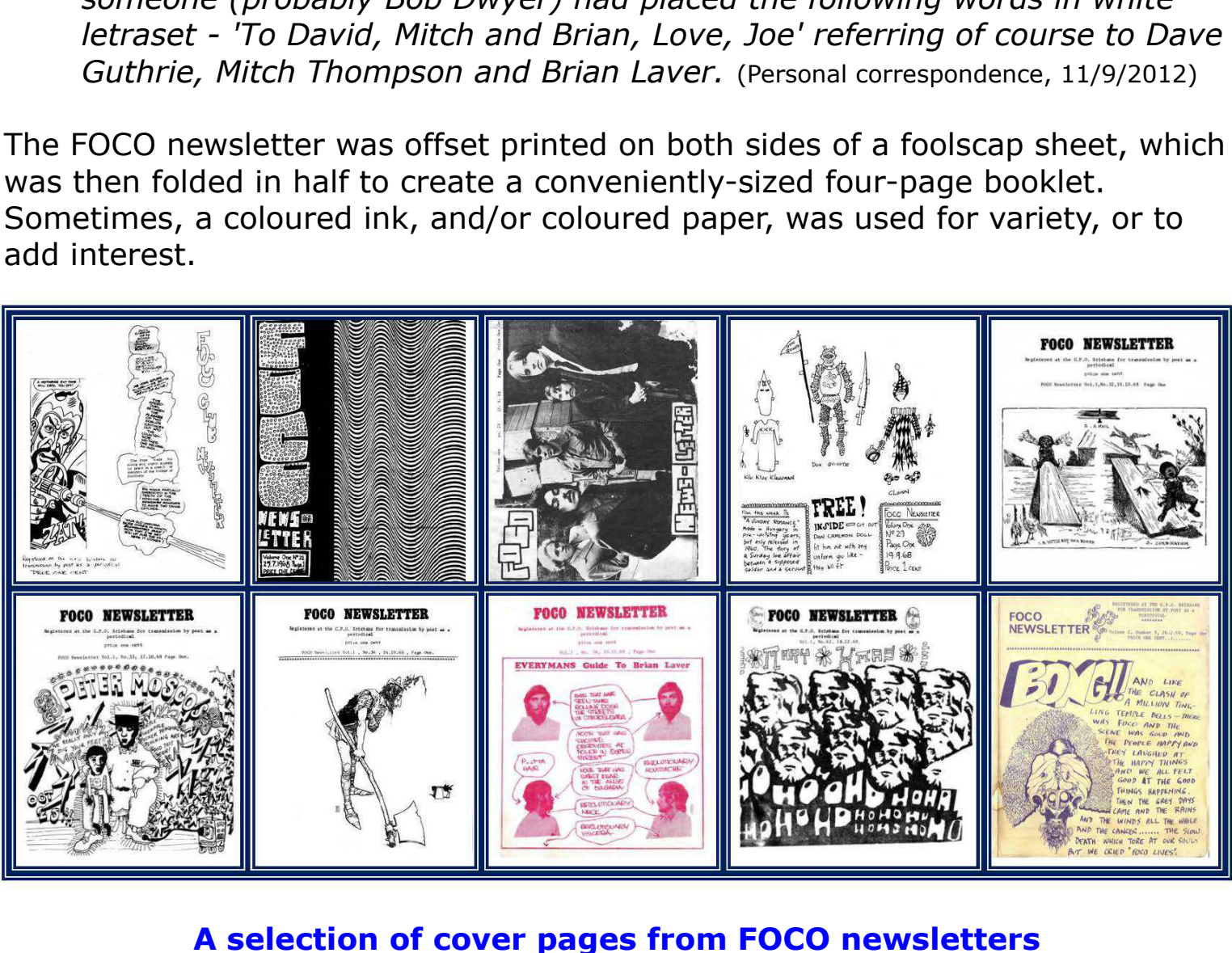


A young visitor, Jean Kent, captured the aura of THE CELLAR as follows:

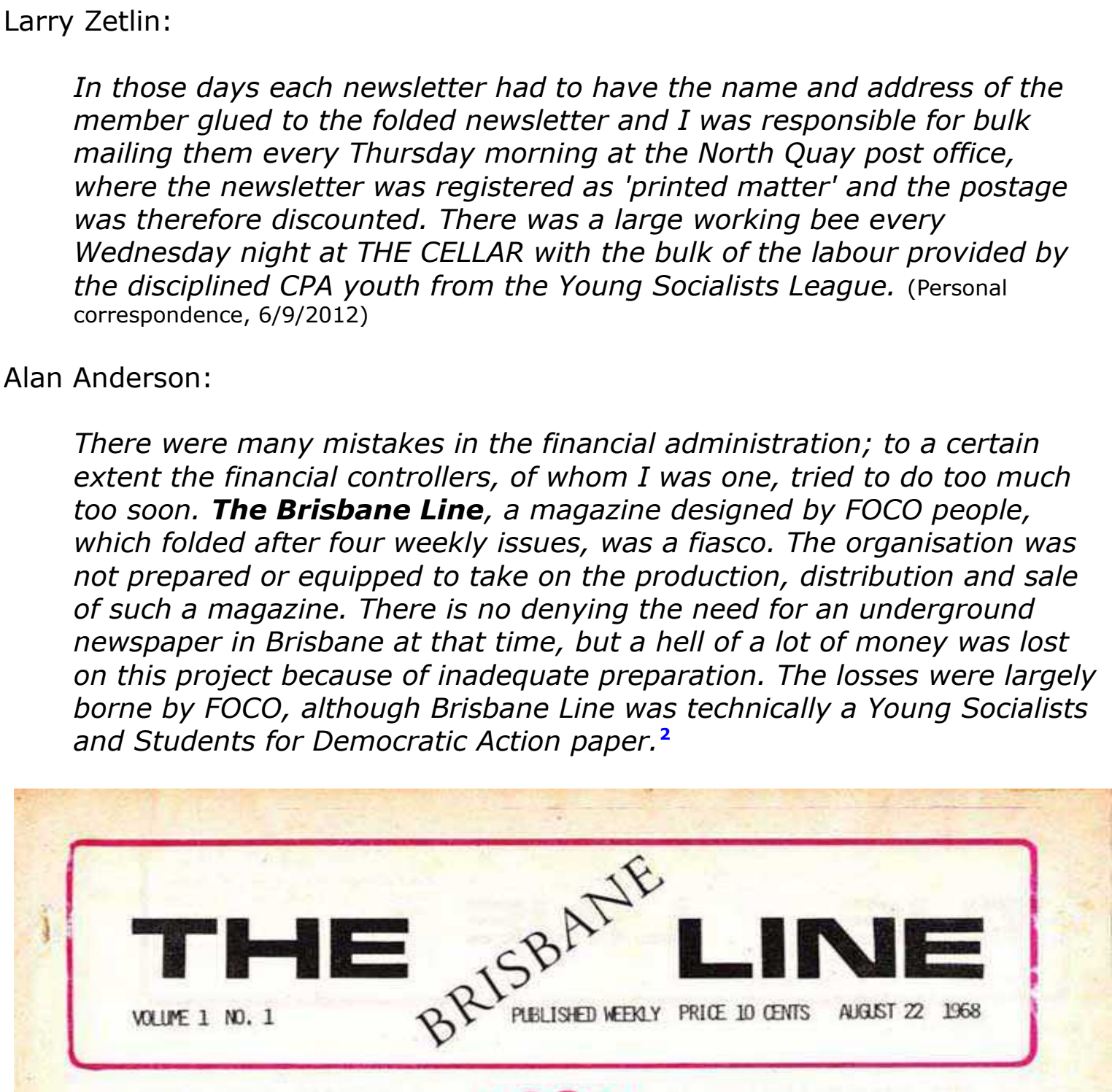
*The Red and Black Bookshop, in Brisbane, when I was nineteen, was the place to discover poets. 'A corrupting place', our parents called it – dubious as Dracula lurking near blameless sellers of batik and too many flavours of ice cream. In the dangerous spaces left there by banned Beardsley prints, young men who had recently fainted, spit-polished and khaki-creased, cradling cadet rifles on Anzac Day, were turning over Marx and Mao, arguing for anarchy and intently lengthening their hair.*⁶

On 27 May 1969, after the bookshop had moved to new premises in the Elizabeth Arcade, police seized fifteen posters from the shop. Thirteen of these posters were reproductions of a drawing by the 19th-century artist, Aubrey Beardsley (1872 – 1898) called *"Lysistrata Haranguing the Athenian Women"*.

The proprietors of the bookshop, Brian Laver, Mitch Thompson, and David Guthrie, faced obscenity charges for displaying this print in public. In a Brisbane Magistrate's Court hearing on 7 July 1969, the prints were declared obscene. Despite an appeal to the High Court, the bookshop was forced to pay a substantial fine. The judge ruled that the other poster confiscated, called *"Save Water - Shower with a Friend"*, was neither obscene nor indecent and was returned.



"Lysistrata Haranguing the Athenian Women" by Aubrey Beardsley



The Sydney Morning Herald – Tuesday, July 8th 1969.

Cameron affair

Five months after the launch of FOCO, Johannes Bjelke-Petersen became premier of Queensland on 8 August 1968. From the outset, FOCO was regarded with suspicion by the reactionary forces that ran Queensland. During a late night sitting of Federal Parliament on 12 September 1968, M.H.R. Don Cameron, Liberal backbencher for Griffith, delivered a speech attacking the FOCO Club.

Cameron's claims provoked an immediate media storm. The following day's Courier-Mail gave in-depth coverage to the speech, under the headline *"Drugs, women claim on Foco"*. The article reported Cameron as saying that *"Marihuana and Methedrine are procurable for the asking"* at FOCO. He added that its *"communist or almost-communist" leadership could "arrange a young woman for a whole night in a matter of seconds"* for a standard asking price of \$10. He further proclaimed that FOCO was *"Australia's most evil and repugnant nightspot"*.⁷

Alan Anderson:

*The Brisbane press were then and still are drug-happy, and wallowed in the sensationalism of his attacks. We proved on television and in the press that we were attacked by Cameron for political reasons, using drug hysteria as a club to bash us to death. He made his attacks under parliamentary privilege of course.*²

The FOCO collective responded to the attack in their next newsletter, assuring mums and dads that their teenage sons and daughters were perfectly safe attending FOCO events. Tragically, the upshot of all the media hype was a significant decline in attendance causing financial stress for the club. Cameron's unscrupulous and self-serving campaign against FOCO was, regrettably, quite effective. Attendances dropped to as low as 200 people per night, when a minimum of 300 patrons was required to break even.

Alan Anderson:

*The Cameron allegations did have an effect on FOCO, and numbers did drop off. His allegations were like the attacks on the Moratorium, hysterical, crude and untrue but like the Goebbels lie technique, some of it sticks.*²



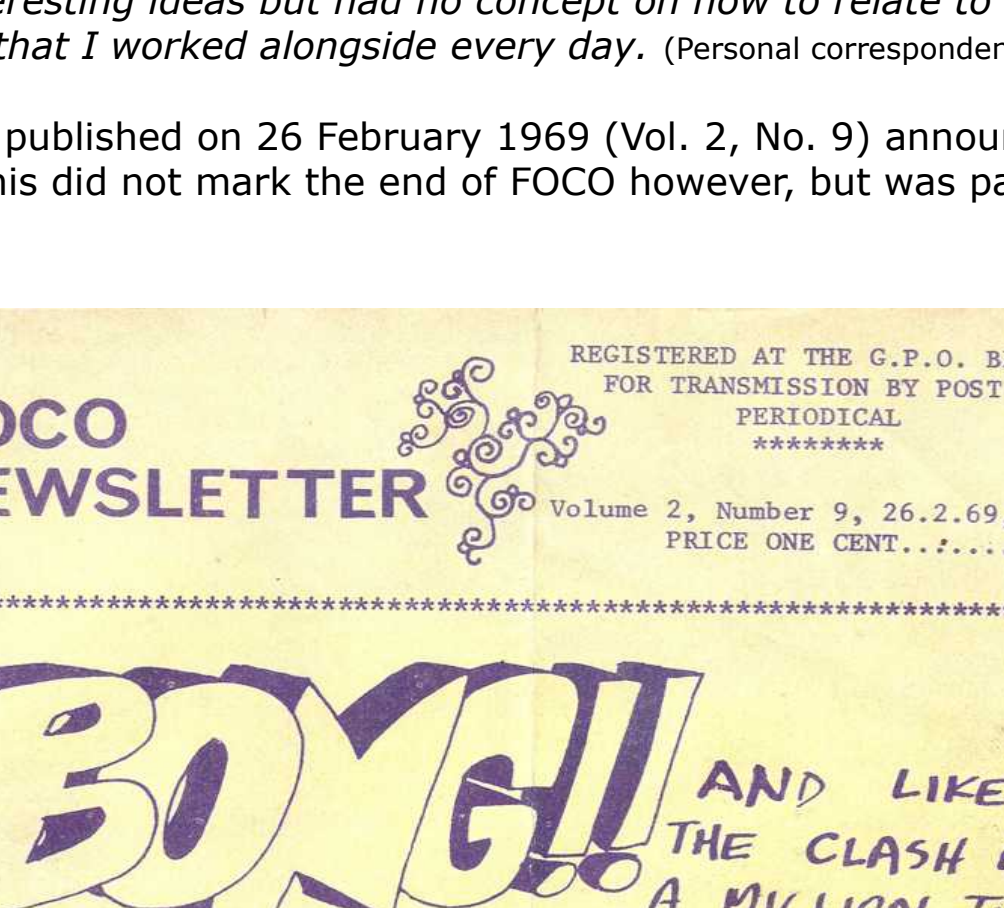
FOCO Newsletter promoting the second appearance of Lobby Loyde and The Wild Cherries. The band played to reduced crowds at the regular FOCO Sunday night event at the height of the Cameron controversy
(publication: FOCO Collective).

In the FOCO newsletter dated 12 September 1968 (vol. 1 no. 28) it was stated:

*The visit this week of the Wild Cherries has special significance to the mouldy old walls of FOCO. The Cherries are synonymous with so many things dear to the very heart of FOCO that their return seems more of a reunion than just a visit of another group. The very first chords ever to be wrung from a guitar are from the Cherries on the first night, 29 Sundays ago, the very first band ever to appear at FOCO was the Wild Cherries.*⁸



In response to Cameron's ridiculous allegations, posters and stickers were displayed all over Brisbane reassuring patrons that "Foco Lives" (publication: FOCO Collective)



Another promotional sticker in the series "FOCO LIVES" (Larry Zetlin came up with the idea for the "FOCO LIVES" slogan.)

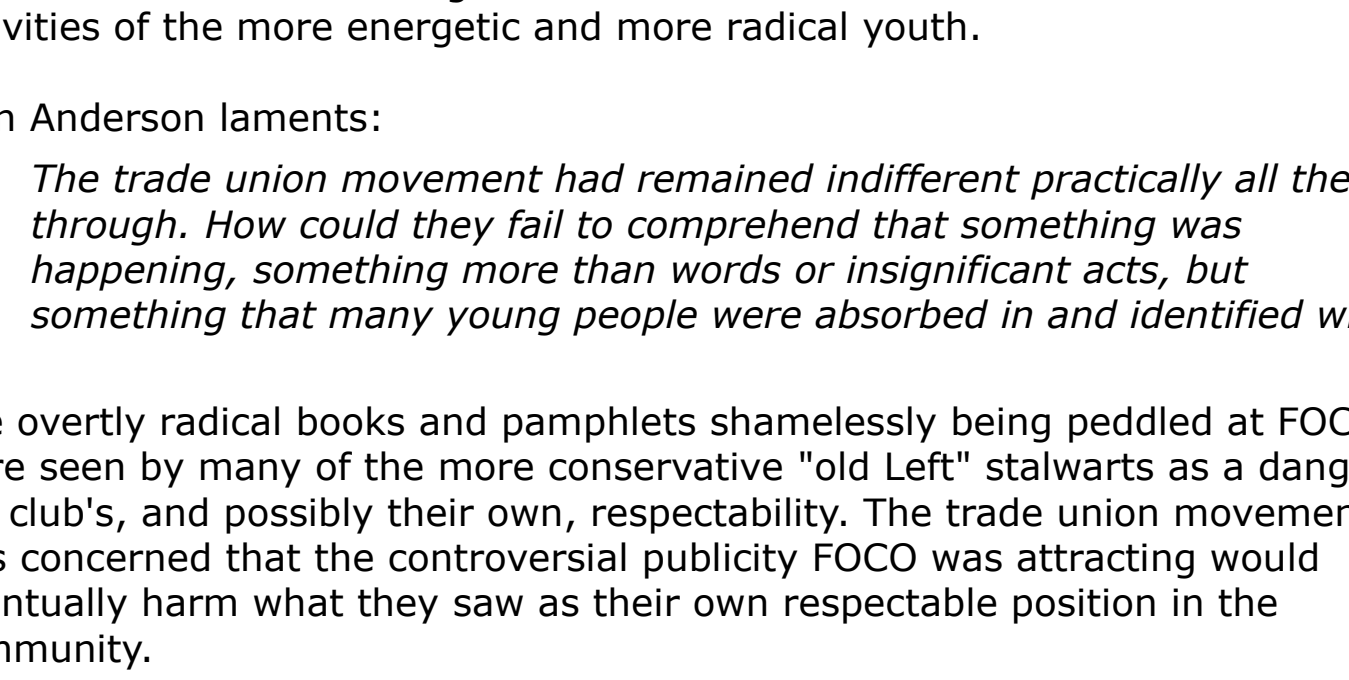
Winds of change

Around this time, "politicos" in SDA started to express a concern that the original intention of FOCO was being lost, since many members were content to simply have fun in the disco while ignoring the political aspects of the club. By the latter part of 1968, most radicals within SDA had reevaluated their position in regard to the FOCO experiment. For them, FOCO was no longer "aiding the revolutionary movement" and instead they saw FOCO as "channelling potential revolutionary people into non-revolutionary activity...of a cultural, unorganised nature". This theoretical dilemma saw SDA largely pull out of FOCO activities before the end of 1968.

Lee Walkington:

I was influenced by all the ideas and struggles in 1968 but as a working class lad with a job I found it hard to relate to the student radicals who had interesting ideas but had no concept on how to relate to the average person that I worked alongside every day. (Personal correspondence, 11/11/2012)

A newsletter published on 26 February 1969 (Vol. 2, No. 9) announced "FOCO IS DEAD". This did not mark the end of FOCO however, but was part of the final decline.



BONG!! And like the clash of a million tingling temple bells - there was FOCO and the scene was good and the People happy and they laughed at the Happy Things and we all felt good at the Good Things happening. Then the grey days came and the rains and the winds all the while and the cancer. The slow death which tore at our souls; but we cried 'FOCO Lives.' FOCO IS DEAD. But FOCO is still living in the hearts and minds. 'FOCO LIVES!!!! The time has come to kill FOCO the monster, the bureaucrat, the authority, but from it will come FOCO the imagination, FOCO the spearhead.

The dissolution of SDA as an organization came a little over a month later in April of 1969, arguably a nail in the FOCO coffin. The old SDA quickly reformed as the new Revolutionary Socialist Student Alliance (RSSA) wishing to "pass from a protest organisation to a radical or revolutionary movement" in order to build a libertarian-Marxist political group rather than a social club.

Alan Anderson:

*The student Left developed a theory that FOCO was not aiding the revolutionary movement. They suggested it was channelling potentially revolutionary people into non-revolutionary activity. Their alternatives were hazy. After the pull-out the radical student movement had little action, less socialism and no masses. FOCO continued, the poorer for their going.*²

Mitch Thompson:

After FOCO folded, the YSL could not let go and tried to keep it going, in a greatly diminished form. ^{£ (17/12/2012)}

Referring to SDA, Lee Walkington comments:

...their withdrawal hastened the end even though other less experienced and less well connected people did step up. (Personal correspondence, 26/11/2012)

Unfortunately, political discontent was brewing in other quarters. The club's alliance with the Trade Unions was becoming increasingly strained. The reformist nature of the old guard institutions didn't sit well with the aims and activities of the more energetic and more radical youth.

Alan Anderson laments:

*The trade union movement had remained indifferent practically all the way through. How could they fail to comprehend that something was happening, something more than words or insignificant acts, but something that many young people were absorbed in and identified with?*²

The overtly radical books and pamphlets shamelessly being peddled at FOCO were seen by many of the more respectable "old Left" stalwarts as a danger to the club's, and possibly their own, respectability. The trade union movement was concerned that the controversial publicity FOCO was attracting would eventually harm what they saw as their own respectable position in the community.

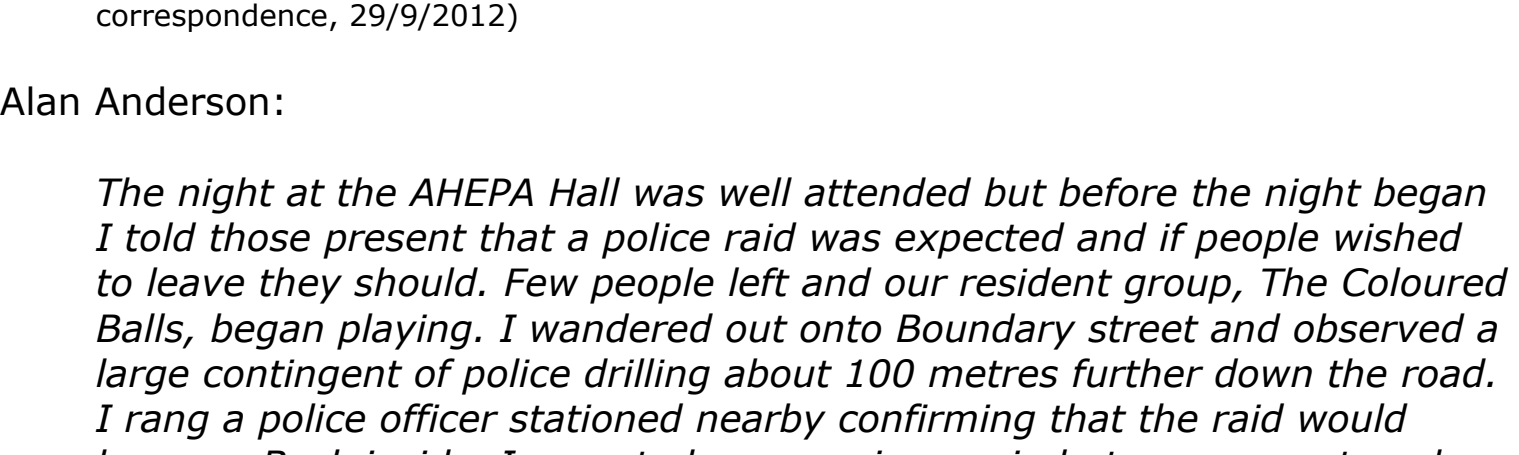
May Day debacle

Alan Anderson:

The 1969 Labor Day incident which the student section of FOCO engineered and the Young Socialists agreed to, also played a part in FOCO's demise. The annual Labour Day, or May Day, procession in Queensland is a public holiday. It is traditionally led by ALP leaders in the political and industrial arena.

Young radicals, mostly FOCO members, staged...a European-style demonstration - red and black flags predominating, chanting slogans, sitting down and then running linked armed at full pace with flags flowing. The building workers accommodated us within their ranks; there was little disruption of the procession, but there was a resultant cultural shock.

*The leader of the Federal Parliamentary Opposition, Mr Whitlam, was harangued by large sections of our group, and was undoubtedly embarrassed. There were a few excesses, these we regretted.*²



The red-and-black flag waving "student" contingent following behind in the 1969 Brisbane May Day procession (photo: Grahame Garner / Fryer Library, Brisbane).

Alan Anderson continues:

*The Premier joined in and said we were 350 paid southern agitators - (his remarks) hysterical but typical. The subsequent reaction of the established Left was a reflection of FOCO's problem of acceptance. The resulting anti radical press publicity upset many in the Labour movement, but it should be pointed out that the demonstration was not an idle thing. The aim was to present to the people of Brisbane a genuine desire of young radicals to transform into something effective a Labour Day which had in the past relied upon Punch and Judy shows and ice-cream for its revolutionary content. In short: put politics back into Labour Day.*²

The majority of the labour movement then closed ranks and came out against FOCO. They seized this opportunity to dissociate themselves from the radical youth movement. TLC president, Jack Egerton, drew a clear line between the respectable reformist Left and radical students by describing:

*...the irresponsible actions of a group of misguided way-out individuals who abuse the trade unions in the name of civil liberty and the right to dissent by disrupting the Labor Day procession, committing acts of vandalism and subjecting Labor leaders to rude and unwarranted personal attack.*³

Egerton insisted:

*...responsible trade union officials have no intention of allowing a group of scruffy, confused individuals who are unable to differentiate between civil liberties and anarchy to cause dissent in the trade union movement.*⁹



Youthful "exuberance" in the 1969 May Day procession (photo: Grahame Garner / Fryer Library, Brisbane).

Alan Anderson:

*Through all FOCO's relationship with the trade unions it was tolerated but not helped and certainly not understood. FOCO was an ideal platform from which union leadership could express their point of view. In the 15 months that FOCO lived only 10 officials attended and three spoke, and even then it was on our initiative. I believe that FOCO was murdered by a trade union movement steeped in conservatism.*²

Soon afterward, FOCO was informed that they could no longer use the venue at the Trades Halls, ostensibly for planned renovations. The club's final event at the Trades Hall venue took place during the Queen's Birthday long weekend on Sunday June 8, 1969.

The final decline

Despite the blow, FOCO struggled on.

Alan Anderson:

In vacating that venue we sought alternative places to continue which was difficult both politically and logistically. It should be noted that in addition to these problems there was considerable exhaustion on the part of those of us still carrying out the arduous job of putting on a show whilst all of us were working full-time jobs. We felt that having an activity such as FOCO gave us a way of maintaining continuing contact with thousands of young people who, even 40 years later, still regard FOCO as their introduction to radical life. With this in mind, the continuation of it was important notwithstanding the difficulties. Through Peg Penberthy, we secured the AHEPA hall in Boundary Street, West End and tried to continue there. Knowing that we would also not enjoy the protection of Trades Hall, a raid by the police was likely and indeed took place as anticipated. (Personal correspondence, 7/9/2012)

While searching for a new venue, there was about a 6 week lapse in the continuity of presenting regular FOCO events each week. AHEPA HALL was far from an ideal venue but the best option available. The intention was to resume regular weekly events at this new venue.

Alan Anderson:

In the days leading up to what became a one night stand, we received a number of serious threats that were passed on to us by Alec Macdonald who was always a tower of support to FOCO from beginning to end. Nevertheless we opened with the slogan FOCO LIVES. (Personal correspondence, 29/9/2012)

Alan Anderson:

The night at the AHEPA Hall was well attended but before the night began I told those present that a police raid was expected and if people wished to leave they should. Few people left and our resident group, The Coloured Balls, began playing. I wandered out onto Boundary street and observed a large contingent of police drilling about 100 metres further down the road. I rang a police officer stationed nearby confirming that the raid would happen. Back inside, I repeated my warning again but everyone stayed. Then in the police came and began dragging people out. The band stopped and began playing 'We'll sing you a song and it won't take long, all coppers are bastards'. Perhaps this surreal experience convinced me that our time had come. (Personal correspondence, 29/9/2012)

Tragically, FOCO's key supporter in the TLC, Alex Macdonald, died suddenly from a heart attack on 18 August 1969.

The search for a venue continued with an attempt to rent part of the Queensland Waterside Workers' Club. While the union leadership was open to the idea, the initiative was not supported in sufficient numbers at the rank and file level. So FOCO remained venue-less.

Alan Anderson:

In September 1969 I organised Trade Union Youth Week, as we had done the previous year, with an open air concert held in the Brisbane Botanical Gardens. This was the last time an event was held under the banner of FOCO. (Personal correspondence, 7/9/2012)

Poster for Trade Union Youth Week, 1968

(photo: Bob Daly, poster designer with Norma Chalmers).

Street theatre performance during Trade Union Youth Week (photograph courtesy Lynda Boland)

Legacy

Facing ongoing financial difficulties, their base of support eroding, and with their organizers exhausted, the decision was made to close FOCO permanently. In September of 1969, the grand experiment finally drew to a close.

Alan Anderson:

Did the police raid at AHEPA Hall bring an end to Foco? No it did not. What brought about its demise was the breakdown of the good working relations between those who saw a role for a popular radical mainstream activity and those who believed that FOCO diverted energy and attention away from the real struggle.

All up however, including 30 more years of life as a union official in Sydney, FOCO remains the most significant event I (ever) participated in.

FOCO may have been slightly ahead of its time for the Australian political and cultural climate, but it was a creative jump in the right direction with lessons that should have value for the future. (Personal correspondence, 29/9/2012)

Mitch Thompson:

Because this was a real collective effort, of a loose grouping it probably was always going to have a limited life. But what a quality life, an impact in Brisbane well beyond its short existence. (Personal correspondence, 17/12/2012)

John Stanwell, an organiser who kept many aspects of the FOCO tradition alive in later endeavours, reflects:

FOCO was an amazing confluence of art and politics, which made it both attractive to young people and a threat to their parents (which is largely why it was closed down). Most importantly, FOCO showed us we could successfully run large and complex ventures that were successful in both cultural and financial terms; which exposed a new audience to radical ideas; and which made a profit that we could use on more political activities. (Personal correspondence, 8/8/2012)

Stanwell acknowledges the inspiration came from FOCO for the renowned 'Joint Effort' used very successfully for fundraising in the 1970s and early 1980s, especially for the progressive radio station 4ZZZ-FM.

The endemic corruption presided over by Bjelke-Petersen was eventually exposed by the Fitzgerald Inquiry (1987 - 1989). This ended the National Party's 32-year run as the government of Queensland. Three former ministers and a police commissioner (who also lost his knighthood) were jailed for their involvement in dirty dealings which had thrived throughout the long reign of the National Party.

The whirlwind existence of FOCO lives on in the hearts of many as fond memories of a time when true democracy seemed within reach. A world was envisaged where war had been consigned to the history books, and people could live in true, creative harmony. Sadly, the world remains mired in outmoded thought, as illustrated by the "business as usual" approach to economics in the face of impending environmental catastrophe. The left/right divide seems more needlessly polarised than ever, as do the arguments over monotheistic religion. FOCO engendered healthy discussion of all such matters, and taught us the value of community.

Lee Walkington, a regular workers at the club every week, reflects:

We were aware at the time that it was something unique and I for one worked hard to make it a success each Sunday night. It was true though that by the end of the period that the 'hands and feet' activists, of which I was one, were left worn out by it all. It took a lot of work to set it up and an even greater amount of work to clean up after it was over. (Personal correspondence, 11/11/2012)

Lee Walkington concludes:

Even today some 40+ years on I know of quite a few people who credit their interest in politics and art and radical culture to FOCO. (Personal correspondence, 26/11/2012)

FOCO LIVES!

Frank Neilsen, Brisbane-born, was employed as a commercial/industrial photographer during the 1960s. He studied art and photography at Brisbane Technical College, and was a member of Poets, Essayists and Novelists (P.E.N.) in the 1960s, as well as being a member of the Miscellaneous Workers Union. He moved to Melbourne in 1973, where he operated his own photographic studio. He holds the degree of Bachelor of Information Technology, and is a member of the Brisbane Discussion Circle.

<fneilsen@outlook.com>

Peter Gray is an independent filmmaker, and award-winning director of photography, with a career spanning forty years and four continents. Peter was a student at the University of Queensland in the early 1970s, and is a Graduate of the Australian Film and Television School. Peter is a founding member and manager of the Brisbane Discussion Circle.

<peter@radicaltimes.info>

The Brisbane Discussion Circle (BDC) is an online group that exchanges information and resources about the events and activities spanning the period 1960 to 1985. It was formed by political and cultural activists in an effort to develop and preserve the historical legacy of this era. The circle is comprised of a diverse group of individuals who achieved amazing things in Brisbane during this time. The aim is to preserve our history for posterity with sophistication and accuracy. This presentation is an example of a document arising from such joint effort by BDC members. Requests for membership can made via the BDC website.

<<http://bdc.radicaltimes.info>> or by e-mail <manager@radicaltimes.info>

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references:

- 1 The use of the first person singular refers to the experiences and recollection of Frank Neilson. The historical research and interviews for the article were conducted by Peter Gray
- 2 Anderson, Alan. "The Foco Story" Tribune (newspaper), 2 September 1970.
- 3 Brian Laver interviewed by Andrew Stafford (6/11/2002), Andrew Stafford Collection (Fryer Library UQFL440).
- 4 Considine, Tom. Double Dialogues "Enter The New Wave", issue 11, winter 2009, Deakin University referencing John Alan "The Human Body" published in Masque (magazine), February-March 1969.
- 5 Guthrie, Adrian John. "When the way out was in: avant-garde theatre in Australia, 1965-1985" Doctor of Philosophy thesis, Faculty of Creative Arts, University of Wollongong, 1996.
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- 7 Courier-Mail "Drugs, Women claim on Foco", 13 September 1968
- 8 FOCO newsletter, 12 September 1968 (vol. 1 no. 28)
- 9 Courier-Mail "Student Radicals Never Again at Labor Day", 16 May 1969.