

# **THE BRISBANE PROTESTS 1965-72**

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## **AUTHENTICATION**

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis.

Signed

**James Barnard Prentice**

## **CULTURAL CONSIDERATION**

This work refers to deceased Aborigines and Torres Strait Islander people.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

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# ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse, in the broadest light, the very specific subject matter of the Brisbane Protests of 1965 to 1972. Additionally the thesis reflects on the limitations of the relevant social movement theorists in regard to understanding these Brisbane events in the light of general theory and historical analyses. The question that the thesis seeks to answer is how to provide a coherent account of the myriad of groups and protests that flourished in Brisbane in the period 1965 to 1972. These protesters' relationship to global events, yet specificity within a context and diversity in their internal differences and their outcomes, both short- and long- term, prevent ready categorisation within theoretical understandings or inclusive historical analyses. The thesis finds important new historical detail set in contexts infrequently analysed in literature about protest activities. Using this deficit to assess the various strengths and weaknesses of several major social movement theorists, it articulates not only their separate and collective value but also the need for their supplementation by other general theory, as well as general historical and more localised geo-political perspectives.

Analytically the thesis relies firstly on three social movement theorists, Tarrow, Melucci and Habermas, the further application of some general theory in Global Systems Theory and feminism. These other general insights prove of specific analytical relevance while they also point to necessarily more universal critiques of the social movement theories. The first analytical frame of the thesis comprises of these theories.

Secondly through using the historical concept of post-totalitarianism, a second analytical frame contains an hypothesis about a re-awakened Romanticism tangential but related to this post-totalitarian influence. This historical explanation of post-totalitarianism operates as a 'catch-all' explanation of the important directions of social and political change affecting the international community in the Cold War era prior to and contemporaneous with the protests. While the new left's contemporaneous links to the Brisbane protests appear important, these are far from exclusive given that several other, ultimately more historically important in hindsight movements such as the women's movement have roots in the times, as do a plethora of other activities of the

Brisbane Protests. These protests cannot readily fit the description of that of a local chapter of the new left. Instead the wider and more diverse incorporation of these events under radical Romantic post-totalitarianism proves valuable analytically. In addition, this Romantic form of post-totalitarianism captures the considerable ambiguity in the literature about the new left. Amenable to the understanding of both radical humanist practices and to degeneration from such ideals, of which the latter, in particular, is now pervasively represented in the scholarship as description of the fate of the new left, radical Romantic post-totalitarianism conceptually defines the range and complexity of the influences on the Brisbane Protests more adequately than the literature focused upon the international new left. The contradictory associations with on one hand, ideological rigidity and terrorism described in this thesis as the 'official' new left and on the other hand post-totalitarianism and other aspects of Romanticism (other than terrorist or just insurrectionary association) alone suggest the new left's problematic status as a general explanation of the Brisbane Protests. Radical post-totalitarian Romanticism incorporates an international influence linked to post-war and Cold War consciousness and new emerging critiques of the global status quo as well as the ambiguity of manifestations of movements connected to this Western based but also third-world-influenced consciousness. These influences and their potentials will be explored within the post-war world although these are also derivative of early streams of reflection about, particularly, industrial societies. At the same time the connection of the women's and the Indigenous movements to the new left has an analytic framework in which differences and similarities can benefit from new perspectives.

The thesis holds that the immediate context and movement-relevant clashes over the understanding of and changes in the dynamics of the Cold War period rest on the notional division of protagonists for change into post-totalitarians and radical Romantic post-totalitarians. The former view represents supporters and sometime-allies; the latter that of the often newer in formation, very loosely organised protesters. This clash provides a schematic overview, however social movement analyses, while of critical value, must then be further related to the idiosyncratic national formation of countries like Australia.

Thirdly, the analysis includes reconstructions of various interpretations of the specifically fragile character of the Australian nation identity beyond its core-peripherality in its

subsumption of culture and politics in orientations to national survival through alliance and the absence of ideological discourse and division. Its general culture rests on a patriarchal, materialistic utilitarianism. Queensland's partly idiosyncratic position within this national context is the final focus of this third frame. Beyond the Janus-face of core-peripherality represented by these national and state jurisdictions the thesis is examines further specificity at the State level also.

While the thesis concludes that these three frames are necessary components of the explanation of the civil liberties, anti-war, anti-suburban including cultural production, Romantic university, gender and race movements, it finds that these social movements of the Brisbane Protests must be described, beyond their relationship, which is partial and complex, to theories of Western social movement formation, as discrete historical formations of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism. Yet this perspective also requires supplementation by framing based upon recognition of Australia's semi-peripheral status and materialistic utilitarianism, which contribute to a protester-initiated cultural and political national identity crisis rather than just a political crisis. As well this frame relies on the assertion that Queensland's debilitated public sphere, in the light of movements elsewhere, proved conducive to a dominant role for university-based people in initiating and broadening the disputes with the use of immanent critique, and culturally rich and inclusive outlooks in theoretical and organisational practices. In various alliances including between university groups, few workers, and the deeply culturally stratified Indigenous and women, both of whose movements eventually proved the most efficacious while fracturing the illusion that this was a united effort without deep differences the radical Romantic post-totalitarians made use of resources, including pre-formed and somewhat idiosyncratic domestic and urban spaces. All these factors coalesced to produce partly generation-reliant changes in oppressive conditions. Therefore the thesis argues that general theory and historical analyses are both critical to the explanation and provide a sufficiently rich tapestry of generality and exception to provide an analytic model.

Despite the insights gained from Tarrow's view of political processes, Melucci's view of experimental spaces, identity and sites of conflict in new types of training and Habermas' sense of the breadth of rationalising processes, operating in the background yet influential on the outcomes of social movements, the theoretical conclusion points to problems with some of their terminology like that of 'democracy', 'solidarity', 'post-industrial', 'new' or '



and offensive' and 'lifeworld and system'. It finds, rather, that semi-peripheral countries require different understandings pitched variously at formations of national identity, and that there are analytical problems, when using their insights, in understanding 'democracies' exhibiting very truncated and deformed public spheres. The thesis argues for a concept of cultural stratification to deal with the particular features, status and character of movements of the racial and gender colonies. It finds that movements are gendered in regard to solidarity as well as 'interests'. Further it argues the Indigenous have a distinct location within the process of modernisation due to their experiences of both sporadic inclusion and cultural and physical genocide. It indicates that there are significant potentials for protest in circumstances where there is a contradictory duality within a single nation, of general modernising rationalisations and, within this, oppressive 'pockets' of legal frameworks, political systems and cultural norms.

Social movements have discrete places in historical and sociological processes. The analysis of these requires further recognition of the complexity of social change happening through and within them than is afforded by Tarrow, Melucci and Habermas. Much as their contributions are of great value, Global Systems Theory, and feminism suggest the limitations of these social movement theories at the general level, while historical analyses suggest more specific limitations in understanding the case of the Brisbane Protests as part of, particularly, Western post-war movements.

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## TERMINOLOGY

**Analytical Model** (see diagram p.36) is a means of analysing the thesis. See also Elements and Frames.

**Adversaries** are active agents. They are typically cabinets in the Australian systems of government, reflecting to a significant degree the dominant forces in the orientations (see terminology) of the society. Political processes create a direct adversary which is usually an incumbent government but one which represents various or all elements in broader orientations. The adversary's character influences the conflict, which may determine the Protesters' specificity to an extent. Adversaries create issues and respond to challenges to which Movements must relate. The outcomes of these conflicts indicate very broadly what were the effects, often longer-term, of articulating concerns within conflicts. The analysis of the activities within each movement follows before concluding on their meaning, and the applicability to them of the frames and elements in the analytical model.

**Allies** contribute efficacy and identity, breed solidarity, create environments of interchange and cultural expression. They are the key ingredients of the Protests. Their location, longevity and depth, issue orientations and ideologies as well as their interior support systems create the essential platforms of characterisation. They do the initial 'hard running' and then are joined by others, often supporters who can become allies.

Allies, who have similar sorts of resources and outlooks also differ internally but without the complexities of those established, and especially institutional, supporters. Such differences included those between men and women within the movements and these

are usually described as differences while in recognition of the relevance of feminist analysis, men may be adversaries to women and much less so, visa-versa.

**Early allies** indicate the newness of protests, the creativity of their orchestration or their continuity, thus assisting to establish analysis. Their 'early' character provokes the question of the historical roots of the first groups of Protesters. The thesis then analyses their 'newness'. These early allies with others then form into a more immediate alliance or Movement. Early allies, in particular clarify, the historical roots of movements in various local or other contexts. *Early Allies* do not form significant historical alliances since these include others than just the early allies. However the term indicates those initially and immediately concerned with the particular campaign.

**Anti-War Movement** is inclusive of both the Anti-Vietnam War Movement and the Anti-Conscription Movement.

**Brisbane Protests** is inclusive of all deliberate Protester actions in Brisbane from 1965 to 1972. The term therefore includes quite passive and reflective activities or lifestyle activities, not necessarily associated with the term 'protest'. '**Protests**' and '**Protester(s)**' with capitals also have this generic connotation as regards local relevance and reference to all general activities of these groups analysed.

**Campaigns.** See also movements. Campaigns, in terms of gradations of complexity of organization and duration of successive actions, stand between movements and demonstrations.

**Competitors** share sufficient commonality of purpose with Protesters to lay claim to a type of unity, yet finally compete for authority with movements. They are often institutions or established political organizations.

**Conflict** concerns the interactions between adversaries and movements, campaigns and demonstrations.

**Demonstrations.** See also Movements. These may be short term and often single events, which react to immediate situations. However demonstrations may be the regular modes of expression of movements and so are also part of movement activities.

**Differences.** Protesters have internal differences. Despite some thesis-constructed shared frameworks, especially the concept of radical post-totalitarian Romanticism, the activists also had various differences. Differences involve those without allegiance to and membership of formalised organizational entities, which have established roles in the society. Differences between activists often reside in contrary analyses of oppression and strategies to fight it.

**Elements** and **Frames** are key terms in the analytic model. The frames thematically organise three sources of relevant analytical literature; a) general theory, b) international historical understandings of the Cold War critics including the new left, c) national and local histories of Australia and Queensland. Key subdivisions of these three frames are elements.

**Frames.** See *elements*.

**Movements.** (*see also following entry*)

Actual names of organizations in the Brisbane Protests, which are usually local or national groups, will be in capitals. One exception is the acronym I.A.I.M. The first capital "I" is for Indigenous and the rest of the acronym is placed in capitals only to conform with this format.

**Movements, campaigns, and demonstrations** are in dynamic relationship with adversaries. Movements which have memberships, cohesion, organizations and activities, can be inclusive of all these terms. Movements reflect their complexity as social movements not only by developing a wider variety of techniques suited to prolonged activities and deeper changes but also by deeper patterns of cohesion. They allow internal interactions and transformations and are richer in such dimensions. Mass leafleting, marches, vigils or pickets are parts of campaigns or demonstrations and may be expressions of movements; yet movements may not necessarily include these types of actions and may rather be intellectual, cultural or involve shared personal practices. However campaigns and protests may exist outside the umbrella of movements and may be one-off simple gatherings or activities which are single-issue oriented.

*Campaigns*, in terms of gradations of complexity of organization and duration of successive actions, stand between movements and *demonstrations*. However, in distinguishing campaigns and demonstrations from movements, the thesis argues that these two terms usually refer to group activities predicated on the need to provide evidence of maximum participation and aimed at expressing concerns to a public audience in situations of tension with authorities. Campaigns and demonstrations may be spontaneous and expressive but lack deeper interior relationships of structure, resource management, solidarity, identity or communication, typical of movements.

**Outcomes** indicate longer-term developments that result in part from Protest activity.

**Orientations** are the products of the dominant classes and their central stakes. 'Orientations', while used differently from Touraine (1985) in that historical patterns predominate in the thesis's usage, parallels his association of the word with components

and agendas of the dominant classes in society. The adversaries tend to represent these orientations. 'Orientations' is an analytical term since the Protesters did not always directly identify these in the same way; preferring often to confront a more active adversary. Orientations are historico-sociological categories defining those macroscopic social systems, which have patterns of hegemonic ideologies, investment and existing infrastructure, social structure and control mechanisms and characteristics of production and/or reproduction; all of these have specific historical features added into them. They are relevant to all frames in the analytical model but especially the first (defining broad social structures in modern capitalist societies and the third (defining characteristics of Australia and Queensland).

**Precursors** is a broad category which includes any group which was influential on the initial formation of the Protesters. They are prior to more significant early alliance formations by local groups. Each chapter has the structuring device of precursors, who exemplify the character of an ambient political culture of protest of Romantic post-totalitarianism and/or the local absence of these as a restraint on Protest. These absences may provide a creative opportunity to find more complex overviews. Their characteristics add to the analysis of the specific potential of Brisbane movements. The description of the precursors indicates the diverse sources of inspiration for the Protests.

**Protest, Protester.** When Protest(s) or Protester(s) appear as capitals they refer to Brisbane-related events and involvements in the period discussed.

**Race.** Ideally the Australian Indigenous and Caucasian peoples should be described ethnographically, not by racial difference. Ethnographic description is inclusive of both genetic differences and cultural differences amongst various people, which can also be associated with racial type. The ethnographic description allows for the greater complexity in global populations after historical changes and the reality that the Indigenous are often not races.

Yet in common parlance, especially perhaps in Australia, race remains a verbal surrogate for the implication of depth of difference between groups divided more profoundly by cultural practices. Race used in this way in this chapter, as it was at the time of the Protests (and still) indicates only surface genetic differences but profound cultural differences. While race, more appropriately describes differences between Caucasians and Negroes or Asians, it was really genetics and culture and their association i.e. the ethnographic distinctions which became the sources of contemporaneous social stratification pertinent to the Protests. Race used in this thesis

implies this ethnographic distinction. This reference to its meaning not only alerts us to the fact that the Indigenous people are not a distinct race but also vary amongst themselves, culturally and genetically, especially in Queensland.

**Supporters.** Movements may have supporters who are established organizations and institutions. Supporters are organizations, including mainstream political organizations, while others are institutional. More often these supporters reflect distance and semi-negotiated relationships rather than those typical of allies. Occasionally institutional 'players', which are usually bureaucracies with very well defined roles in the society are supporters but are less likely to be, even temporary, allies. The Trade Union Movement was an institution, although an unusual one in its embodying of one side of a basic economic/political divide, while the University was another institution but one with a much stronger inclination to avoid all political conflict. Supporters conflict with activists, who usually come earlier and who have few resources to influence or roles in the decision making political processes of society. Rather activists rely on grass-roots opinion-change in Protests. Supporters provide competition because of their pre-existing capacities for or intentions to use more routine and/or less public conduits of political influence. Some supporters are just organizations in the public sphere, although there were few of those in Brisbane which were sympathetic to the Protests. Yet activist allies may influence these supporters and their memberships in their so doing, movements widen and change. Supporters undermine or stimulate movements, or succumb to their demands for change.

## ABBREVIATIONS

B.C.N.D.	Brisbane Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
C.L.C.C.	Civil Liberties Co-ordinating Committee
C.P.A.	Communist Party of Australia
I.A.I.M.	Indigenous autonomous identities movement
L.A.G.	Labour Action Group
O.P.	O'Neill, Dan, Papers, Boxes 1 to 13 Fryer Library (Univ. of Q'ld)
R.S.A.	Revolutionary Socialist Alliance
R.S.S.A.	Revolutionary Socialist Students Alliance
R.S.P.	Revolutionary Socialist Party
S.H.A.C.	Socialist Humanist Action Committee
S.D.A	Society for Democratic Action
T.P.	Thompson, Michel, Papers, Boxes 1-14 Fryer Library, (Univ. of Q'ld)
U.A.W.	Union of Australian Women
U.W.P.	Union of Australian Women, Papers, Boxes 1-8, Fryer Library (Univ. of Q'ld)
<i>U.R.C.</i>	<i>Up the Right Channels</i> (O'Neill et al.) 1970



## THE SEQUENCE OF MAJOR MARCHES

1967 January 2000 protesters protested the arrival of South Vietnamese President

Marshall Ky

1967, September 8<sup>th</sup> Civil Liberties March of 4000 people.

1968 July 4<sup>th</sup> a second Civil Liberties March of 2000 people

1968 the year Foco began: it ran through part of 1989

1969 25<sup>th</sup> June Meeting in Great Court on University Reform

1970 8<sup>th</sup> May 8 1970 1<sup>st</sup> Moratorium;

1970 September 18<sup>th</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Moratorium

1971 30<sup>th</sup> June 1971 3<sup>rd</sup> Moratorium

1971 July Anti-Springbok Anti-Apartheid Rallies

## NOTE ON PRIMARY SOURCES

In comprehensive primary sources, evidence of the character of the events of some thirty years ago exists. The original literature of the Civil Liberties Movement, the Brisbane Anti-War Protesters, the anti-suburban movements, the Romantic university movement and the Anti-Racism and Women's Liberation Movements, was published in a variety of forms, usually pamphlets connected to campaigns. These are the publications of allies such as Society for Democratic Action (S.D.A.), the Revolutionary Socialist Students Alliance (R.S.S.A.), Women's Liberation or the Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.). There is further primary literature about numerous student activities, which are cultural, gender-orientated and political of all orientations. Also University administration information exists as primary sources.

The primary data consist of books, pamphlets and mass-produced propaganda, newspaper articles and discussion papers, activist books and journals, visual media academic studies and research material, security files, interviews and personal histories. Since the location of the Brisbane Protesters was, in the main, at the University of Queensland, and involves issues that concern the whole university community, there are copious amounts of material produced by various streams of the movements in the library archives of the University. The Fryer Memorial Library of the University of Queensland specialises in primary source material concerning Queensland and Queenslanders. Additional accounts, records, articles and theses produced by some of the leading figures in the movement are also there. Also, articles and copies of talks given at various conferences, copies of the student newspaper *Semper Floreat* and numerous articles published in daily newspapers concerning events and prominent figures in the Protests exist in this location.

The Romantic university movement, in 1971 also published a book entitled *Up the Right Channels (U.R.C.)* concerning university reform, available at the Fryer. The primary sources also include records of activities, unpublished theses, commercially published books, research material collections and journal articles published at the time. Last, the thesis also refers to police and university files kept on students and staff. Queensland University's Archives are another source of primary material, as is the Oxley Library.

The following list indicates the types of primary sources

**1) pamphlets and mass-produced material**

The materials collected by two of the major actors in the Brisbane Protests between 1965-72 are housed in the Fryer Memorial Library of the University of Queensland. Dan O'Neill's collection (O.P.) reflects the uniquely intellectual flavour of the Brisbane Protests. Michel Thompson's collection (T.P.) includes significant material circulated by the movements. Their collections are presently aggregated in 25 boxes of primary material — several linear metres. They are presently not sorted or classified.

Pamphlets, booklets and broadsheets present strong views of the various groups connected to the Brisbane Protests. Similar, though more infrequent material of this kind published by the University administration exists. The Protesters intended this for mass consumption and design it to excite interest through argument and information concerning the actions of adversaries in the University.

Also housed in the Fryer is the stream of pamphlets filed by University librarians at the time, due either to requests from the administration or because of the curiosity and professional concern of individual librarians. Two librarians, the activist Gregory George and Kitty Guyatt, the mother of an activist, subsequently compiled a comprehensive list of political publications in the Fryer Memorial Library Occasional Paper series, giving information about political organizations, left and right, operating in Queensland at the time and involved in the various campaigns. They prefer a classification of publications by organization but also provide the names of pamphlets, authors, and general publications, listing members of particular Brisbane Protesters' organizations.

The Fryer also houses a very useful issue-based index. While there is much duplication between the boxed collections and vertical files, the latter provides additions to the collections of O'Neill and Thompson. Other compilations of leaflet publications are at the Oxley Library in Brisbane. Some, although mostly they are duplicates, are in the National Library in Canberra. The Union of Australian Women also has an extensive collection of primary data housed in the Fryer.

Primary sources relating to the following movements are available in the Fryer: The New Student Movement, the Young Socialist League, the Foco management group, the Campus Anti-Conscription Movement, the Revolutionary Socialist Students Alliance, the Socialist-Humanist Action Centre, the Labor Club, the Draft Resisters Union, the Up the Right Channels editorial group, women's liberation, the gay and lesbian movement, the self-management group, and the anti-apartheid University Strike Committee. Significant but more distinct materials are publications of sections of the leadership and rank and file of the Communist Party of Australia, acting with others in the leadership of several trade unions, including the Maritime Unions, and in the Peace Committee.

### **2) newspaper articles and discussion papers**

Semper Floreat was the University of Queensland's Student Union publication. It is an important resource edited by significant figures of the radical movement and contains articles on topics, discussions and elaboration of activities concerning significant events involving the Brisbane Protests. Mass-circulation newspapers also are significant in my account because they articulate the critical official position of state bureaucrats and politicians and substantiate wider understanding of Brisbane Protesters' actions in context. The national newspaper *The Australian* has a reputation of being less parochial than Brisbane newspapers and provides a rich vein of material. Furthermore, *Tribune*, the Communist Party's weekly newspaper at the time, contains articles sympathetic to the Protests. Discussion papers from various Brisbane Protesters' conferences are also available.

### **3) activist books and journals**

*Up the Right Channels* (1971) is a book published by the University Reform Movement. While perhaps not memorable in scholarly terms, it presents material critical to the role of the University in attempting to hamper the development of the new left. The *Australian New Left* (1970) edited by Richard Gordon is also an important source and

includes many important contributors from around Australia. Academic journals like *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, *Arena*, and the *Australian Left Review* also offer contemporaneous accounts of inestimable value.

#### **4) visual media**

The period between 1965 and 1972 was rich for cartoonists. Perhaps most notable is cartoonist Bruce Petty of *The Australian*. Bruce Dickson — also an editor of *Semper Floreat* — made a film of the 1967 civil liberties march that adds a visual record.

#### **5) academic studies and research material**

An important source of contemporary information is academic theses. Writers include Christopher Rootes (1972) who explores the backgrounds and common concerns of activists important to the Brisbane Protests. Helen McCarthy, also from the University of Queensland's Government department, explores the radicalisation of the Student Union in 1968.

#### **6) security and police files**

There are relevant institutional records kept by the Queensland University administration on its students during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Records maintained by the Special Branch, or the Government's political police, made available to activists under the Freedom of Information Act from the 1990s indicate the degree of police scrutiny, the indifference to liberal concerns and transparency issues operating in Queensland. The latter the Goss government destroyed, although, before this controversial decision, some people obtained copies of their own records.

#### **7) interviews and personal histories**

Several interviews allowed access to vital information but in general, perhaps because of personal familiarity with some of the actors and much of the empirical material, this did not seem fruitful.

# INTRODUCTION

The significance of the Brisbane Protests<sup>1</sup> is that of an impetus for multifaceted changes, pertaining to democratic practice in Queensland and as a part of a challenge to Australian national identity. The latter was realised much more immediately; the former realised nearly two decades later. The Brisbane Protests altered perceptions about social stratification existing in deep-seated prejudices against the Indigenous and regarding the status of women in Queensland. The Protest participants, the thesis asserts, helped establish an often-offensive, new radical culture, then very limited in Queensland, in conjunction with and through the alteration of those pre-existing cultures of the oppressed. These pre-existing resistant cultures formed defensively (Habermas 1981,35) with depth and longevity around their constituents' survival, lent distinctiveness and specificity, which the thesis canvasses, as well as the specificity of the new formations. The new formations initiated long-lasting changes, which are less immediately pertinent to the analysis. More readily observed within the time frame in which the thesis focuses, Australia's national identity changed with these Protests, if this also was as part of a wider and more complex movement over historical time and space. In very minor fashion, the Protests also impacted on international relationships as regards South Africa's Apartheid regime's international standing.

In Queensland, where their impact was greatest, the Protests introduced a quotient of doubt in public life that formerly, only resided in traditional cynicism but which then, post-Protests, appeared more often in public criticism. These critics adduced a Queensland difference in political and cultural intolerance. They challenged basic political assumptions, introduced intellectual, cultural and political diversity and registered dissent as a legitimate part of personal, social and political group behaviour, largely, but not entirely, outside the organisationally-represented tensions between labour and capital and certainly outside this endemic cynicism.

In the end, it can be said that doubt, or at least a sense of the need for change, belatedly, and, inevitably temporarily, conflicted with and replaced fundamentalist certainty in

---

<sup>1</sup> terminology

Queensland, as the Protests orchestrated this modern way of thinking. These conflicts, which are the subject of this thesis, realised, in the wake of the clash between on one side pure certainty and on the other an exuberant questioning and sometimes raw hostility (itself with elements of fundamentalism), the sense of the need for this doubt and/or change. While intolerance was still justified and readily acted upon, the mix of material progress, Christian fundamentalist and farm virtues, which shored up generations of domination by agrarian “developmentalism” in Queensland now faced competition from these urban protests of a public, moral, ideological and vehement character. The Brisbane Protests might reasonably represent ‘the beginning of an end’ of the old version of fundamentalism in Queensland. Certainly for contemporaneous and, then prior, Queensland governments — conservative or labour — trenchant anti-liberalism was the *modus operandi* of both, their internal deliberations and external behaviours.

While not all of the groups, indicated subsequently, are analysed, sufficient of these are discussed to conclude that an underground of cultural and political outsiders, university staff and students, Indigenous, civil libertarians, anti-war protesters, the religious and the humanistically-inclined, feminists, gays and lesbians, environmentalists and finally and not unimportantly, old left ideologues seeking new answers emerged with a style of Protest which neither resorted to middle class politeness nor business short-sightedness nor working class institutionalisation of conflict. This was certainly a different political cuisine from Queensland’s standard fare. However, it is the dynamic of this conflict; its origins and manifestations as well as the discourses and structures upon which it relied, that the thesis unravels. Necessitated by the specificity of the events, the significance of the thesis is in both the portrayal of the events and the breadth of the analytical focus required to do justice to its complexity, which various reputable accounts of such protests purport to but fail to do justice.

The purpose, then, of this thesis is to analyse, in the broadest light, the very specific subject matter of the Brisbane Protests of 1965-72. It stems from the following question. How can these activities be understood, if not by conventional theory nor by pre-existing studies? While studies exist that touch some of this through analysis of some primary material, they are partial in their coverage. The theory proves partially inapplicable. The thesis finds important new historical detail set in contexts infrequently analysed in theoretical and historical literature about such protest activities.

The study analyses in detail major movements<sup>2</sup> of the time and location indicated in the title, in terms of their outlooks, composition and social status. Features of this analysis include their contexts, precursors<sup>3</sup>, alliance formations, conflicts<sup>4</sup> and outcomes<sup>5</sup>. These significantly varied movements are the Civil Liberties Movement dealt with in Chapter 2, the Anti-War Movement in Chapter 3, the alternate domesticities and cultural production movements in Chapter 4, the Romantic university movement in Chapter 5, as well as the Anti-Racism and Women's Movements of Chapter 6. Each movement was different and in some cases Protesters expressed strong differences<sup>6</sup> with others within and between these movements. This provides opportunities not only to compare qualities and characteristics within the boundaries of a particular time, place and organization but also to search for commonalities beyond these, in the general analyses of society.

The thesis's primary aim is to provide a meaning for the Brisbane Protests that has wide reference to themes in the general literature of protest phenomena but also to the specific contexts of the Protests' appearance. Through finding an analytical model<sup>7</sup> to understand the patterns of the new detail in new contexts, the secondary purpose of the thesis is to test the relevance of those theories which social movement studies apply to such phenomena as those of the Protests. In the light of a variety of explanations both social movement-related and unrelated, the thesis assesses where the general theories apply and how they fail, in this particular case. Suggested modifications of social movement theories derive from the thesis's extensive canvassing of general theory and from reflections about the necessary variety of analytical components in an explanation of these Protests.

The thesis uses three 'frames'<sup>8</sup> through which it analyses the Brisbane Protests. Firstly, it uses a broadened search and evaluation in general theory, from social movement theories, to those of Global Systems Theory and feminism. In the second frame, the thesis promulgates the need for the concept of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism to do justice to the historical and intellectual influence on the Protests, while within a third frame is a focus on local context — both national and sub-national.

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<sup>2</sup> terminology

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Within the general theory frame, which is especially concerned with social movement theory, first Sidney Tarrow (1989) represents a school of thinking once called resource mobilisation and now political process theory centred around the dynamic interplay of solidarity and democratic practice, and Alberto Melucci (1996) the 'action-identity' school (Pieterse 1992) articulating the interplay of the need for individuation and shared identity in opposition to the "codes" of post-industrialism. Both these authors see a structural dynamic — democracy or post-industrialism — defining movement parameters, without reintroducing the determinism of orthodox Marxism.

In contradiction of these and most other social movements theories, Jurgen Habermas's general focus is on longer-term, historical, cultural and sociological change. While Habermas has earlier commentary on social movements, it is in *Theory of Communicative Action* (1984), that he points, most clearly, to the slower and qualitative rationality shifts in social and other change. These prove relevant to supplementing of existing social movement theory as does the structural dimension of the 'system' in tension with an ontologically-prior 'lifeworld'. Additionally, the insights of global systems theory (Wallerstein 1994) and feminism (Burgmann 2004, Porter 2002) provide the full range of general theory used in the first frame of the analytic model. These theories, global systems and feminism provide, in the first case, an overview of Australia's economic structure in a global context, which proves invaluable to understanding the Protests as does feminism, in the second case, through its understanding of patriarchy and difference, which centrally exist within the Protests.

Within the second frame through the historical concept of post-totalitarianism as a theme of the period of the Protests is an hypothesis about a re-awakened Romanticism, both at variance to and an elaboration of this post-totalitarian influence. This concept of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism operates as a 'catch-all' explanation of the important directions of social and political change affecting the international community in the Cold War era, prior to and contemporaneous with the Protests. Also Included in this frame is critical analysis of the new left's representation of this post-totalitarian impetus. The new left's reflection of aspects of this post-totalitarianism appear central in its articulation of radical Romantic radical post-totalitarianism.

In the second frame of the analytical model, the thesis focus shifts from general theorists to the global historical perspective of post-totalitarianism. It relies on renewing and

creating analytical insight into the historical times. It reconstructs the theoretical significance to radical thinking of the pre-war rise of fascism and Stalinism and in the latter case its exposure in the 'fifties, along with the reflection upon the Cold War period and upon the practice of those groups that were the historical expressions and victims of that conflict. Constructed from a wide range of scholarship, this perspective thereby examines the lines of tension in a global conflict — the Cold War — the understanding of which was infused not only with past and more contemporaneous interpretations of the conflict between communism and capitalism but also with more tangential ones inclusive of criticism of both Cold Warriors through traditions that co-existed in their originating conceptualisation for a time. However, in this account which was so influential on the Protests, these parallel developments of non-orthodox theories were usurped and marginalised through the establishment of, subsequently dominant, forms of official liberalism and Communism (in very different ways). Radical groups extrapolated from historically recent post-totalitarian awareness to provide an analysis of contemporaneous problems. They saw commonalities in both protagonists of the Cold War. Features of the rise of Fascism, Stalinism, racism and colonialism, global nuclear destruction and apparent human conformist indifference in the affluent West and elsewhere, where bureaucracies controlled politics. These commonalities created an impetus to rethink critiques of the Cold War world and to search for new alternatives and allies.

The Cold War tension appeared through many conflicts around the globe. These conflicts had often a strong presence affecting the character of the Brisbane Protests. The Brisbane events are Protests conceived at a time of actual war and the threat of global war exacerbating deeply held insecurities in the national orientations of the dominant classes and in the lives of ordinary humans. As regards the influences that affected the Protests, the thesis identifies the central desire in the Protests to refuse the construction of a simple eschatology built around the two protagonists of the Cold War with the local one necessarily representing the good. This derivation of mutual critique relies predominantly on what is, in the West, the Romantic tradition. Jurgen Habermas (1984) in volume 1 of *The Theory of Communicative Action* points to Romanticism as an important intellectual direction in modernity and also more recent scholarship. For example (Beilharz 1994) associates the radical version of this tradition with events like the Protests. These influences are the key constituents of the thinking in the Brisbane Protests. The reawakening of this tradition, especially in places where ignorance and reactionary Romanticism prevailed, is central to the solving of the thesis problem of finding sources of change in hostile environments.

Pertinent also to the particular nature of the Brisbane Protests are national and local political and economic factors. Australia had certain quite distinctive political, economic, stratification and strategic characteristics reflected in the orientations of the dominant powerful groups and their ideologies. These included fears of strategic isolation and willingness to serve more powerful allies. This created an indifference to autonomy, including in cultural and economic matters. Such historical patterns further analysed through Marxist Global Systems Theory, establish aspects of Australia's political economy, which affected the Protests. Yet specificity also appears at this geo-political level. In Australia stratification lay not just in class as in classical Marxism but in the relationship between races and in the specificity of objectification of women. These stratifications were cast within an orientating paradigm of materialistic national development, particularly the desire for post-war industrialisation, in which these stratifications had lesser roles, although long-established racism was the most oppressive of them. The Vietnam War conflict in Australia invigorated a swathe of other radical claims due to its focus on national direction regarding a dominant superpower — the divisive moment involving an identity crisis. Queensland's context of a primary and extractive-industry based economy creating the dominant ideology of reactionary Romanticism added to these differences at the local level. Its crisis was delayed and prolonged.

The analytical model and the organizing structures are set out in Chapter 1. In that chapter, the thesis identifies a broad array of analytical directions potentially applicable to the movements of the Brisbane Protests, and builds parameters of possible relevance and of complexity, with the outcome that the thesis can evaluate theorists and theories suitable to the analytical model. The evaluations, however, confirm that neither a single theory nor a compilation suffices, rather the need for other hypotheses, pertaining to immediate features of global time and local space must contribute to the choosing of an adequate analytical model. These choices range from the more general to the less, and comprise the three frames of the analytical model: firstly, general sociological theory; especially various social movement theories Alberto Melucci's, Jurgen Habermas's and Sidney Tarrow's' that of world systems theory (Wallerstein 1994) and Giovanni Arrighi's edited (1988) contribution, as well as other Marxism, and feminism; secondly, a global historical hypothesis of post-totalitarianism and a Protests-informing broad radical response to this in radical post-totalitarian Romanticism; and thirdly, an hypothesis of Australia's modernising and alliance approach in its characteristic accent on national

development and a State hypothesis referring to Queensland as a primary production-based reactionary Romantic context within a broader modernising project of the Australian dominant classes yet with a benign inner-suburban and inner-city environment favouring the Protesters.

The thesis introduction and methodology found in Chapter 1 precedes five substantive chapters. Chapter Two, the first substantive chapter, relates to conflict over the orientation of Queensland political system and deals with the Civil Liberties Movement, which was unique in some respects as a principal contemporaneous concern of Protesters in the Australian setting. This Movement forms through the clash between the adversary within Queensland's reactionary Romantic 'democracy', and the radical democratic movement whose main component was the Civil Liberties Movement (C.L.M.). The characteristics of radical liberal citizenship informed the Protesters. A culture of authoritarianism focused much of the Protesters' adversarial concerns. Those who were theoretically inclined began reviewing the meaning of democracy in that framework, including the limitations of liberal democracy not only in the specific case of Queensland but also more generally. The Civil Liberties Movement relied on ideas of an active engaged citizenship, which the Protesters understood to characterise the democratic spirit. It challenged the character of the political system with ideas drawn more widely than Queensland circumstances. This Movement indicates important specificities at the State level and in reflections about political processes and generational change in the Queensland context as well as about the importance of exterior influences.

The second substantive chapter, Chapter 3, concerns the clash between the orientation to strategic alliance and those proclaiming a new national identity. The Movements treated in this chapter are the Anti-Vietnam War and Conscription Movements, which initiate social movements challenging the nature of national identity and against Conscription. The relationship of the war to Australia's broad strategic architecture, political economy orientations and cultural perceptions means that the Anti-War movement had a crucial role in explaining nationally-specific characteristics of these Protests. Yet these Protests retain a local specificity.

The third substantive chapter, Chapter 4, deals with the conflict between adversaries who endorsed of the orientations to suburban domesticity, domestic consumption and cultural consumption and the Protesters whom the thesis describes as the anti-suburban movements. These consist of movements for an alternative domesticity, and for cultural performance and production, with particular relation to the radical venue, Foco. The thesis considers the use of undervalued urban and domestic infrastructure by these movements and all others operating within benign inner-suburban and inner-city settings.

The fourth substantive chapter, Chapter 5, concerns the orientation to modernisation of education and intellectual production. It describes the aspirations of those in the dominant classes focused on investing in Universities and the clash with their opponents in the Romantic university movement. Here the chapter develops this clash between the 'scientism' (Habermas 1975) characteristic of the intellectual codes attracting new investments in social sciences and the expansion of the professions and their technologies, and the Protesters' Romantic orientations rooted in the Humanities and Classics. Romanticism asserted subjectivity, commitment and the human scale as the appropriate sources of worthwhile knowledge. As an alternative system of productivity based on workers' satisfaction, this implied a different understanding of production.

The fifth substantive chapter, Chapter Six, deals with the orientations to stratification in production and reproduction through racism and patriarchy and its opponents, the race and gender movements. These are movements parallel to conceptions of class in terms of suggesting critical divisions in Australian society of which economic class, which is not a key consideration in this thesis, is only one. Its active constituents are the Indigenous and non-Indigenous anti-racism movements, including the Indigenous autonomous identities movement and Women's Movement. The Anti-Racism Movement, which had again a specific coherence in the Brisbane context in the face of an adversary very much the servant of pastoralist stakeholders with a racist agenda, is a key component of the Protesters' specificity. The Indigenous element in anti-racist Protests adds to an understanding of qualitative characteristics of this movement, within the broader movement. It creates a specific form of solidarity and several types of resistant identities through which it can be both analysed and compared to other movements in the Protests.

This chapter also describes the rise of the women's movement within and against the masculine new left. In the Women's Movement also, there appear new identities, solidarities, and opportunities for women. Its emergence as a powerful social movement engaging political and cultural dimensions and moving to a feminist appraisal of the women's experience is part of this chapter's characterisation. Analysing the Women's Movement within the Brisbane context allows the thesis to reflect upon the significance of greater capacities for solidarity for the efficacy of social movements. Furthermore, considerations of the Women's Movement invite reflection on efficacy not only through the need for a degree of universality in perspective as a feature of efficacy but on whether and/or how this universality must transcend the solidarity of women with each other.

The thesis organizes and selects the primary sources with a view to the best understanding of the Protests. The organizing structures are a reflection of the thesis's focus on the Protests as types of social movements<sup>9</sup>. Therefore the chapters are broadly based on individual movements. However deeper analysis requires the identification of patterns of activities and influences.

In organizing the primary data into various chapters, the thesis orders and formulates the Brisbane Protests not only with some respect to the way they occurred chronologically, and their integral connections as part of waves of action, but also structures the subject matter in terms of its connection to dominant features of the society's orientations<sup>10</sup> such as stratification or dominant class hegemonies. Therefore the Anti-Apartheid campaign<sup>11</sup> links very directly to Australia's orientations regarding a subservient international identity, which concerns Chapter 3 but arose with the Indigenous movements. It was also part of an Indigenous /non-Indigenous movement against stratification structures as discussed in Chapter 6. Therefore, in the thesis's structure this movement and the Women's Movement are within Chapter 6. Similarly therefore, while the Women's Movement may belong equally to the anti-suburban movements it is, in the thesis structure, part of the anti-stratification chapter because it also addresses these fundamental stratifications. However, this arrangement of movements also retains some limited chronological consistency with the timing of the evolution of the movements but as well, the thesis

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structures the sequence of chapters for other reasons. Although the Anti-War Movement was a central initiator of Protests and coloured them, yet it is in the second substantive chapter because the Civil Liberties Movement, which is in the first substantive chapter, so clearly characterises the specificity of the Protests especially in the Australian context.

Each substantive chapter has repeated terminologies or other internal structuring devices to aid the analysis of patterns with reference to the focuses of the analytical model. An introduction to each chapter provides relevant orientations, indications of the subject matter and the chapter's analytical direction. The adversaries'<sup>12</sup> actions are relevant as their role within broader orientations is also part of the basic structuring of the primary sources. Adversaries, precursors, early allies<sup>13</sup>, allies<sup>14</sup>, competitors<sup>15</sup>, differences<sup>16</sup>, supporters<sup>17</sup>, conflicts<sup>18</sup> outcomes<sup>19</sup> are categories used to organize the primary sources. The use of these categories as a means of structuring the primary sources also assists the understanding of their meaning through the analytical framework.

The thesis argues, through an examination of the Brisbane Protests, that the characterisation of these Protests is rightly that of movements which relied upon the themes of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism and while they differed in their interpretation of these in a manner sheeted to social stratifications, both deep-seated and more transitory, it was State-based and regionally structured contexts and traditions as well as national orientations toward global relations lying also deeply in structures contexts and traditions as well as more recent intentions to industrialisation that deeply influenced the trajectories and outcomes of these Protests. In its secondary purpose of assessing social movement theory, the thesis concludes that it is particularly the qualitative dimensions of solidarity and intellectual insight that affect efficacy of social movements. However social movement theories cannot, even in Western democratic circumstances, suffice for an understanding without due regard to the Marxist insights into adversaries' and movements' global location within political economy, feminist insights into patriarchy and, finally, national and State or local historical traditions of stratification

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and these contexts' deviation from the first world archetypes of nationalism and democracy.





# **CHAPTER 1**

## **THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

The key aim of this chapter is to outline an analytical framework, which is best suited to the double focus of the thesis. This double focus centres, firstly on adequate analyses of the significantly-divergent and context-specific features of the multiple social movements engaged in Brisbane Protests 1965-1972 and secondly, on reflections about the relevance of major social movement theories in the light of this analysis. This analytical framework is a balance of general theoretical diversity and necessary constructions of specificity appropriate to this dual focus. This is because of both, the specificity, vis-à-vis other studies, apparent in the primary source material and the inherent difficulties in finding consistently appropriate theoretical overviews for the multiplicity of the movements considered.

The organization of the analytical model assumes this structure of three frames so that the dimensions of inapplicability of general theory are established within current literatures of largely historical relevance, which in turn need supplementation by more locally-referring secondary resources, in order to do justice to the researched material. This clarifies the reason for the analytical model's structure of three frames of analysis as the product of broad inapplicability not just with a particular theory but also, at times, the main tendencies in these social movement theories in general. The consequence of the inapplicability of a single social movement theory and further problems of finding suitable models is that the analytical model is inclusive. Each frame has substructures of multiple elements.<sup>20</sup>

The thesis begins with several assumptions, which are explored both through explication and evaluation in this chapter. The first assumption is that social movement theory is a plausible explanatory model for these events. The second is that there are three seminal

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<sup>20</sup> terminology

thinkers in social movement theory who are particularly relevant, judged by their pre-eminence in contemporary theoretical deliberations. These — Sidney Tarrow, Alberto Melucci and Jürgen Habermas — receive initial elaboration before a substantial evaluation of the potentially-relevant social movement literature. This evaluation process reveals that despite their comprehensive applicability, the three theorists need supplementation with other elements of the general theory and two historical frames. It identifies the patterns of inapplicability between individual theories and/or groups of theories and the research findings. Therefore to supplement the first frame of Tarrow (1998, 1995;1989), Melucci (1996;1992) and Habermas 1984; 1988; 1992 (a&b), the thesis turns to the Marxism of Global Systems Theory (Wallerstein 1994; Arrighi 1988) and certain aspects of feminism (Burgmann 2003; Lake 1999).

This precedes a second frame, which uses the thesis-described official new left literature and hypothesises the influence of post-totalitarianism and more specifically, radical Romantic post-totalitarianism, and then thirdly, further more specific insights, which rely on themes of analytical relevance found in multiple secondary sources about the geopolitical dimensions of the Australian national identity and Queensland's specific context. This frame accentuates Australia's fragility and Queensland's location in the Northern economies of Australia and with a deep reactionary Romantic outlook. The second frame uses influential post-war Western critiques and interpretations of, related protest phenomena encompassed by the concept of new left. Yet, and again because a residual need to focus more specifically on context and dynamics in the Protests, but this time at a more local level, a third frame regarding Australia and the State of Queensland, where these protests occurred, proves necessary.

The Analytic Model

	ELEMENT 1	ELEMENT 2	ELEMENT 3
FRAME 1 GENERAL THEORY	Social movement theory: Tarrow Habermas & Melucci	Global Systems Theory	feminism
FRAME 2 POST- TOTALITAR IANISM	The 'official' new left	Radical Romantic post- totalitarianism	
FRAME 3 GEO- POLITICAL	Australia	Queensland	

**2.0 THE ANALYTIC MODEL**

The analytical model implies by its inclusiveness the patterns of inapplicability of individual theories and/or groups of theories to the primary sources. This clarifies the reason for the analytical model's structure of three frames of analysis as the product of disjunction between social movement theory and other both more general and specific insights. The other frames, which comprise mixtures of the general and the historical but primarily the latter are introduced in descending order of generality. Each retains antagonistic perspectives within itself and between the others, to do justice to the dual purpose of the thesis to render meaningful, the complex primary sources and theoretical reflection. The process of evaluation indicates how each element in the frame is variously adequate and/or requiring supplementation.

## **2.1 *The First Frame: General Theory***

This section has two aims, the first is to explicate the three social movement theorists and the second is to evaluate their relevance in some detail indicating their usefulness and limitations as regards the evidence about the Brisbane Protests. The brief explications of Tarrow, Melucci and Habermas point to their central themes. The method of subsequent evaluation requires establishing indicators of relevance and qualitative insight applied to a literature survey particularly about social movements but with the thesis's purpose of analysing the Brisbane Protests also in mind.

The first frame remains the most general in its analytical reach. Containing major strands of social movement theory — Tarrow, Melucci and Habermas — the Marxism of Global Systems Theory (Wallerstein 1994; Arrighi 1988) and feminism (Burgmann 2003; Lake 1999), it precedes a second frame which focuses on the cluster of challenges to the Cold War status quo, associated very inadequately with the idea of the new left and its global perspective. It points to the dimensions of unity within a more broadly conceived movement inclusive of the new left and demanding radical change yet without assuming this unity was felt in bonds of solidarity, rather it is the unity of an historical context and intellectual connectedness. This analysis of unity, which does not skirt the question of difference, is more adequate than general theory which draws more categorical separation in the European context between various movements included in this thesis or, in Tarrow's case, skims over their differences without reference to theoretical or historical explanations but rather political processes which are, in his view, simply shared by the subjects of this thesis.

### **(i) Social Movement theory**

Social movement theory applies in variously significant, complex and relevant ways. Firstly it applies in the political process school of Sidney Tarrow (1995) who is most closely attuned to the view that social movements using opportunities available, facing influential adversaries, and gathering resources from around them, are well embedded in, but soon outwitted by and finally included in democratic national political cultures. Secondly, it applies in the action-identity school of Alberto Melucci, which articulates the transition of social movements of this time and apparently of this type within the broader societal

transformation to post-industrialism. And thirdly, it applies in the new movement school of Habermas, reliant on the view that late industrialism produces new schisms related to the values and ideas, of critics who are in new locations. They may articulate aspirations to modernity established in the Western intellectual tradition and society.

### Explication

Foundational to social movement theory, Sidney Tarrow's variation on resource mobilisation theory (1985;1995), is now described as political process theory by Taylor and Whittier (Freeman and Johnson eds. (1999, p.169) and by Rucht (1999). Tarrow represents that major thread of social movement theory which asserts that social movements are just part of the inclusive and basically self-stabilising mechanisms within the politics of liberal democracies. While certainly contentious in their perspectives, particularly in the 1960s in the West, social movements are really the bread and butter of democratic politics for Tarrow. These democracies still habitually exclude the less powerful only to address their movements through the strategically inclusive actions of established political organizations.

Movements for Tarrow are primarily mobilisations that thereby gain efficacy and hence power by their prominence in the public eye. This is the outward "power of movements". However their key resource is not just a public numerical presence but their leaders' capacity to build solidarity within and through this presence — a resource which is nurtured by leaders. Yet it is not the internal dimensions of solidarity nor its analysis as a concept that concerns Tarrow. His orientation is towards social movements' embedded nature within pre-existing ideologies, their roots in remnant resistance groups of previously established networks, and thus ultimately, their cyclical protest patterns. Movements pose no threat of transformation because they are of the political ether they challenge. Their impetus will dissipate as responsive political processes marginalise their leaders and 'early risers'. Therefore social movements are subject to political processes, which largely describe them (Tarrow 1985;1989;1995;1998). For Tarrow, movements are caught up in common political process since they originate and remain embedded in their society, have resources, opportunities, adversaries, competitors and form into large-scale organizations in this tussle for authority in democracy. For Tarrow, movements in democracies are unchanged over time.

Ben Klandermans' (1997) intention to see movements as "routine politics" simply, yet acutely, describes this approach. In a recent work, Doug Imig and Tarrow suggest a singular generalisation regarding social movements. Rather than specific grievances creating spontaneous and novel reactions from the public, "[p]re-existing social or institutional networks are necessary to organize and sustain contentious collective action" (1999, p.118). For Tarrow and Imig, movements are not new nor prophetic. Their embedded character pertains equally to their beginnings and endings within conventional democratic political processes. They are merely varied political interventions rather than signs of societal transformation (1999).

Tarrow's study of the Italian new left is a major landmark in social movement theory and is retained in the theoretical repertoire because of the thesis's pertinence to that subject matter, despite Tarrow's now less universal claims for its relevance as an archetype. In discussing the new left, Tarrow particularly articulates the relevance of protest cycles in spreading discontent. The violent extremes of the new left heralding defeat and the absorption of their ideas are thus normal in this cycle. Defeat is the result of its isolation as established and therefore more conventional and established forces inevitably overtake social movements. This cycle, which Tarrow now recognises is not ubiquitous, nevertheless typifies movements' subjugation to political processes in democracies. He furthermore maintains, as against the tendency to assume, rather than investigate the globalisation phenomena, that little evidence of their capacity to be efficacious across national borders appears (Imig & Tarrow 1999).

Tarrow then, by focusing on the unexceptional characteristics of social movements provides an ideal counterpoint to Melucci who, in many ways, articulates the opposite. Melucci analyses movements in terms of their central antagonism (or lack of it) to a societal type. He asserts that societies by the 'seventies were ones in which the cultural productions of post-industrialism were becoming the central economic task and models of wealth creation. This post-industrialism, he described as

an increasing integration of economic, political and cultural structures [where] '[m]aterial' goods are produced and consumed with the mediation of huge informational and symbolic systems [so that] most central [s]ocial conflicts move to cultural grounds. (1985, p.795).



Movements in response to these changes are therefore new, different and especially cultural. They challenge the structural definitions from within this new cultural system by being culturally creative, by positing a different societal direction or orientation via a different productive configuration creating codes, technologies and attendant values. Uniquely, the post-industrial model relies centrally upon the efficacy of tertiary education and knowledge industries. Antagonistic disputes challenging this system are the province of social movements, which contest codes and, if directing their conflicts through the political system, their goals are new orientations for the cultural model — new productions of new cultures, which rely primarily on the creative endeavours of the educated.

The new movements are not centred about economic disputes — about the ‘slicing of the pie’ nor located in factories of material production nor form around nationalistic causes, but rather embrace human individuality, develop antagonistic codes to those imposed upon them by post-industrial society and ‘counter-create’ values, ethics and practices in opposition to these societies. Thrust and counter thrust happen in the contest of identity: associated with ideas, personalities and new paradigms: the dominant classes disseminate their codes of identity with the authority of market and state. The antagonistic movement’s identity stresses a critical dimension of bonding, experimentation and creativity in movements otherwise seen, in Tarrow, as largely externally driven by leaders and opportunities in response to perennial democratic concerns and therefore devoid of experimentation and interior life.

The term “antagonism” notes the potential of movements to challenge economic fundamentals or the creative model (knowledge production in post-industrialism). Melucci’s argument stresses new dimensions of movements and new agendas whose characteristics are quite different from those of industrial society as are their constituents. His view of the new left was that it remained in a limbo between industrialism and post-industrialism but ultimately its mainstream reverted to industrial strategies of insurrection to gain ownership and control of material production rather than assuming conflict about social, societal and personal identity, against which quite different strategies and organizations are required. Much of what Melucci embraces as opposition to post-industrial society is reminiscent of the Romantic critique which looked at how industrialisation changed lifestyle to one less rich for the individual, more devoid

of creativity and deeper bonds. His is fundamentally a theory of society and sociological change as Tarrow's is of political process.

In distinction to these theories, Habermas's is about of the nature of humans as defined by their capacity to create meaning through language under certain societal auspices upon which they rely, yet which denies them the realisation of the inherent potential of communication to be unencumbered and therefore truthful. Due to his focus upon the construction of a theory of the dynamics of historically and ontologically rooted human consciousness, Habermas's two-volume *The Theory of Communicative Action* (1984) is frequently referred to as an original and seminal overview of the direction and concerns of new social movement theorists in describing 'new' movements within a definitive project — modernity. Such views are typified in comments by Offe (1984;1985;1987), and Cohen (1985), who adopt less theoretically-elaborate and sophisticated understandings.

Habermas's perspective is both historically rooted and philosophically critical at the same time. He provides the means to judge the character of movements and to reference this to pre-existing potentials and their realisation or retreat from these, in nostalgic or romantic or defensive positions. The truth potential inherent in language also relies on a society that might support its realisation. However modernisation and its uprooting of traditions and social structures is not modernity and it is this disjuncture which social movements must ultimately address. Modernity's utopian direction supposes a society freed of tradition, illusion, personal ignorance and violence. Modernity is the "linguistification" of the sacred to Habermas in Volume 2 of *The Theory of Communicative Action*

The disenchantment and disempowering of the domain of the sacred takes place by way of a linguistification of the ritually secured, basic normative agreement; going along with this is a release of the rationality potential in communicative action. (1984, p.77).

The clay for change is ontologically rooted but society provides the wheel for its moulding into a form where it can be realised. This disjuncture provides the analyst with

the opportunity to look more deeply at human activities, including their expressions in social movements to understand their meaning and potential:

At the stage of post traditional forms of life, the pain of separation of culture, society, and personality *also* causes those who grow into modern societies and form their identities counts as a process of individuation and not alienation. In an extensively rationalised life world, reification can be measured only against the conditions of communicative association not against the nostalgically loaded, frequently romanticized past of pre-modern forms of life. (Habermas 1984, Vol. 2, p.341)

Movements may build on modern processes and draw the radical participatory and “linguistic” conclusions from the Enlightenment and Romantic philosophers and subsequent understandings as these traditions appear in historically-influential thinkers and political activists.

Modern societies are characterised by their dynamic between lifeworld and system. The lifeworld includes the processes of individuation, socialisation, and cultural discourse: individuality, the formation of collective bonding, especially via moral precepts and norms and finally, as intellectual reflection.

We can locate the boundaries between system and lifeworld, in a rough and ready way, such that the subsystems of the economy and the bureaucratic state administration are on one side, while on the other we find private spheres of life (connected with family, neighbourhood, voluntary association) as well as public spheres (for both private persons and citizens). (Habermas 1984, Vol. 2, p.310 )

In other words as modernity, rationalised both with bureaucratic practice and market driven processes, impacts on traditional perspectives of citizens, it both frees them from old illusions, such as religious ones, but binds them to the decision making of new power brokers.

Habermas’s insights require a very critical perspective on the threats and stimuli of modern life, with its culture, while subjected to market rationalisation, rich in the traditions of the Enlightenment and certain elements of Romanticism, both confirming of the

burgeoning potential of modernity, to realise this great potential social movements must follow patterns embedded in the exploration of a participatory citizenship. Yet Habermas provides firm parameters and clear indications of social movements' dual potential for either defence or offence.

Quite some time ago Habermas articulated various theories about the rise of new social movements. At one point, as criticism, Habermas makes a distinction between the emancipatory potential of these movements and their potential for resistance and retreat. He notes that the

civil rights movement, which has long since concluded in the particularistic self-affirmation of black sub-cultures [and that]...the only movement that follows the traditions of bourgeois socialist liberation movements is the feminist movement. (1981, p.34).

If it is movements' cultural embedding that concerns Habermas it is also the potential for liberation from oppressive structures and traditions that focuses this interest. Tarrow ignores the reservoir of radical critique within radical Romanticism, in particular, but also the Enlightenment, as part of the potential of the lifeworld to challenge liberal democracy. Habermas offers an alternative already embedded, not in pre-existing political cohorts or circles, but in a much broader community, which means that movements may express this undercurrent of deep cultural change below the surface. As regards Melucci, Habermas gives greater insight into how movements might ignore their potentials and retreat, which Melucci appears to put down to their misreading of society.

It is conceivable that the insights of these three theorists could create a combined argument to the effect that there are, in what are loosely defined as democracies (Tarrow), emerging emphases on locations of change which are systemically defined by imposition of new contradictory expectations, possibilities and cultures (Melucci) but reflect wider changes in the lifeworld which increase the potential to realise modernity (Habermas). Tarrow, Melucci and Habermas, give depth and range to general theoretical attempts to describe social conflict. Tarrow and Melucci create great versatility in analytical insights into movements as well as generalising characteristics, which help the thesis to formulate potential characteristics in the study at hand. Considering the three theorists, their insights are most appropriate in the interior regions of movements in the case of Melucci, the external political relationships in the case of Tarrow and in

relationships to cultural standards, milieux and developments in the case of Habermas. In the attempt to combine their insights and skirt the contradictory dimensions of their theories, the thesis retains their individual complexity in the analytical model and yet still there are problems with their applicability as the evaluation demonstrates.

### Evaluation

The literature about social movements is varied and complex but the thesis establishes some order by which to evaluate its relevance through a taxonomy of issues in which the protesters engaged and of the social location from where these protesters emerged. Typically the three theorists chosen prove relevant to these parameters: with the social source of Protest actions, just as they do with the issues pursued in the Protests. Not only do they cover the ground relevant to typical protest actions in the Brisbane Protests but also their theory is complex and inclusive of both dimensions; of locations (as those of a social or class fraction or societal type location) and the characteristics of the issues typically chosen as well as theorising models of the dynamics of these Protests.

Social movement literature defines issues as; derivative from chaotic situations, or manifesting the intentions of self-help based, value- and identity based movements, or manifesting a strategic direction of short-term and measurable self-gain and as anti-systemic challenges to the dominant model of society. Movement activists are located by age, broader societal bases of groups, classes and subclasses, institutional and international roots, and national and sub-national settings. There are crossovers present in these categorisations; and theory often links these two elements in various ways, yet there remains value in separating them to evaluate the parameters of relevance of the theorists to the material. The thesis however does not separate anti-systemic locations and issues (since they are often built into more speculative theory) as are the concepts of lifeworld and system, but deals with them under the heading of location.

## Issues

In articulations of chaotically-expressed issues, social movements relinquish the practice of citizenship and participation and are drawn to irrationality. Density of population, poor services and the pressing sense of powerlessness produce frustrations and tensions. Yet chaotic expressions of despair and frustration are not ubiquitous, even in Latin America's stereotypical breakdown environments, making chaotic expressions even less likely to be relevant to Australian social movements. However the thesis retains this insight since breakdowns in values do attend changing societies like post-war Australia, so that 'irrationality and the chaotic' do not belong solely to those in desperate social circumstances of political and economic upheaval and inequalities. It is an insight included in the second frame of analysis in the element described as 'the official new left', yet the major theorists chosen embrace such criticism as relevant to the edges in Melucci (1996) or even processes in Tarrow (1989) and outlooks in Habermas (1981) involving movements, thereby vindicating their choice, even if the locations that they analyse are quite different from some of the Latin American states.

Often, even in the chaotic expressions there may be, according to the literature, a more rational understanding consonant with qualitative survival and democratic principles, which can describe social movement protests. Theorists whose work has compatibility with the primary-sources associated with the Brisbane Protests analyse movements that are not simply chaotic responses to social breakdown. While this literature describes different kinds of social movements, in say, Latin America, from urban revolts, to the women's movement, and to movements focused on regional autonomy (Henry 1985), these are still located in societies which do not provide widespread affluence to families and are the product of conditions much closer to breakdown than in Australia. However they do point in general terms, if without adequate relevance given the Australian situation for some women and more particularly for the Indigenous to characteristics of movements which emerge from deeply oppressive conditions. These groups are more attuned for instance to self-help.

In the articulation of the practice of communities inclusive of those involving self-help (see Veiling 1996; Klarhamer 1989; Hellman 1992), persons denied resources respond

rationally rather than chaotically, to their absence. Women and Aborigines reflect this capacity in the Protests and their movements, and closely related ones, constitute anti-stratification movements it is argued. While the three theorists all embrace the women's movement as proof of their own theories, they do not do justice to feminism's own view of difference. This becomes one of the foundations for asserting that stratification, inclusive of but also beyond, that of women, especially when this stratification rich in non-conforming cultural associations, must find a place in the analysis. This suggests areas of limitation in the social movement theorists chosen and a wider absence in the theory. Yet, in general, the theorists prove very relevant to the concerns of the Brisbane Protesters.

Typical of some social movements is the concern with identity, for example, in the grass-roots organizations that challenge transnational and patriarchal interests in the Americas and Australia (Elkins 1992; Radcliffe & Westwood 1993; Townsend 1995). Social movement histories in Australia follow many of these identity orientations and developments, particularly in discussions of gender, minority and Indigenous, gay and lesbian issues (Altmann 1979; Burgmann 2003; Grimshaw 1996). Such concerns are consistent with elements within the Brisbane Protests. Race and gender are key focuses of the Brisbane social movements as is national identity and the identity of a political public. The thesis finds such readings register certain incompatibilities with the three theorists. Melucci is certainly relevant but his concerns with identity as is Tarrow but while they focus on the women's movement they do not cover Indigenous movements nor do they include conflicts about those of national identity. The nation is not so relevant in post-industrial movements, according to Melucci, yet national identity is central to the determination of Australian politics and Australia, let alone Queensland — was not post-industrial. The Indigenous's role in these Protests is also quite central again demonstrating the problems of using social movement theory alone.

Values are also often associated with strident expressions of new group and personal identities: 'outsiders' to established working class and middle class cultures. Here values are intensely held and their advocates resistant, in principle, to compromise, seeing it as the way conventional politics 'is done'. They are often autonomous from political parties and form around new ideals and paradigms. Such issues with moralistic connotations such as fall within claims of peace and equality are only glibly described as

enlightened self-interest. They are, in reality, examples of the strong expression of values. The Protesters continued at personal risk and in the face of hostility (see for example Summy & Saunders 1986; Rootes 1988; Pakulski 1991; Hutton & Connors 1999). It is the theories particularly of Habermas but as well of Melucci that have so much to say about the centrality of values in social conflicts. Counter cultures, politics as the personal, and ideals of activism, new personas and artistic expressions, such as Melucci considers central to post-industrial conflict, all happen in the Brisbane Protests. Tarrow does also, if with the implication of its lack of capacity for translation into societal change beyond liberal democratic structures. Collective and personal identity are Melucci's major concerns (despite there application in cases of Indigenous peoples), while Tarrow sees the political process as the arena of social movement location and the final arbiter of social movement agendas. Yet not only does Tarrow see some relevance in expressive and identity concerns, if more dismissive of their import in ultimate political processes where strategic and calculative rules deny the broader threat of identity, morality and values, but also he recognises the way such 'outsider' politics is translated into 'insider politics'. These theoretical interests especially of Habermas and Melucci vindicate them as choices as theorists whereas the outcomes of such protests remain Tarrow's interest, which has relevance as well as does the theorists' mutual debate about such matters.

The regular presences of issues of identity, values, and morality figure strongly in the theorists. Chaotic breakdowns at the perimeter of movements are not a relevant concern of the dominant theorists chosen. Self-help issues find no explicit space in the chosen theorists although Melucci canvasses an internal culture in movements and Tarrow recognises the role of consciousness-raising in the women's movement despite neither of these being the same as self-help. The theorists provide substantial analysis of many of the issues discussed in pertinent social movement analyses with pertinence to Australia.

Only small fractions of the labour movement embrace radical Romantic outlooks in the period and location under discussion, and, in general labour movement studies have limited bearing on understanding the Brisbane Protests. The Brisbane Protesters in the main reject the styles of mainstream, institutionalised and organized labour that become



at best competitors<sup>21</sup> and occasionally sympathetic vehicles for their moderate demands assessed for their electoral viability. The thesis looks to movement theories, which embrace values and identities, and which challenge the making of the economic pie more than its incremental re-division.

### Location

The view of contemporaneous protests to those in Brisbane as middle class or in affluent environments, Parkin (1964) Cohen (1985), Inglehart (1985) articulated. Parkin, one of the first theorists of the new post-war movements identifies this feature in particular. Protests in the `60s and `70s with relevance to the Brisbane events were widespread in affluent, democratic and economically stable societies and such protests were by those outside the locations of immediate commercial interaction and especially in locations outside the traditional enmity between capital and industrial labour.

Two of the theorists, Melucci and Habermas, argue that older working class sectors no longer articulate projects for change. Habermas's view that the lifeworld has the potential to be resistant is useful it is a very broad overview applied to cultural contexts and to the variability of movement activists' communities, locations and influences. Yet even where a lifeworld has a spatial location in urban environments the evidence suggests the need for considerable understanding of the variability and specificity of locations and the movements in these areas. There are many lifeworlds with many characteristics although patterns of domicile and domesticity of those experiencing the greatest exposure to systemic change may be extrapolated with this idea of lifeworld and system in the background. It is Habermas's stress on the Protester locations outside the commercial jurisdiction, by which he means union and business sectors, and their service providers, which has the most obvious correspondence with the Brisbane Protests initially. However Melucci sees these new protesters in the heart of production of a new society. For Melucci, the new protesters of this period have locations at the heart of the reconstruction of new possibilities or codes and therefore enriched with possibilities and new threats (1996). Apparently contradictory, Habermas's commonality

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<sup>21</sup> terminology

with Melucci relies on this location of separation from the fractions within industrial class societies.

The resource mobilisation school, initially an American articulated outlook (Cohen 1985), stressed the importance of the location of protests within democratic environments. Tarrow argues against this view of the inherent 'newness' of the locations of protests of the 'sixties and 'seventies and rather for their close connection to existing sub-groups, and the determination of these conflicts within more formalised and calculated interest articulations. Yet Queensland's democratic idiosyncrasies are already noted, making assumptions about the dynamics of change problematic. Yet while Melucci and Habermas stress new issues and players' roles in affluent and knowledge-orientated societies, alliances of sorts not unlike those predicted by Tarrow occurred in Brisbane and with outcomes strongly affected by democratic processes as he suggests.

There are location perspectives, which engage the view that these Protests were embedded in, and provide evidence of, a transition to a new society and they therefore are anti-systemic while being located in social contradictions. There are studies made of the new left that stress their anti-systemic typology in terms of their issues and location in the new knowledge-based economies (Touraine et al.1987). This suggests that new movements located in these societies engage issues that the society cannot "digest" or institutionalise because they challenge the foundational cultural model of that society. Particularly in Touraine's seminal insights, cultural issues become central to social movements located in post-modernity. The issues taken up by the Protesters have these cultural implications, especially those of the Romantic university movement. Melucci's inclusion therefore encompasses these reflections.

Through reference to issues and locations, the survey confirms the relevance of Tarrow, Melucci, and Habermas. Nevertheless the lack of conventional ideological divisions and a location which was neither core nor peripheral nor post-industrial evidently, since this must be the advanced section of the core, are not a well articulated feature of the three theorists' analyses. Australia's reliance on the state as the source of social identity and ideological division must be understood by other theory than that offered by the three theorists. — in particular the thesis turns to Global Systems Theory. While the theorists in various ways identify with a European tradition, rich in sophisticated technological

innovation, deep political discourse and ideological difference, which challenges in some senses their relevance, the thesis dispenses with an alternative of orthodox Marxist explanations of social movement activity as largely irrelevant. Yet the location of Australia in a core-peripheral relationship to global capitalism proves a fruitful base from which to hypothesise critical features of its characteristics as they affect the Protests. This is because much of the research suggests that the identity crisis that fundamentally operated in Australia during the Protests was a national identity crisis. According to Arrighi, the role of the nation in core-peripheral countries is crucial.

Furthermore there is the sense that Queensland's apparently distinctive political characteristics could schematically be referred to its core-peripheral status through commonalities with Arrighi's defined characteristics. The typical face of intense conservatism and cultural retreat, as Arrighi found in proto-Fascist European states, in what furthermore was a somewhat protected economic sector (if this protection was not of Queensland's sole doing nor its jurisdiction) appears worth consideration as an analysis. This adds to the value of Global Systems Theory, but still leaves outstanding, recognition that Queensland (despite occasional claims to the contrary) is not a nation state and that the dominant classes and ideologies in Australia oriented it to modernisation, despite its particular cultural retreat.

## **(ii) Global Systems Theory**

The most useful Marxism analytically is that of the new global, political economy. In it are more potent insights reminiscent of the originality of Marx's own works rather than the dogma that built on its weaknesses. Notable is Immanuel Wallerstein's new and pertinent understandings of the structure of the adversary — the post-war global political economy. Arrighi in his edited work (1988) expands this analysis to describe the role of the state in the situation of 'semi-peripherality', which confronts countries like Australia. In these cases, nation states actively comply with global direct investment and assist in the formation of multi-lateral trade agreements. According to Arrighi, here even the purity of the liberal market is subservient to "the need to regulate and protect investment" (1988, p.226). However he chooses very reactionary proto-fascist European countries to study.

Yet the thesis extrapolates another scenario pertinent to Australia from this core-peripheral location, in a view that such nation states may modernise their economies rather than locking their societies away, while nevertheless creating defensive strategies and abandoning their independence to alliances. In this, it creates a seemingly atypical nation state, if the assumption of autonomy and nation state coexist, which, in Wallerstein, they evidently do not, and so making his overview important to these considerations.

However while Arrighi's interpretation of Wallerstein adds to the picture of a class of nation states who trade on identity to resist the modernisation impulses of globalisation, any extrapolation from this relies on invention a case for the class of countries, which modernise in the face of globalisation to create national identity as the perimeter of political discourse and further, ironically, turn to alliance with a great power to secure this national identity and so subsuming its national autonomy. Such detailed extrapolation needs reference to the specificity of Australian politics and culture and can only satisfactorily apply to the thesis with the assistance of a third geo-political frame which investigates this specificity.

### **(iii) Feminism**

The third and final element of the general theory frame is feminism. The thesis recognises that feminism has a particular use as a perspective on gendered difference which impacts on social movements. It accepts the hypothesis that feminist insight, applied to social movements invokes a perspective on the depth of women's stratification and the many nuances of it that the three theorists examine inadequately. Not only are the theorists chosen men but also the primary material reinforces the importance of an independent female politics in the Protests. While it is comparatively underdeveloped as a theory of social movement interactions, feminist analysis of patriarchy and the divisions between men and women recreate some of the characteristics of the Brisbane Protests, suggesting its particular relevance as an analytical tool.

The conflict between men and women appears within the Brisbane Protests, just as the Brisbane Protests exemplify some of the feminist characterisations of the historical

processes of patriarchy: in women's exclusion and yet their influential role in modern politics and history as well as in new analyses of

material and bodily processes of reproduction (sexuality, childbirth, childcare, fertility, family formation, mothering contraception, family life [Feminism opposes] linear history. (Reekie 1992, p.154; Lake 1999).

Feminists argue that the central contradiction of society exists in patriarchy and the desire for both equality and respect for difference of the sexes. Therefore the impacts upon women's traditional work should take equal place with male industrial views of work. Industrialism destroyed the rights of women pushing them to the lower cultural and economic strata from which they resisted, as in Brisbane during the Protests. Feminists demonstrate that the women's movement argued for authoritative roles in all areas of society or 'getting equal' (Grimshaw 1996; Lake 1999)

The three theorists embrace the feminist movement somewhat on their own terms. According to Johnson (1992), Habermas's tolerance of feminism is limited and this, the thesis asserts, is in a similar fashion to his views about the black sub-culture (although considerations of their differences cannot be ignored). Johnson notes especially, his inability to analyse patriarchy as opposed to administrative and market rationalisation and colonisation, leading to her critique of his 'reductionism' (p.58). Tarrow does not analyse the women's movement in any depth nor does Melucci. This absence has prompted the special interest the thesis has in stratification.

The importance of the feminist insights is often linked to post-modernism's concern for the assertion of difference (Foucault 1980; Grosz 1994). While some theorists link such articulations of post-modernity to post-industrialism (Gills 2000, p.14), the feminist view of the lynchpin again proves relevant to the thesis's understanding of the women's movement, while this societal location of post-industrialism does not. Rather it is the evidence of gender conflict in the literature, which reinforces the relevance of the feminist viewpoint.

While modifications of feminist views, which often assume a change within the women's movement from issues of equality to identity and sexuality issues in this new wave of protest, prove problematic as an analysis of the Brisbane Protests, the feminist insights

into their own stratification as women proves invaluable in the analytical model. Feminist analysis disputes the efficacy of some sorts of universalist theories, creating problems for the thesis in reconciling this with some other elements within this frame of general theory.

Many argue that 1968 is a watershed between a universalist women's theory and one arguing for the particularity of women's bodies and minds. According to Ferres, Kristeva distinguishes two intellectual generations of women Protesters in balance at this time: the first wave of egalitarian feminists demanding equal rights with men, or, in other words their right to a place in "linear" time, and the second generation emerging after 1968, who emphasised women's radical difference from men and "demanded women's right to "remain outside linear time and politics" (1994, p.132). Romanticism influences this view, with such a reference to "time".

[The] emphases of the new wave include the subject's relation to space in the formation of a sexed subjectivity, the semiotic space of the maternal and paternal ... (and) ... intersubjectivity. (Ferres 1994, p.132 ).

The thesis considers evidence of this transition in 1968 and its relative value analytically, as well as other characterisations of the women in the Brisbane Protests. It argues that feminism does assist the characterisation of the Brisbane Protests both in women's own actions and in their relationships with men and their actions. However it contests the watershed theory and establishes the necessity of recognising the roots of feminism in both 'particularist' and universal theory as well as the historical frame of post-totalitarianism.

The critical step taken in this thesis under the influence of feminism is to recognise the 'new left' descriptor as a way of seeing the Brisbane Protests as continuous only with a global movement representing a masculine movement in outlooks, particularly its leadership although not entirely in its composition. Certainly elements of its expression appear, then, as stereotypical of contemporaneous youthful male perspectives in sexuality, the quality of its internal relationships, and emphasis on ideology rather than other elements of communication. Feminism represented another global movement, which was also an important influence. The thesis seeks to resolve these differences by finding commonalities and oppositions which do not exist within the typical understanding of the

new left but must rely on either feminist or more general understandings of the Protests to analyse them.

While the inclusion of feminism solves one question of the need to represent the theoretical complexity that feminism adds to social movement analysis and especially to the evolution of the Women's Movement, there is an evident historical connection between the rise of the women's movement and the new left, conjointly and even with a degree of mutuality, which must be explained. The thesis therefore suggests that reference to historical periodisation and the concept of post-totalitarianism and further to radical Romantic post-totalitarianism developed in the second frame is a necessary addition to the analysis of the shared phenomena of these two movements as well as their difference and mutual hostility. The thesis postulates that these two movements share an international heritage in new representations of political and cultural critique best described as post-totalitarianism and further a predominantly Romantic version of it while evidently having very real differences. The second frame assists to unravel this contradictory relationship.

Feminism as a broad and general theory, while much more readily applied to the dynamics of the Brisbane Protests, must be directly applied to the location of Australia and Brisbane. Furthermore it cannot, obviously, theorise adequately the Indigenous movement. So while it does not suffice for the theoretical understanding of anti-stratification movements in general, it is extremely useful — more so than Global Systems Theory. However, nor is feminism entirely adequate to analyse the specificity of the circumstances of the Brisbane Protests although it contributes to them significantly through the work of Ferres and Reekie. These analyses by feminists with a Brisbane focus are an important contribution, yet insufficient to describe all the specificity of the Queensland environment. This reiterates the need for an element in the third frame concerned specifically with Queensland.

Women played an important public role in the Protests with men and against the adversaries to the male new left, yet the capacity of the Women's Movement to construct social movements of longevity and efficacy further needs consideration in the light of the emphasis feminists place on types of social interactions, personal issues and other broader inter-relationships. The thesis elaborates these distinctions, which are a valuable

part of characterising the Brisbane Protests and lead to necessary reflections about social movement or other general theory lacking this perspective.

In summary regarding the first frame, the thesis argues that understanding the Brisbane Protests requires recognition that these are social movement activities typical of those in post-war Western democratic environments whose dominant classes created cultural agendas rather than class impoverishment as their engines of internal control and domination. Here the types of issue orientations are rich in identity values and morality rather than evidence of breakdown of society and survival strategies or chaos. Yet these societies exhibit value upheavals with chaotic moments. The locations of Protesters reflect a society where investments orientate to new technologies and processes with an educated work force experiencing extended training and affluent contexts. All of this points in the direction of the analyses of Tarrow, Melucci and Habermas, but not conclusively.

The thesis analyses the Brisbane Protests through their social movements in qualitative terms of ideas, solidarities and personal orientations and through their interaction with pre-established cultural developments, 'lifeworlds' and modernisation, within a political process model emphasising their efficacy and absorption, and in terms of their identity in conflict with codes of behaviour and understanding as well with matters of their internal culture and cultural production. However gender-based inequalities articulated in feminism and unequal external relations articulated within global political economy analyses create insights into the characteristics of these Protests from general theory not evident in social movement theory. No one theory proves adequate.

Problems of solving analytic tensions in the theory reflect the diversity in the characteristics of the Protests and thus these problems of their characterisation. Conflicts between politics and culture, universality and specificity, solidarity and identity, old class and new locations in new societies and new issue orientations, the national and the global and male and female synergies or their lack: all these will surface, since the general theory section opens the debate within these parameters rather than defining the conclusion for so many apparently Protest specific dimensions. For these tensions the second and third frames of the analytical model seek resolutions in more specific descriptions of the Protests to assist in a comprehensive description of the Brisbane Protests.



Yet there is evidence of shared actions and perspectives. It is this divisiveness that the theory initiates that creates the need for a second frame. Global Systems Theory and Tarrow give the most unifying pictures of protest action and the reason they do so is that their theory focuses on contexts or exterior processes and adversarial outlooks, rather than shared outlooks, philosophies and actions of activists and allies. The other theories point to differences, yet there are links across these Protests, the thesis argues, and these are of an historical and intellectual type. While the historical appears another context in the second frame, this historical interpretation relies primarily on the world views and responses for its efficacy as an explanatory tool. The second frame goes well beyond context to the background understandings that unified the Brisbane Protesters.

Therefore at the conclusion of this section, the thesis reveals a number of 'holes' in using what remains the most relevant social movement theory. Firstly there is considerable disagreement within the social movement theorists chosen which appears irresolvable to the extent that they all have various strengths and weakness in applicability as well as mutual weaknesses. Secondly, the unifying features of the Protests are largely ignored through general explanation of the structural schisms afforded in the analyses in general theory. Thirdly, stratification is an important focus not included in the theory beyond noting its affinity to feminist theory and, in turn, its distance from the Indigenous experience and fourthly, the thesis has only in general elucidated the reality of core-peripheral countries in Global Systems Theory, without specificity about the nature of Australia's identity crises nor Queensland's quasi democratic and agricultural economy and fundamentalist Christian values within a modernising nation. These all suggest fruitful directions to develop explanations beyond Tarrow's liberal democracy and Melucci post-industrialism and Habermas's communicative action through the addition of other frames of analysis. Their limitations require the introduction of new analytical frames to create a composite analytical model suitable to the Brisbane Protests and to the development of clear understandings of how social movement is, or could be relevant.

## **2.2 The Second Analytical Frame: Post-totalitarianism**

The second frame deals with the apparent historical unity of post-war Western protest movements of the 'sixties and 'seventies through their setting in a global context perceived through Western eyes. Analytically, this new response of an historical rather than sociological insight as to how the Brisbane Protests were shaped by influences and inferences drawn from contemporaneous reflections, debates and contexts.. While remaining analytically useful in parts, general theory is just too broad and contradictory to be adequate to the task of understanding the Protests. The Protests require analytical supplementation and explanation through not only reference to historical events in great measure but also to cultural traditions impacting the new critiques of society that give some account of the protests unifying themes. This can reflect more deeply the historical particularity of the Brisbane Protests historical context, albeit still at a global level. The primary sources and any reflection of the times recognises the cross flow of global influences and contexts irrespective of the claim in contention within the analytical model as to the final determination of the significance of Protest actions at the national level or the international.

### **(i)The 'Official' New Left**

The first element in this frame of post-totalitarianism is the 'official new left' element which recognises various critiques of the new left as part of the potential characterisation of the Brisbane Protests. It recognises the association of this movement with an explosion of violence, ideological thinking, simplification, intellectual and personal retreat, and patriarchy associated with some protests of the times.

Degeneration from humanist ideals is now pervasive as description of the fate of the new left (Statera 1975; Young 1977; Sale 1973). The new left often seized an insurrectionary outlook and simplistic overview not emblematic of, yet still intrinsic to, this Romanticism These associations with ideological rigidity and terrorism, described in this thesis as the 'official' new left, alone suggest its problematic status as a general explanation of the Brisbane The analysis includes these criticisms, recognising that they are explanations for parts of the Brisbane new left and therefore parts of the Brisbane Protests. These also suggest a pattern of simplification and reductionism in which one of

the many strains of influence becomes a new dogma and an excuse for tendencies which are better described as escapist, intolerant or naive.

Melucci excludes central parts of the new left from examples of post-industrial social movements, suggesting a regression found in the new left in their acceptance of scholastic Marxism ... Only ... the women's movement ... broke the reliance on simplified Marxism [while the male/female new left] produced terrorist forms of deviance (Melucci 1996, pp.270-2).

However the thesis argues that this is merely the representation of the 'official' new left. Furthermore "self-realization and new communicative models, emphases on the body and planetary awareness" (Melucci 1996, p. 276) signs of the post-industrial movements also occurs in the 'male' new left in Brisbane. Tarrow sees the outbreak of violence in the new left as the product of competition within the protest cycle and the historical cultures dominated by traditionally violent ruling groups. Habermas questions the tendency to 'ascriptive formations' (Habermas Telos 1981, pp.34-37) based on gender or race in the new left. These too have limitations as adequate analytical insights into several movements of the Brisbane Protests including some of the male-dominated ones.

Statera characterises the 'official new left' by its attention to third world revolutionary heroes (as the vehicles for world revolution), ends defining means, anti-authoritarianism applied to all cultural authority, opposition to all organization and liberation through action (Statera 1975, p. 96.) It is the 'official' version of the new left.

## **(ii) Radical Romantic Post-totalitarianism**

The second element of this second frame recognises these criticisms of the new left, which refer to the literature in which the new left, in particular, is widely repudiated. This element of critique compiles those many other critiques drawn from the already established key general theorists of the first frame in reference to its reconstruction in the literature — often through analytical and intellectual condemnation. Yet other critiques, with still other inputs into the understanding of the new left, also receive attention within the second element. This second element of the second frame, the thesis calls radical Romantic post-totalitarianism to describe the official new left'

Such a perspective, through analysing the character of an era, offers greater immediacy and specificity in understanding the minds of actors and adversaries and draws on the complex cultural tradition of Romanticism<sup>22</sup>. This root describes the historical contexts of Romanticism's post war 'reincarnation' of the older critique of industrialism. While philosophically and historically, the Enlightenment and Romantic influences are interwoven, the thesis asserts the use of pointing to the Romantic dimension as the most significant and of greatest influence to the Protesters, much as political anti-totalitarianism was more specifically attached to the Enlightenment. Therefore Romanticism does not operate as an exclusionary qualification. There is the sense in which radical streams of both traditions are implied in the terminology, particularly at the political level as regards totalitarianism and radical liberalism. Nevertheless the Enlightenment tradition is very much less influential at the cultural level where the radical Romantic post-totalitarian critique of science and technology is deeply critical of the Enlightenment assumptions. Additionally, it is the *modus operandi* of these movements that is a further consideration since, while their intention was often rationality in discourse, their methods were also, predominantly intentionally, personally confrontational, disruptive of norms and expressive in style. These norm-breaking activities enrich the sense of their Romanticism. Traditions do not fit nicely into boxes, but the weight of influence was to Romanticism in these various senses.

The view of Romanticism as a type of nostalgia, a private escape into personal excesses, a personal refuge or a reliance on simplistic and undifferentiated overviews such as Christian fundamentalism or dogmatic Marxism, insurrection as redemption and of a collective resistance, all seem pertinent to the Brisbane Protests and are useful in their description. In effect, Romanticism is a complexly constructed set of outlooks and practices aimed at escaping in multiple ways from the realities of authority, market and state — yet this is a definition which is overly inclusive to be immediately useful. This still leaves the thesis with both the benefits of breadth, which meets the complex character of these Protests, including their internal differences, and the need for further definition.

Where the thesis refers to radical Romantic post-totalitarianism it refers to the set of diverse influences and practices of the various movements, intellectual and historical, into the authoritative thinking and practices of those in the Brisbane Protests. *The*

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<sup>22</sup> Despite the ambiguity in the term which the thesis addresses by specifying the Protesters' description as radical Romantic post-totalitarians taken up below).

*Dialectics of Liberation* (ed. Cooper), especially Marcuse's contribution and *The Female Eunuch* by Germaine Greer are the central intellectual sources and evidence of this Romanticism, while the association of movements against bureaucracy, untamed economic growth, colonialism and consumerism and more general than all, objectification provides a schematic description. These influential movements endorsing either absolutist moralities aimed at equity, liberty of conscience and personal integrity and artistic expression, or collective popular resistances with anti-authoritarian perspectives to dominant cultures represent a litany of complaint by movements that the Brisbane Protest groups also articulated. Nevertheless more specific definition pertinent to the Brisbane Protests will follow since outstanding clarification requires more specificity given that issues like, whether or not such a viewpoint endorses violence, are not determined even through this more exclusive definition. Nevertheless it provides an analytical frame from which to link into common themes of the mostly Western protest movements associated with the `sixties and `seventies which either are excessively differentiated or undifferentiated in the general theory.

The purpose for this inclusiveness lies in the need to find a more complex picture of influences that contribute to the Brisbane Protests. However the thesis also recognises a specificity in the Australian circumstances, which further determines the importance of defining this strong global influence. In intellectually compromised societies like Australia, where the necessity to find sources for social critique forces a search for these critics elsewhere, the need to construct the influences of this historical era is considerably inflated. For reasons both of the specificity of the local events and the recognition of the broader inclusiveness of the concept of the Brisbane Protests, the 'new left' descriptor is inadequate and the thesis replaces it by the description of the era as post-totalitarianism and the Protesters' overview as radical Romantic post-totalitarianism.

Therefore this second frame of the analytical model begins with the recognition that that the most likely simplistic description is as the Brisbane chapter of the new left. Yet given that feminism already indicates the limitation of this nomenclature, rooted in masculinity, the thesis reconstructs this into a more culturally comprehensive but historically-specific frame. At the same time the new left characterisation which has partial application to the Brisbane Protests, provides a set of insights and standards and analytical insights including a substantial body of critique through identifying practices and outlooks of potential relevance.

The thesis suggests that a broad diffuse orientation to this era, inclusive of the reflections upon the Second World War and the rise of Fascism, the dissolution of formal colonialism and the non-aligned's elevation to a precarious autonomy, and the public admissions about Stalinism and disquiet about future peace in the Cold War era, describes post-totalitarianism. Conceptually and historically, post-totalitarianism casts a wide net. It is, for instance, possible to see the post-war movements associated with the U.N. such as those purporting to represent and advocate, for human rights, non-aligned countries, the Indigenous or women as post-totalitarian. These sparks of change, in an otherwise conservative time and often-different locations from Western youthful protesters, was intensified into the more intense combustion of radical post-totalitarian Romanticism. Nevertheless it was an historical flow of influences largely damned in the Cold War context.

Those who understood World War Two, including its prelude and its aftermath, as a stimulus to a radical critique through reference to then discarded traditions of modern political thought that were constituent of alternative and more radical critiques of socialism and liberalism, established the groundwork of this perspective of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism. While eighteenth and nineteenth century Romanticism became sources of inspiration for radical Romantic post-totalitarianism, they seized a radical and anti-rationalistic (rationalistic defined largely in its narrow sense) thread and did so, more especially, with reference to twentieth century intellectual developments in European thinking — Freud and Weber, in particular.

In practice, post-totalitarianism as it was 'captured' by the Cold Warriors own ideologies, often referred to the 'other Warrior' and not their own context, yet grass roots post-totalitarians were importantly critical of their own governments and even in Australia represented an important potentially sympathetic audience to the radical Romantics. However, it is the stronger contention that threat derives from both Cold Warriors that marked radical post-totalitarian Romanticism. Whereas for the post-totalitarians of the West, contemporaneous developments confirmed faith in liberal democratic capitalism or compromising, democratic socialism or in a U.N. dominated by the U.S.A. and the Security Council — the industrial states. Such groups nevertheless addressed concerns like racism in Australia.

The sourcing of 'new' ideas in radical Romantic post-totalitarianism was a great liberation from sterile Marxism and dogmatic and simple insurrectionary Anarchism proclaiming if royalty and priests were killed the revolution would follow. Furthermore and in this regard well beyond the insights of the post-totalitarians, it offered rather a critique of the 'routinised' politics of the West, and its cloying suburban ideal — in which politics had relocated to the private voter. It initiated a very complex range of justifications for action, ironically creating greater possibilities for some to simplify their outlooks.

This simplification was done through adopting one radical Romantic perspective associated with a particular and inappropriate time and place and/or social, political or cultural practice rather than reflecting on its actual relevance to and complexity for, understanding the Protesters' own environment. Sometimes the new Romanticism devolved into a global or universal reference point implying a single strategy and single ideological solution. Despite the threat of the Cold War and even nuclear extinction being realistically, such a universal focus, these Protesters were far removed from 'reality' (both the benefit and limitation of Romanticism) and so from the appropriate strategy in terms of Protester efficacy. Nevertheless, the raft of new ideas associated with these reflections on the twentieth century in the perspectives of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism was the creative intellectual essence of the ideas available at the time of the Brisbane Protests.

The radical Romantic post-totalitarian-interpreted political contexts had deep historical roots and the Protesters argued that these tendencies and similar ones, in terms of their gravity, still resided in the Cold War world. The inclusion of Weber and Freud into this radical Romantic repertoire considerably extended its theoretical potential as did the Romantic associations of the influence of existentialism and feminism. These critiques centrally focused on authoritarianism. Romanticism, as this subsection subsequently argues, crosses personal, social, cultural and political barriers — it is inherently broad and complex as a tradition and is not any particular political ideology but a root of both socialism and democracy.

In the outlooks of radical post-totalitarian Romanticism, both Cold Warriors — military and technological bureaucracies par excellence — must be recognised by their roots in an ongoing totalitarianism, be it neo-colonialism, racism or sexism and other domestic

authoritarianisms — a key word in this perspective. This concept of post-totalitarian Romanticism describes the new left, various anti-colonial movements, women's liberation, anti-racist, anti-nuclear movements and those for a more spontaneous populist or participatory democracy with a very broadly Marxist or liberal perspective as well as movements against technology, armament-driven military strategy, and bureaucracy. These critiques include those of the 'way of life' espoused domestically in the West (White 1987) as Americanisation rather than civilisation, bliss and freedom which might at least, been more intellectually compelling. This perspective of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism assists the thesis to a more inclusive understanding of the various orientations of the Brisbane Protests within an historical perspective broadly perceived as shared by Western youth and others, yet anything but organizationally unified.

In radical post-totalitarian Romanticism, some of the best theoretical critiques of Marxists came from that tradition exemplified in Western Marxism and Anarchism while the best theoretical critiques of liberalism came from radical Romantic liberals and other commentators associated with the liberal tradition. To both of these however, the thesis adds that the movements of criticism of the contemporaneous Western perspective predominantly came externally at first — from the colonial movements — not least amongst which was that led by Gandhi, just as the emergent Eastern bloc movements expressed disdain for Soviet bureaucratic/military domination gave impetus for early prototypes of the European new left.

One example of the role of the anti-colonial consciousness is Maoism, which, the Western new left adduced, was anti-colonial, even though a present reader would regard this as totalitarianism personified. Therefore, the thesis's radical post-totalitarian Romanticism hypothesis remains concerned with the perceptions of the historical time without implying their veracity.

To connect all these perspectives to an intellectual current of Romanticism requires explication of this concept in a general sense prior to referring to its radical sense. Romanticism is an important intellectual movement from the late 18th century onwards. The continuity of its influences resides in its breadth and relevance to industrial and technologically advanced societies and their global applications. In essence, Romanticism conceives a subject-object dichotomy. This accounts for the great diversity of perspectives and resistances — some even crossing left and right disjunctions within



Romanticism. As a focus in part on redemption, personal, political, and cultural — it rejects the loss of unity or totality resulting from industrialism. Its origins are in the idealisation of primitive pasts, in the Renaissance flourishing of creativity against the sterile corruption of the Roman Catholic Church or in the Protestant sects' and mystics' attempts to revive a heart-felt internal and non-rule-bound religiosity (Bloom 1988). Romanticism however not only looks back but also projects forward to better times when it is supposed the human scale outshines the calculations of inhumane organizations and rules which split humans from their wholeness.

For Romantics the recognition of our common humanity in itself or as a vehicle for a superior force is what makes us whole in an apparent world of disunities without meaning. There are many ways of expressing this loss of unifying meaning that religion or the sacred have nearly always fulfilled before the Enlightenment. Science itself as well as being the handmaiden of industrialism became the chief intellectual debunker of this unity and science — and particularly its applications — are a familiar target of the Romantic disposition.

Romanticism explores the subjectivity of the individual. Even when it orientates to collectivism it is a mutual sharing of this interior dimension that is uppermost in it, although quite clearly a Conservative version might attach to loyalty or collective spirit while the radical versions explore new and suppressed subjectivities (and the liberation of individuals if also as members of classes and groups). Hence the seminal German Romantic Herder expressed the desire to return to simpler lives or communities (Taylor 1979, pp. 1-5). It is evident in the typical Romantic attempts to reorganize the hierarchy of reason's domination over the senses (Jay 1984, p.50), stimulate political action based on personal experiences (Lamore in Benhabib 1992), and explore individual consciousness and conscience through a moral and aesthetic resistance to the status quo (Arendt 1982). Romanticism was then inclusive of a great deal of contemporary post-war critiques of modern societies from the standpoint of personal fulfilment, personal expression, sense of connection to society and the recognition that dominant ideologies and ideals of normalcy did not express the quest for a whole personally-rich, egalitarian and fulfilling life.

As noted in regard to the Marxist element in the first frame, while Western Marxism offers no great insight into the dynamics of the Brisbane Protests other than its intellectual influence on the Protesters, it is precisely this that is important in

understanding the sources for radical Romantic post-totalitarianism. It recognises soon after the Soviet revolution that socialism becomes totalitarian, predating therefore the stunning revelations about Stalin. As Fascism grew these theorists had the kernel of radical Romantic critiques of totalitarianism before rather than after World War Two, 1956 and the Cold War. Therefore one strong influence of the radical Romantic critique of first world, post-war societies lies in Western Marxism, so well defined in Perry Anderson's *Considerations on Western Marxism* (1976). This parallels other assertions of a Romantic Hegelian influence (Gouldner 1976, p.196; Jay 1988, pp.4, 103-105).

These Marxists are fundamentally different from mainstream Marxism and its various deviations present in the Internationals, because of an emphasis on the binding power of culture. Marcuse's reflections on the colonised, technologically and commercially manipulated, are a central part of Western Marxist thinking. These suggest fertile grounds for identifying structural reasons for the Protests, but Western Marxism recognises that the structural does not determine consciousness, rather they exist in dialectical relationship (Adorno 1973). However in Marcuse this cultural oppression overlaying structural factors becomes the source of contemporaneous political and cultural conflict. Following Hegel's historically rooted analyses of culture, determinism is rejected; consciousness is privileged and culture mediates oppression.

Marcuse's use of Freud, typified in his *Eros and Civilisation* (1962) is characteristic also of Western Marxism. Repression is here personal and reconstructed as the product, not of civilisation but of modern societies. Sexual repression is part of authoritarianism. Fascism becomes an expression of sexual authoritarianism and patriarchy in this account (Reich 1970). These perspectives centre on the non-rational in the sense of being more inclusive of human understanding but they are not anti-rational. Even at this point, these themes are no longer part of the dominant understanding of left and right.

Also in this Western Marxist view, the critical failing in both socialism and democracy is their tendency to bureaucracy. Bureaucracy was a step to authoritarianism and therefore to totalitarianism in the view of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism. These societies, they feared, relied on denying creativity and a sense of power and purpose. They destroy human wholeness, diminish autonomy, subject the individual to rules and create a loss of meaning. This also, in more erudite and expansive form, was Weber's contention (Weber 1968; Habermas 1984). Weber also becomes an important source in Western Marxism because of his critique of bureaucracy, although this existed in

traditions of earlier criticism of modern societies. Weber serves the new radical Marxist-Hegelian Romantics well and their perspective on both societies is of bureaucracy “gone mad”. Habermas makes an important critique of Weber from this perspective, but the idea of a military-industrial complex popularised by C.Wright Mills represents this attitude for the Protesters, as do the trenchant Anarchist critiques.

This radical post-totalitarian Romanticism provides a repertoire of critique beyond the new left ideology yet inclusive of it, which adds to the thesis’s suggestion that this movement fails to recognise the existence and complexity of the world it purported to understand. Yet understanding the new left as committed to an array of Romantic ideals and concerns apparent in activities about war, libertarianism, University and anti-capitalist protest is part still of a wider understanding of the movements which influenced it, and were concurrent with it, thus providing a broader picture in which it is located. In this it is Romanticism that is a dominant source and while post-totalitarianism may well appear an Enlightenment source the thesis argues that it was secondary in this perspective.

In conclusion, the first element of the second frame of the analytical model, radical Romantic post-totalitarianism, reconstructs a picture of the Brisbane Protests in a broader, predominantly historical, perspective with which to more readily associate all the protest movements. It includes diverse movements as influences, which viewed through the radical Romantic perspective, appeared to respond to the Cold War architectures as its victims or to continuities in oppression thought to underlie the scourges of Fascism and Stalinism. These scourges survived in some form in contemporaneous societies of both liberal democracy and Stalinist communism, according to this critique.

Post-totalitarian Romanticism provided a profound cultural critique of both camps due to the hypothesised presence of shared authoritarianism, colonising behaviours mostly predicated on race and gender as well as non-stereotypical personas and solidarities, and their manufacture of looming technological and anti-humanist threats. This was a complex array of critiques in which benign cultural domination pacifies the population as readily as the malignant threat of nuclear war and secret police. Radical Romantic post-totalitarianism stood for a radicalism lost in the co-option of the labour movement and re-emerging in critical intellectual and artistic, anti-bureaucratic, communal and

internationalist traditions of resistance to industrialisation for which the term radical Romantic post-totalitarianism serves as a short-hand description.

The Brisbane Protests rely broadly on radical post-totalitarian Romanticism for a great deal of their influence, and the various capacities to interpret it can be referred to the first frame's discussion of general locations and issues to create a growing composite picture. This picture as an analytical overview is enhanced by the criticisms made of the new left as a limited interpreter of post-war realities and traditions and thus one simplifying the complex inheritance of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism. This simplification and inappropriate application of this inheritance are part of the insights of the earlier chosen social movement theorists and others, about the limitations of that movement described as the new left.

Romanticism offered a Pandora's box of critique, meaning the possibilities were unlimited and liberating yet needed careful differentiation. Subjectivity or rebelliousness are no guarantees of insight, nor the non-rational nor community as perspectives. The new left failed to deal with the complexity of Romanticism, not least, at the grass-roots level because they failed to see its influence.

This second frame suggests the influences on the Protesters of radical post-totalitarian Romanticism. The thesis, in choosing to analyse in this way the contemporaneous historical period under a broader cultural tradition, explains the raft of influences reflected in the Protests, giving them an historical unity which they in practice found more slippery and perhaps far too complex in its tangents to unify in real life. However, analytically, the thesis finds a common thread, in this influence reliant on cultural tradition, and an intense resistance to the architecture of the Cold War and its failings, despite the need for further reflection about its Western perspective, especially as this relates to the Indigenous Movements.

Yet the need for an historical frame which accentuates intellectual and historical movements understandings of what had recently based, what threatened and what was suggestive of new possibilities for a more moral and political intervention in new circumstances in the shadows of world wars past and present and the ongoing objectification of humanity again creates too much generality even though it remains an antidote to the general theory of the first frame. Such perspectives were generated and received differently in different countries and as conflicts arose were received differently

in local structures and political cultures. The threats appeared global at times but their orchestration differed from nation to nation and, in Australia, from State to State. This suggests the need for a third frame of analysis — the geo-political. It is used in concert with the others.

### ***2.3 The Third Frame: The Geo-Political Frame***

The third frame concerns the context of Australia and Queensland at the time of the Brisbane Protests. It, also, is a largely historical frame, and one which again refers to compatible insights from general theory and post-totalitarianism while examining the sources of specificity that flow from the recognition of the limitations of these generalisations. This geo-political frame has two elements: the explication of the critical contexts of Australia's fragile national identity and the analysis of Queensland's non-industrial economic base, politically overseen by those with interests in promulgating a populist culture of reactionary Romanticism. These create characteristics of the State adversary within an Australian political economy characterised by its, in reference to Australia, geographically speaking, North and South differentiation — a reverse of the global association with such regions. Queensland is a geographically Northern but extractive and pastoral economy rather than having a 'Southern' focus on industry and intensive agriculture. Considering both nation and state contexts, Australia's Federal Constitution, culture, geography and history creates multiple specificities. Furthermore in the State arena a focus on Brisbane, Queensland's capital proves important.

It is apparent that general theory is relevant to Australia within the thesis's concern to differentiate specificities. While Australia does not exemplify the societies characterised in Arrighi's semi-peripheral states and may fit better the pattern of symbiosis constructed by Boreham et al., both perspectives lean toward an hypothesis of a fragile identity expressed as subservience and conformity with Boreham stressing the colonial legacy specific to Australia (Boreham et al. 1989). The thesis suggests that Queensland's response to a changing post-war world was the retreat that Arrighi identifies in his edited study (1988). Australia's response more generally is a modernising but symbiotic response.

These specific differences, which the thesis describes in conceptual shorthand as geo-political in this third frame, need greater elaboration at the State of Queensland level in

which the Brisbane Protests occur. Queensland demonstrates an idiosyncratic history, which nevertheless also confirms trends, beyond the apparent idiosyncrasy, common to those found in other parts of the nation.

The national element of this frame establishes specificity about politics in Australia, which influences the character of the Brisbane Protests. The thesis argues that the usual theoretical and philosophical discourses of liberal democracies of Europe — discourses of division and criticism - disappear in favour of those revolving around nation and national identity. Further discourses with reference to political and economic autonomy are also largely truncated. Therefore assumptions about the autonomous nation with some elements of an informed and critical public sphere, often with contention in principles between socialism and liberalism, as implied in some general theory, do not apply.

## **i) Australia**

It was the Cold War in particular that exacerbated the trends of fragility in Australia that began with white settlement and multiplied with the fall of Singapore in 1942. Yet the dominant class incorporated a plan for industrial development and migration to address it. Despite this, the key orientation of Australia in the 1960s was subservience to America. The Cold War tightened the noose on any radical tradition, while Queensland exhibited older shreds of identity: a rural perspective and a racist one which elsewhere in Australia diminished, especially with immigration, leading into the Western Cold War ideology of the 'Way of Life' (White 1987). According to Brendon O'Connor, Seymour Martin Lipset suggested regarding the period under discussion "that America is more than a country — it is a creed or in fact an 'ism' " (2004, p.101). Australia's political social and cultural identity demonstrated a particular vulnerability to this 'ism'. Such adversarial images affected the Protests, lending specificity to the Brisbane Protests.

Australian fragility extended to fears of cultural, racial, ethnic diversity, to intellectualism and to outsiders in Rawdon Dalrymple's *Continental Drift* (2003) or David Walker's general thesis in *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia 1850-1939* (1999). Alan Renouf's thesis regarding the fear of communism during the Vietnam era, *The Frightened Country* (1979), reiterates this theme of fragility. The Australian tradition built a cultural backwater and ethnic fortress with a premium on a high standard of living typical of the utilitarian rather than democratic approach to liberalism.

In a recent book *10 Steps to Tolerance in Australia*, Donald Horne (2003) stresses the xenophobias, racism and intolerance that were characteristic of Australians. K.J. Walker notes this in the treatment of the Indigenous (1994). The underwriting of Terra Nullius, a particularly apparent cultural genocide, confirms this outlook of intolerance. Yet this identity suffered one fundamental weakness, the fact that post-war immigration came from diverse nations. Eventually this laid one foundation for change, which existed in the milieu of the Protests yet not expressed through them and therefore characterising them via its absence. Fragility overrode concerns for exclusion and demonstrated its pre-eminence in the political culture. This change, unsuccessfully ideologically dammed through assimilation concepts, reflected the intention to modernise but not to accept modernity, which gave Australia a potential for cultural change. The Protesters did not articulate this change, but their competitors did.

Typically, rather than through the adoption of new and renewed radical political currents and outlooks demonstrated in other countries, changes originated from the needs of the nation and superseded political discourse. Nevertheless cultural change was unavoidable. There is the sense that this cultural shift challenges the view that such initiatives are typical of post-industrial societies alone.

Absent criticism from intellectuals of the status quo and the failed formation of local radical traditions was a concomitant of submitting thinking to a hypothesised national interest. Thompson describes Australia's political culture and structure as 'Washminister' and its cultural orientation as "cringers" (Thompson 1989; 1994). Socialism was largely an irrelevant doctrine except in so far as it furnished state or nation building. Lenin characterised Australian socialism as petit bourgeois — seen as 'sans doctrines' by others. However less often commented upon is liberalism — which likewise was 'sans doctrines'. Democratic belief was subjected to national goals while market liberalism even the Conservatives rejected. Australia was intellectually restricted since its fragility as a nation overruled the divisive thoughts of political theorists. On the left this gave some the possibility to analyse the place of the Indigenous but little distinctive left thinking emerged.

The dominant class, led post-war by Menzies, addressed fragility with an intensified quest for nation building, subservient foreign alliance, industrialisation, education and immigration using suburbia as the inducement to conformity. Menzies' rule for 23 years in succession included a pattern of appeal found in his speech, 'The Forgotten People' in 1942 (Walter & Macleod 2002, pp.138-141). It describes what was to be the new post-war consensus designed by this adversary: house ownership and family life; idealising small business endeavours; tradesmen, and educated professionals. Yet there was also the sense that the core of nation in Australia rested still within the so-called 'golden triangle' of Canberra, Sydney and Melbourne.

The power of this hegemonic restructuring of consumption meant that social stratification was reorganized around consumption so both differentiation in gender roles within suburbia and the exclusion of some due to this and other dimensions of non-qualification now were crucial to perceptions of stratification. Of course, those such as the Indigenous and the Communists, who impeded production, were still subjected to vilification. Production took preference. The Indigenous fulfilled neither consumption nor production



roles adequately, for their inclusion. These stratifications, through roles of consumption as well as production roles are important indicators of social movement characteristics at the time.

Suburbia is a key ideological and economic tenet of this post-war constructed context. The advocacy of the nuclear family as a central post-war social construction encourages consumption and sexual codes suited to the reproduction and gendered cultural construction of labour and leisure. Education was equally a central pillar since an advanced industrialisation heightened as a goal with post-war reflections on the Asian threat, while migration also proved essential to this aspiration conceived for fragile post-war Australia. However these orientations kept a focus on the industrial capital cities of the Southern Australia with Canberra a special case.

Yet typically the route to this development was through encouraging American direct investment according to Arrighi's edited work (1988). This made the alliance more critical and the outlook of dependency more endemic. Menzies negotiated a reliance on a stronger power as well as asserting a desire for foreign investment and subservient stability.

These actions are not those of retreat into past history characterised by Arrighi's study of the proto-Fascist European states, nor just the taint of an older colonialism stressed by Boreham (et al.), (1989, p.69) but rather evidence of a broader fragility that entered every sphere of life, making autonomy a contradictory historical moment predicated primarily on the need for foreign alliance. This characterises the national adversary as lacking a perspective of political and economic autonomy, despite a desire for economic expansion and specific trading partners, yet focused on a national identity as a way of life (White 1987) to the exclusion of radical criticism. The Protests were part of a wider demand to strengthen an independent national identity, yet this was less clearly the central concern of the Brisbane Protesters than it was of the Melbourne-based Maoist group, for example. Even so, the thesis cannot fully analyse the Brisbane Protests without reference to these broader national characteristics.

## **(ii) Queensland**

However, in Queensland the prevalence of non-urban capitalism meant that industrialisation remained retarded by the ideologies associated with pastoral capitalism,

including those held by most of the union leadership and A.L.P. In Queensland, the balance of the society was more pastoral than agricultural, extractive and commercial rather than strictly industrial, let alone post-industrial. Culturally it had unique features. The anti-urban non-industrial character underwrote this: Charlton notes the fear of industrialising Queensland related to its Northern exposure (1983, p.151). Coaldrake observes similarly that Labor's 40 year rule created very limited interest in "education, ... industrialis[m] or a ... a diversified migrant blend (1989, p.90). O'Farrell (1993) and others note that Catholicism, strong in the Queensland Labor movement, has an anti-industrial perspective articulated as well, in Queensland, on the Right side of politics.

Brisbane's geographical isolation (Holmes 1986, p.295) and its branch status as a financial centre (Fisher & Shaw 1995, p.134) helped create a client economic culture dominated by a farming/pastoral group who politically prevailed while Queensland trade unions reflected the domination of pastoral unions which were extremely conservative. Therefore Brisbane could be described by other capital centres in Australia as "hicksville" (Fisher & Shaw 1995, p.144).

Predictably, the dominant ethos was religious fundamentalism, censorship and conservatism, authoritarianism on all sides (Fitzgerald 1985, pp. 250,557,562,589). Bjelke-Petersen, the Premier during much of the period the Protests symbolised this (Coaldrake 1989, p.13; Charlton 1983, p.21; Lunn 1979, p.75; Whitton 1989, pp.183-185). Thomis makes a related point about anti-intellectualism (1985, p.6). In 1957 the state government directly threatened university autonomy (1985, p.243). A "Queensland" way of doing things served as a surrogate for a process of creating a dense hegemonic restrictiveness in politics, culture and society. This was a brutal adversary and an anti-democratic one, resting entirely on the desire to legitimise stakeholders — racist and crudely utilitarian.

Those who drew together the thin threads of protest were some of those excluded in the older identity as in the national context — the Indigenous, the Communist Party, a significantly minute rump of left nationalists of the A.L.P. and some of the clergy interested in fundamental autonomy and social justice (seemingly more the preserve of Southerners), and enclaves of humanists, homosexuals and folk musicians were the "lean pickings" of dissent that emerged. Doctrinal representatives of liberalism or socialism, (Fitzgerald 1984, p.29) or representatives of libertarianism, Bohemianism and the Fourth International found in many modern cities of the times and even in other

Australian cities were not found in Queensland except in absolutely miniscule numbers. Yet the Indigenous population was diverse and large and they were a distinctive force for change. Despite reference to the enclaves of resistant ideas as minute in Australia, the Brisbane Protesters were uniquely further isolated from local support, yet with possibilities for an Indigenous-non-Indigenous alliance that had elements of specificity.

Like other contemporaneous Australian protesters, the inner-suburbs attracted for household formation and offices. Donald Horne quotes the Australian author Frank Moorehouse's recollection of the Sydney experience as

a time of romantic revolutionaries, libertarians, women's libbers  
and gays of the inner-city terraces ... [and] full of  
embarrassments [about] how to behave. (in Horne 1980, p.39).

The thesis draws attention to a particular local infrastructure advantage for the Brisbane Protesters. Some outsiders found an interesting sustenance in the more benign inner-suburbs, which exuded an old-world charm rather than the slum characteristics of older cities. Ironically, perhaps "Hicksville" had some advantages. The thesis describes this set of benign infrastructures — old buildings in central locations, houses full of old-world charm and an inner-suburban cultural life far richer than suburbia's. These old and unwanted areas close to the centre of the city enriched the Protest cohort giving opportunities and experimental spaces rather than those that further oppressed and defeated them. This adds to the specificity of the local environment, which exuded a gentility that evoked the nostalgic Romantic domesticity of the extended family and provided a space for the suburban outcasts to whom such gentility was less accessible, and rather gave evidence of a new cosmopolitanism.

A much more particular and useful description of social location derives from using Kay Ferres's and Jennifer Craik's contributions. The latter talks about the architectural features of parts of Brisbane where the Protesters resided while Ferres initiates an important reflection about the production of resistant identities and such desirable 'felicitous' spaces. Both commentaries appear in Gail Reekie's edited *On the Edge* (1994).

The overarching hegemony was not the product of an urban consciousness but of a patriarchal, conservative, racially exclusive, minimally politically democratic environment with all potentially radical romantic sources in culture and politics largely obliterated. The Brisbane Protests started, in the context of potential alliances for new groups of

Protesters with less of a locally extant radical left tradition, or even a post-totalitarian consciousness, rather a populist right Romanticism, shared by left and right.

In distilling the geo-political frame, the thesis argues a view of national fragility as creating a hostile environment for traditions of radical protest by a long-standing ideological architecture which successfully refashions and neutralises political philosophies and orientations into debates about national identity, yet, remarkably, often without broaching even the question of national autonomy. In Queensland, the adversary intensifies this hostility to cultures of dissent. Here the Protests arose through the clash of reactionary Romanticism and radical post-totalitarian Romanticism.

### **3.0 CONCLUSION**

In reference to the analytical model, in general the thesis uses existing theories and reconstructions of specific historical literatures to create from three frames and seven elements a comprehensive web of analyses from which to characterise the Brisbane Protests. The frames use mixtures of historical and general theory, particularly social movement insights, thereby seeking to balance specificity and complexity. Complexity and relevance requires the inclusion of theorists who emphasise political process, systemic locations and internal dimensions of movements and communication structures and flows. The thesis tentatively suggested useful ways of combining social movement theory through suggesting that those in locations of most change, yet outside the dominant commercial arrangements of capitalist industrialism may orchestrate significant social movements in contexts influenced by democratic processes exist but are problematic. However the thesis rejected such a combined hypothesis since it glossed over deep disagreements at many levels and also reduces complexity. There remains a range of unanswered questions about the relevance of certain types of societal contexts envisioned by the various theorists and the need to differentiate the characteristics of movements of various depths of stratification. Global Systems Theory and feminism add to general theory specific insights, in the case of former about contexts and in the latter about female stratification under patriarchy. These additional theories may also suggest more general critiques of the three social movement theorists.

While the thesis finds each theorist relevant, it does not find one alone, adequate, recognising the need to incorporate all in the analytical model. While the use of these three theorists provides an evident breadth of perspective it remains the case that a number of considerations are not fully canvassed in this literature. Firstly, deeply stratified locations with long histories and cultural rootedness need explication. While deep resistances form through Indigenous movements, the disjunctures between rationalisation, identity challenges and democratic injustice and the variety and depth of solidarities formed in resistance also canvassed in these theories do not distinguish depths of oppression convincingly. Here the thesis finds only partial help in feminism. Yet secondly, and in related fashion, feminism needs to be introduced into the general theory while thirdly, the suggestion that Australia's location is distinctive may be met by considering Marxist Global Systems Theory. Therefore it seems that while deep stratification remains problematic in its Indigenous and feminine location not only does feminism suggest an, at least partial and female-referencing theoretical solution but also the addition of Global Systems Theory appears to offer potential insights into other deficits at the geo-political level evident in the evaluation of the pertinent and relevant social movement theorists chosen.

However with the inclusion of social movement theory and other general theory, two problems of more specificity remain unsolved. The necessity to understand the historical and intellectual characteristics of the period of the Protests and more particularly the Protester allies' and adversaries' understanding of that period creates a distinct need. This perspective suggests a solution to the evidence of a unity in the movements, which the theorists fail to provide other than in broad processes — political, sociological and/or cultural contexts which identify, in any case, divisive fractures, which show in movement thinking. Much as that too is relevant, elements of the Brisbane Protesters unified approaches and influences need exploration. Radical post-totalitarian Romanticism creates a frame to understand the broad sweep of these influences, including the advent of the new left as an historical movement.

The final frame explains the specific characteristics of the Australian geo-political environment dominated by fragility, and a lack of autonomy, but with economic aspirations to modernisation and an engagement with new technologies. The dominant class aspirations were often in fundamental conflict with streams of ideals from parts of the left articulating an autonomous national identity and, in the case of the radical

Romantic post-totalitarian Brisbane Protesters, a more diffuse internationalism. These contentions opened up the dominant schism in Australian politics between the dominant classes' desire to shore up territorially defensive strategies through alliance and those who saw the integrity of Australia's identity in cultural, economic and other respects as part, if not the dominant part, of such negotiations. Within this, regions defined as Northern and more specifically Queensland history and politics dominate. These represent an older and more conservative Australia and one removed from the modernising economic epicentres, yet with dominant classes and hegemonies that expressed fragility and economic orientations completely devoid of industrial, social or cultural creativity. In Queensland the conflicts between possibilities, potentials and cultural, political and legal frames creates the chance to see, on the one hand, all these archetypes and theoretical constructs in the light of their application to a context which has elements of specificity, but on the other, through the variety and generality of frames used to decipher this specificity, limitations in relevant social movement theories.



## **CHAPTER 2**

# **THE CIVIL LIBERTIES MOVEMENT**



## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Brisbane Civil Liberties Movement (C.L.M.) represented a distinctive major campaign in the Brisbane Protests. The initial civil liberties march was numerically one of the biggest of the Brisbane Protests and the first major one. In terms of related and contemporaneous protests in other Australian states, no other protest group attended to this issue comprehensively. With the intention to influence the public sphere by cohorts of largely grass-roots activists, the Protests included mass mobilisations and extensive campaigns, sufficiently complex for the thesis to argue that its own name for itself was justified — it was a social movement.

The orientations, which the adversary largely represented, were to reactionary Romantic democracy. This reflected the specific historically and systemically rooted character of the interests, hegemonies and political characteristics of the dominant classes in Queensland. The preoccupation with agrarian capitalism, with attendant stress on the rewards of family-owned farming as well as an interest in resource exploitation by companies embedded in more complex and foreign economic structures, were the foundations of this orientation. Attendant upon this culturally was a fundamentalist anti-intellectualism, widespread and endemic, affecting both major political parties in the Queensland Parliament.

The aim of this chapter is to test the usefulness of the analytical model, in analysing the Civil Liberties Movement. Spelt out in chapter one, this model, we recall, consists of three frames and multiple elements to maximise the analytical potential of research undertaken on events of the type found in the Brisbane Protests and to reflect subsequently on shortfalls, theoretical and specific, which flow from the application of the analytical model to the primary sources.

The chapter argues that in regard to the first frame of the analytical model, general social movement and other broad theories have major inconsistencies despite illuminating some of the features of this Movement. Tarrow's theory does not account for deformed democracies relying on generational change nor for the need to define solidarity more specifically. Melucci fails to account for a new cultural model of society

implicit in participatory democracy since 'politics' in this model, mooted in the Protesters' literature, replaces the market. While this was not clearly elaborated it is implicit. Importantly also, the almost total dominance of students in the advocacy of change is the product of core-peripheral modernisation at the Federal level and its Janus-face reactionary hegemony at the State level rather than of post-industrialism. Habermas's perspectives stress the radical potential of Romanticism and the Enlightenment. He implies that fewer cohorts of support for projects of modernity appear in less modernised societies, which the analysis finds useful especially in distinguishing types of movements. Feminism provides useful insights into tracing the role of women in important public roles in the Protests and the evidence of distinctive male and female outlooks. As regards the second frame — radical Romantic post-totalitarianism — it profoundly influenced the thinking of the Protesters, but in this case embraces a radical liberalism mixed with religious conscience.

In relation to the third frame, the chapter argues that the overriding pattern of reference to national debates about fragility rather than doctrinal difference appears to affect the Civil Liberties Movement in two ways. Firstly the new radical or Romantic liberalism has no significant cohort of support except in the University community; and secondly the initial interest in the issue by Protesters derives from matters of nation — foreign affairs. The civil liberties marches emerge from the anti-war movement. The body of this chapter will analyse the events in detail to establish the validity of all these conclusions.

### Signs at the time

The 1967 Civil Liberties march came to an abrupt end in Roma St., Brisbane, peripheral to the city centre and close to the central police holding prison - the watch-house. The Queensland daily, *The Courier-Mail*, reported events. Headed offensively (yet in keeping with the pastoral motif), by a description of demonstrators as a "mob", the article, surprisingly as this chapter relates, provided an otherwise accurate, if not so sympathetic, account.

The marchers completed a peaceful three-mile march. [When asked to disperse they] sat and linked arms. [M]arch organizers skirted the column urging non-violence ... Many police used restraint ...but others used throttle holds, headlocks and half-

Nelsons... dragged marchers by the hair to police wagons [and] punched, slapped and kicked [them]. (9 September 1967, p. 2).

However Glen Barclay, a local historian and contributor to a well-recognized contemporary academic journal, *The Australian Journal of Politics and History* (A.J.P.H.), described marchers being “propelled backwards against convenient cars and parking meters” He added that 1,500 sat down in Roma St., passively to resist the police (B[arclay] St. J[ohn] 1967, p.126). Barclay stated that the police deliberately interfered with cameras of commercial television recording events. *The Courier-Mail* article recorded the chants of the students as “Police State, Police State” (9 September 1967, p.2). This chant occurred at the watch-house and Parliament House where marchers subsequently gathered to express solidarity with arrestees.

These reports characteristically dramatised the police force and the Protesters as the real antagonists. Such obstacles to the Protesters proved many and varied in Queensland. Usually the dominant classes’ hegemonic control was represented without subtlety in these newspapers which elements of these classes owned while usually, the thesis shows, the police were enforcers of these views and freed from criticism.

## **2.0 ORIENTATIONS AND THE ADVERSARY**

The immediate political adversary — the Queensland government — suggested no official inquiry or official condemnation of the police about the events recorded. This adversary represented a broad illiberal culture against which the Protests were cast. The then current *Traffic Act* was a good example. The purpose of the *Traffic Act* was to create efficiency with the ever-escalating post-war traffic flows. However a political purpose in restricting protest movement actions remained a part intention. This was a feature of liberalism *sans doctrines* rather than technically poor drafting because the “mistake” re-occurs. The *State Transport Act* had as well Draconian provisions, while the election process ensconced a gerrymander. This apparent liberal democracy, ideally focused against tyranny, in fact was one, of a moderate and at times vicious, sort.

Dr. Hiram Tarlo, a lecturer in law, at the University of Queensland, expressed his early support for the Civil Liberties Campaign, noting Queensland's "compulsive conformity". (*Quadrant* 1967, p.39). Glen Barclay observed that the last two of Queensland's Premiers at the time of the C.L.M. protests were promoted to that position from Police Minister (1968, p.429). The same writer confirmed that at the time of the march the Minister of Education was also the Minister of Police (1967, p.126). This is evidence of the distinctive local view about education's fruits and *modus operandi*.

A vocationally based cultural difference reflected on this quasi-democracy. Ross Fitzgerald, the Queensland historian and participant in events leading up to the march, quoted the later Deputy Prime Minister and Governor-General Bill Hayden, who began work as a Queensland policeman. Hayden referred to this era by noting: "a section of the poorly educated force viewed long-haired students as 'dope-peddling agitators', 'egg-heads' and 'ratbags' " (Hayden in Fitzgerald 1985, p.242 ). A wide cultural and political gulf existed between the physical antagonists, reflecting more directly and narrowly that between adversaries and Protesters. Traditional morality shaped by the pastoral life-style and authoritarianism determined democracy in Queensland.

It was true that the Nicklin government — the political adversary of the C.L.M. — gained power in the late 1950s, in small part by making a point of a lack of civil liberties in Queensland (Fitzgerald 1985). Some people were not oblivious to the concept of civil liberties, as can be assumed by this inclusion of a plank about these on the platform of a long-standing opposition. Yet was it desperation that drew Nicklin to multiple causes, driven by his party's extended distance from the corridors of power? His actions as Premier, discussed subsequently, suggested liberalism *sans doctrines* still prevailed. There was no room for freedoms outside the bounds of economic practicalities, the spectre of unwarranted government meddling remained and conscience stayed a private matter within this thinking (Fitzgerald 1985; Whitton 1989; Coaldrake 1989). The crucial feature of the adversary's dealing with new protests was their Liberal and Country Party's reliance on the *Traffic Act*. Yet, significantly for the Protesters, Queensland's Labor Government had introduced it. Curtailed democratic rights in the *Traffic Act* in fact characterised the fundamental orientations of Queensland.

### **3.0 THE PROTESTERS**

This section begins the characterisation of the Protesters. It draws a picture of them by reference to physically immediate and distant influences. The Protesters may be in this section described in terms of the following: precursors, supporters (institutional and organizational), alliances, competitors, and the sources of their views and their social locations. Their relationships and influences underpinned their resistance against an adversary. United in outlook through their concern with a publicly expressed conscience and about the need for new freedoms in the face of this adversary, many young and tertiary-educated Protesters gravitated to the campaigns for civil liberties.

The historical steps toward, and formation of, this Civil Liberties Movement was vital evidence of its nature. Evidence of distinctiveness exists in the entanglements of early allies. The precursors were significant, as were the allies, but their and others' absences and presences need deciphering. Their international, national and local features are also part of this characterisation.

#### **3.1 *Precursors***

The five relevant precursors of change orientated to civil liberties activism in Brisbane were: overseas Protesters concerned about human rights; Aborigines finding new directions of resistance; the anti-nuclear movement; women challenged by dominant stereotypes; and Catholics critical of the conservative agenda of the Church. Except in the most limited intersections, little connects these groups as precursors to the Civil Liberties Campaign *per se*. Yet the precursors had a circuitous but significant influence as presences and absences. They are important aspects of defining the sources of influence on the Civil Liberties Campaign.

Mainly through the influence of Martin Luther King — a Southern Baptist Afro-American, there was a significant contemporaneous example of radical protest orientations. The clearest example of King's influence was, in fact, the N.S.W Freedom Rides — a precursor influence on the Brisbane C.L.M. The style of the early 1960s Freedom Rides, which protested about racial discrimination in country towns in the north west of N.S.W., was direct-action and grass-roots orientated. It was an example

to urban Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike. Organized by Charles Perkins the then best-known Aboriginal activist of the post-war era, it started in the hands of an urban-dwelling, university-attending Aborigine. The Indigenous leading sections of the non-Indigenous was new in Australia. This was the strongest evidence of a changed consciousness generally emerging in the sixties.

In 1966, *The Australian* quoted Michel Thompson of the University of Queensland as indicating the intention of students to participate in a "Freedom Ride" (20 September). Thompson became a key activist in the Society for Democratic Action (S.D.A.D.A.), the group most clearly identified with the radicals and predominantly campus-based and a significant figure in the Civil Liberties Co-ordinating Committee (C.L.C.C.). He at that stage shared an interest in the organization for Aboriginal education, Abschol, as his letter to *The Australian* related. The Freedom Rides confronted racial discrimination by direct action approaches. The failure of the rides to eventuate in Queensland reflected a more racist environment and perhaps an initial Aboriginal isolation from the possibilities which Perkins an tertiary educated Aborigine, created by his University attendance, which was rare for his people.

At this point in Queensland, the Indigenous maintained only a resistant cultural rather than political presence in the community. Yet their presence was highly significant, implying a cultural critique of the status-quo. The tradition of protest was deep and complex in Aboriginal communities. It included post-war strikes of several years' duration, as the Communist Frank Hardy related (1968). The Gurindji strike at Wave Hill in the Northern Territory was contemporaneous with early non-Indigenous civil liberties actions. These deep resistances were also of a different order and certainly outside the conceptual bounds of conventional politics. They suggested a new political agenda and their cause was taken to campuses through Abschol and other pro-Indigenous and Indigenous groups. New resistances became role models of the times.

Voting, the traditional and usually only participation for the public in politics other than party membership, was denied many Aborigines. They did not always vote in Australia until the early sixties, especially those in remote environments, because of open discrimination in arranging the voting process. Electoral changes preceded the 1967 referendum, which was an administrative turning point in giving the Federal

Government greater authority in Aboriginal matters. Aborigines were not satisfied with bureaucratic machinations and non-Indigenous-dominated referenda.

The Aboriginal freedom riders were a part of new post-totalitarianism in demands for respect for Indigenous cultures. However, they were also part of a long tradition of Indigenous protest, which remained necessarily sporadic and organized defensively rather than aggressively within the bounds of democratic activism. Fostered in the U.N., this new perspective was the idea of self-determination of Indigenous people. (Pasey 1999). These Indigenous were part of a complex of influences, which the Brisbane Protests experienced through visible precursors.

Another precursor was the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The C.N.D. was symbolic of the effect of the Cold War on the West as the fear of nuclear war heightened. It underscored the feeling that the Cold War was a threat to all; there could be no winners or losers in a nuclear winter. Technology threatened all in this Romanticism-inspiring scenario. The C.N.D.'s demeanour, its opposition to both the Cold War superpowers and its frames of civil disobedience, peace and liberty elsewhere heralded the new left (Parkin 1968). Some commentators characterise this new activism as youthful, culturally and politically non-conformist with middle class links (Parkin 1968). This was the style of radical grass-roots post-totalitarianism and perhaps its clearest flagship.

According to Ralph Summy, by the sixties in Australia the C.N.D. presented this more confronting mode of marching, including unconventional dress, chanting and singing. While still very subdued, this re-invigorated style is a reflection of the C.N.D.'s influence by then passed to the peace movements with links to the trade unions and churches elsewhere in Australia. Summy argues that there is a lessening of the Cold War conservatism evident in the new dynamism of protest in the peace movement by the 1960s, which was initially concerned with the atomic bomb tests. (1988, pp.251-2). This was a critical background to growing protest about the introduction of Conscription and the decision to send troops, including the conscripts, to Vietnam.

The C.N.D. had a seminal role in the formation of a protest movement against the Vietnam War in Australia. Murphy describes “its moral seriousness ... silent protest, quiet disputation and civil disobedience” (1993, p.126). This moral disposition it shared with the religiously-orientated of the peace movement. It was, for this reason, less aligned with another peace group in the A.L.P. and less still with the Marxism of the Communist Party of Australia (C.P.A.) with whom C.N.D. was frequently a co-activist but no deep ally, given its non-conformity to either official Cold War worldview.

The Brisbane C.N.D. (B.C.N.D.) was part of an international movement. Its seemingly isolated campaign for street protest liberties in the mid-sixties encouraged their considerable research on the subject of the legalities of street protests. The later Brisbane Protesters were aware of this research<sup>23</sup>. On the 15<sup>th</sup> July 1964, the B.C.N.D.<sup>24</sup> asserted, “the maximum concerted action ... and internal discipline is maintained in public action ... [since] [i]t is important that good relations are maintained with the police” (p1). In the same vein a catalogue of protest demeanours at vigils featured “a) silence, b) orderly formation” (pp. 2-4). The passivity was certainly different from later protests but in Brisbane, there was no evidence even of civil disobedience. The environment was too intimidating and too isolating for a smaller group. They could not maintain their influence, suggesting distinctively oppressive and conservative, local conditions.

As a consequence, the C.N.D.'s connection to the anti-war movement was not so evident in Queensland. However, some fertilisation of ideas by the C.N.D. to the Brisbane Protesters appeared. Hiroshima Protesters, expressing concern with the spectre of nuclear war, marched from Brisbane to Ipswich — some forty kilometres. The issue of nuclear war was thus ongoing. The B.C.N.D. also referred to Centenary Place<sup>25</sup> as a meeting place. This was an important site for subsequent anti-war protest in Brisbane (B.C.N.D. 1964, p.2) and may be a site for undocumented cross-

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<sup>23</sup> This is indicated by archival material and by its presence in activists' donations of literature to library catalogues.

<sup>24</sup> A comprehensive booklet indicating this research is in boxes of archival material deposited in libraries subsequently by activists.

<sup>25</sup> B.C.N.D.'s comment in 1964 was that: “(u)ntil the recent establishment of a public forum in Centenary Place, the Brisbane Citizen had no means of publicly expressing his views .... There are times other than between the hours of two to five on a Sunday afternoon when people may wish to protest or to state their opinions” (1964, p. 2).



fertilisation with the Protesters of the later period. In general, the fertilisation was hard to find in Brisbane at this point. The connections between civil liberties and the B.C.N.D. were very distant, if at all.

In March 1965, Merle Thornton, who was a University tutor, ex-member of the Sydney libertarian push<sup>26</sup> and later a major women's liberation initiator, and Ro Bogner, a housewife, protested, via direct action, the restrictions on women entering the public bars of Queensland hotels. Such protests had occurred in Canberra as well as the ongoing libertarianism of the "Push" in Sydney (Coombes 1996) as contemporaneous influences. Thornton's comment, "[p] reservation of a genteel 'feminine' front may well be fatal to real progress in women's position" (Thornton in *Compact*) defined this protest further as a movement of outsiders from the dominant culture.

Centrally Thornton's protest initiative was different politics, in style and focus, from the traditional conflict between waged labour and capital. This was a grass-roots interaction and not the place where women and men usually interacted. Rather it was where men avoided women. Neither the channels (organised personal confrontation at the grass-roots), location nor issues were traditional modes of political complaint.

The Catholic engagement in politics changed in the sixties as social issues provoked Catholics to reject the simple Christian-West/Anti-Christian East dichotomy typical of the cultural pervasiveness of Cold War ideology. Queensland academic activists read a national Catholic newspaper, *The Catholic Worker*. It appealed to more radical, sophisticated, and lay audiences. Yet the strong moralistic dimension remained, partly because Catholicism equally had contemporary cultural challenges. New impulses to freedom and consumerism encouraged old suspicions about commerce and immorality for these Catholics. The moral absolutism typical of the Romantic influence, exemplified by Gandhi and King was evident and in concerns for civil liberties too a shared agenda. This moral absolutism was pervasive in the campaign for civil liberties.

Tenuous as these precursors' connections to each other and to the Queensland public were, few others external to the university community were sources of the

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<sup>26</sup> Ken Mansell, a researcher on the new left informed me of this.

contemporaneous, post-war, new and very diverse, influences for resistance. There was no sense of continuity in the C.L.M. with substantial broad and ideologically or organizationally-defined local resistances of the recent past.

While at this point few within these precursors articulated an opposition which extended to the post-war suburban hegemony of racism, privacy, bureaucratic politics and materialism, and a totally compromised public sphere, all could readily be drawn to the lack of civil liberties by the sense of their own experiences in articulating their own discontents. The new political directions existed with evidence of their independent, distinctive grass-roots style and lack of connection to conventional political organizations and institutions.

These precursor groups were political outsiders. As outsiders the women, Indigenous, the C.N.D. and in a more limited sense Catholics all had international supporters. These were often lesser functionaries in the U.N., but also allies in international movements in the case of the C.N.D. Some of these precursors sat in the margins between Cold Warriors, fearing both, some between the institutions and organizations of labour and capital — excluded in various ways by both, and by their local expressions Labor and Liberal. Yet a wider connection to the peace protests was the crucial factor in the formation of the C.L.M.

Each precursor perceived a deeper antagonistic structure within utilitarian political processes and felt left out of its equations. Yet the precursors were diversely excluded groups with little connection to each other. However their public presence helped forge an atmosphere of new resistances cultural and political, material and identity-based, which could not, like institutional labour claims, be so readily contained or dismissed with the conventional political discourse. Evidence of random meetings with the key cohorts of the civil liberties and other protest groups and the absence in Brisbane of more ideologically fixed critics of the Western Cold War perspective, other than a crumbling Communist group, suggest that radicalism reformed primarily in the light of post-totalitarian realities. It is this, albeit in minute local manifestations, which creates the precursor culture for the civil liberties movement.

Therefore, the critical factor about these precursors is that they were diverse, yet with no significant, central and locally-orchestrated supporting organizations. At best they had cultural connections to deeper traditions held in the community, which nonetheless were limited by the agrarian economy, socially encrusted in the cities, and dormant in terms of public expression. In the precursors' attempts to express their concerns, they were social outsiders. Only the Anti-War Movement was clearly evolving with a public profile accessible to urban youth at this point, and it needs to be seen as an early ally of the C.L.M. rather than as a precursor.

The precursors offered no stamp of pre-existing and dominant radical tradition, instead encouraging the C.L.M. to look to international practice and events in the contemporaneous setting, with Martin Luther King's leadership of the Civil Rights' movement a predominant example, which was more significant than the local Freedom Rides of which little was written. This lack of organizational continuity *vis-à-vis* C.N.D., given its role was important in other States and internationally and it was clearly also concerned with the same issues, both encouraged and symbolised the sense of isolation of student groups in Brisbane.

In terms of the analysis of the C.L.M., its precursor setting was a potential which was both creative in terms of searching externally rather than locally for examples for new thinking but also restrictive in its evidence of any local critics' isolation and fragility in a society without doctrines and inevitably conservative. The new, more radical and socially-engaged ideas emerged within post-war influences but their route appears complex in Queensland, for the local soil of such, even any, ideas was barren in the main. The support for the articulation of the primacy of civil liberties and assembly came from University students and staff who encompassed new ideas, especially from the U.S.A., where both philosophic and Millsian and radical liberalism were traditions of weight. The related concern with conscience also derived from overseas, as did its erstwhile partner, pacifism, which derived from Martin Luther King following Gandhi's post-war exposition. The precursors prepared the ground, however unsuccessfully, and gave a local pool of influences. The absence of established cohorts articulating post-totalitarian consciousness in significant organizations stood out.

### **3.2. Supporters and Early Allies**

This sub-section, after briefly noting the supporters, deals with the early allies of the 1967 marchers, organizations and outlooks that ushered in the C.L.M. Supporters are entwined in the cultural and politico-legal structures of the society although they lean in political persuasion in a number of directions. They will support and become allies under certain stringent conditions. The allies are direct contributors to the campaign with pre-established identities. The allies' connections were immediate and direct, creating definitive organizations, which initiated C.L.M. protests. This section concerns the configuration of these and other interrelationships which define more clearly the active participants in the Civil Liberties Campaign of the Brisbane Protesters.

The Student Union, the University of Queensland Staff Association, Trade Unions, the A.L.P., the Queensland Council for Civil Liberties (Q.C.C.L.) and the Communist Party were supporters yet all in various senses constrained. Typical of this constraint was the Queensland's Student Union since it lacked minimal financial independence and was hardly in a position to act. It was institutionally the most restricted of any of the supporters.

Locally the labourite tradition lacked intellectually-deepened outlooks; rather it was strongly utilitarian. While the Australian Labor Party in Queensland did rid itself of its right-wing Catholics, it remained conservative by many standards. The A.L.P. saw that its election depended on maximised images of conformity, even if, thanks to deep Conservatism, it could not realise this image in the Cold War world. The C.P.A. remained largely under the outlook of lowest common denominator politics, which barely guaranteed their survival, but did nothing for their dwindling numbers.

The Trade Unions were the most likely to become allies, given that no allies existed in liberal circles, such as they were, except for the hastily constructed Q.C.C.L. However, the Trades and Labor Council typified institutional behaviour by remaining within the bounds of the law in this political sphere, despite resorting to borderline legal disputes industrially. This political location had to do with the division in the labour movement

between the A.L.P. as its political wing, and the Trade Unions as its industrial wing. However, the industrial wing was more subject to illiberal laws. They threatened its efficacy.

The Trade Union President Jack Egerton (later Sir John) and Communist Party member Secretary Alex MacDonald's general support of the civil liberties issue reflected trade union history. It also rested on the union movement's recent exposure of vulnerability in a Government State of Emergency Declaration in the strike at Mt. Isa. Some more contained disputes were sanctioned while the directly political and/or conscience-driven or grass-roots controlled, were not. Nevertheless, the sense in the Trade Union movement of being industrially and politically at odds with many laws proved significant. Trade unions were closer to the powerless than were those in conventional politics.

The Australian Labor Party was a legitimate and permanent political player, accepting the rules of liberal democratic electioneering and subject to its Australian and Queensland limitations in orchestrating radical change. Its boundaries were apparently more fluid but surrounding circumstances of a conservative society, their own conservatism and nostalgia conspired against any radical alliance.

The Queensland Council for Civil Liberties (Q.C.C.L.) was a citizens' rather than an institutional, sectional or industry-based organization. Socio-political and legal constraints least limited it. It emerged not long after the Civil Rights Action Committee and was in some ways simply a continuation of it. The Q.C.C.L. formed in October 1966, in response to the concern about the protest, arrest and censorship laws. Like several other supporters, it revealed a strong university influence.

As to the allies, more immediate concerns led to their formation. A wider connection to the peace protests was crucial to the interest in civil liberties and therefore to the formation of the C.L.M. Seeing civil liberties as important clearly connected to the experiences of anti-war Protesters concerning local police harassment of them; and the new tides of post-war thinking helped reconstruct these experiences. Furthermore, Conscription raised issues about liberty, hardly insignificant, since it threatened an acceptable group: white, young males. Anti-colonialism, peace and liberty connect through post-totalitarianism. Such concerns were present in the Protesters' view of the

history of Vietnam and the Australian intervention and the absence of liberty in Australia, particularly Queensland. The issue of civil liberties, particularly as regards the citizen's right to public meetings, slowly developed an independent momentum from these viewpoints though never entirely separated from them.

The dominant protest umbrella group in Brisbane at this time immediately prior to the first civil liberties march was Youth Campaign Against Conscription (Y.C.A.C.), and although its concern was only very secondarily with the right to peaceful assembly, Conscription was an issue of liberty. Y.C.A.C. was an early partner in the formation of the C.L.M. Y.C.A.C. was involved in anti-war street protests, particularly in regard to Conscription and foreign war service, which coincided with the 1964-5 introduction of Conscription and the Australian commitment to sending troops to Vietnam. Y.C.A.C.'s publication *Marbles* was also a significant record of the early civil liberties awareness in Brisbane. This anti-Conscription group was the most significant grass-roots ally of the C.L.M. off-campus.

In *Harvest of Fear*, Murphy (1993) paints a picture of Y.C.A.C. nationally, as part of a newer constituency of peace protest distinct from the Communist-led Peace Committees. While Y.C.A.C. had some youth of Socialist and Communist peace activist groups, it particularly identified with the Labor Party. Furthermore, it incorporated new elements from non-labour backgrounds then joining the peace movement. Y.C.A.C. identified with the more middle class Save Our Sons and the more innovative and civil-disobedience-orientated C.N.D. It included the Quakers and other religious groups. This was the face of anti-war protest nationally and evidence of slow change from Third International dominance of such peace protests. Y.C.A.C. was a meeting point in Brisbane of those with strongly held beliefs about Conscription. A public demonstration in September 1966 received the typical policing intervention: "demonstrators had to stand on a designated spot (well out of the path and the sight of passers-by)" according to the Anti-Conscription publication *Marbles* — probably<sup>27</sup> (*Anti-Johnson demonstration* n.d.). By their style of protest in the adversary's domain, civil liberties concerned them.

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<sup>27</sup> It has the same typeface and style as *Marbles* the Y.C.A.C. publication.

While Queensland was without C.N.D., which disbanded earlier, Brisbane Y.C.A.C. recorded in its publication *Marbles* evidence of both draft card burnings and lectures on civil disobedience by American Ralph Summy (March 1967) now a Queensland University teacher. However, Summy experienced the American version of the C.N.D. – the S.A.N.E. Therefore, the C.N.D. influence found a circuitous route to Brisbane, although American radicalism in general, had, by then, its own purchase and, again, Summy was an important conduit. Pacifist and libertarian Americans had a role in the Brisbane Protest allies. Through Summy, the C.N.D.'s outlook relocated to the University.

A likely Y.C.A.C. 1966 undated publication, *Anti-Johnson demonstration*, recorded the formation of another protest group — Vietnam Action Committee (V.A.C.). While the formation of V.A.C. was itself distinctive in Brisbane since it had no C.N.D. element, Ross Fitzgerald describes the demonstration on 5 October 1966 by “V.A.C. and the Campaign Against Conscription ... as the genesis of what was later to become the “Right to March” movement of 1977” (1985, p.558). It is equally true to say it was an event that initiated the march of 1967, the thesis argues. Y.C.A.C. was soon advertising the civil liberties protests. *Anti-Johnson demonstration* indicated that two women and a man decided to go to jail rather than pay fines for arrests following anti-war protests because

they feel that the police are really going too far this time. Most of them were fined three times. [In deciding to go to jail they used] “one of the methods that has worked successfully for the United States Pacifist Groups. (*Anti-Johnson demonstration n.d*).

This dominant idea of conscience above law established the influence of post-totalitarianism. The Protesters' new style reflected the less constrained consciousness of these Protesters, which was unlike those of precursors and groups like the Peace Committee tied to the Communist Party of Australia (C.P.A.). This reflects a changing Cold War hegemony but also a distinctive new protest orientation underpinned by a new consciousness and techniques. The old left perceived morality as oppression rather than the source of liberation which to them was collective action.

Despite Y.C.A.C.'s capacity for diversity, it failed to generate wider support. Yet the connection between this group and the civil liberties movement, while tangential, is still

characteristic of the Brisbane Protests. Small bands of town-based supporters played important initiating roles and often encouraged more inclusive protest movements, making the most of the numbers available, by such inclusiveness.

The anti-war Protesters with an interest in civil liberties formed the Civil Rights<sup>28</sup> Action Committee (C.R.A.C.), which was also inclusive. In what appears<sup>29</sup> to be a special edition in 1966 of *Marbles*, Y.C.A.C.'s anti-Conscription journal, C.R.A.C. received mention. This group had representatives from disparate public groupings as well as the traditional left. While the personnel included Vilma Ward, from Save Our Sons (S.O.S.), and the wife of a leading Trade Unionist, the anti-Conscription group and Norma Chalmers, a Communist Party member from the Peace Committee, it also included a member of the ruling Liberal Party and academics (*Anti-Johnson demonstration* 1966). Significantly, the group formed on campus (*Queensland Civil Liberties* n.d.). The campus formation represented recognition that this was not just a concern within the labour movement alone, as might have appeared in such a debilitated public sphere. The University was a location where resistance was significant, yet the dominance of traditional labour remained important.

Certainly the mixture of religious belief and activism was one of the paths Protesters took in the Cold War period (Young 1984, p.11), and the Brisbane C.L.M. movement exemplified this. Often however C.N.D. was the typical vehicle of this tendency, as Parkin (1968) relates, or some newer labour movement with post-totalitarian credentials emerged. These patterns did not occur in Brisbane.

To conclude this discussion about the early allies and supporters of the C.L.M. there was an intertwining of the Conscription anti-war protests and the civil liberties issue. Despite the traditional labour movement's representation, students and youth

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<sup>28</sup> Use of Civil Rights indicates *American influences present both through King and N.A.A.C.P. and/or the involvement of Americans in the local movement (discussed below).*

<sup>29</sup> *Note that this leaflet does not have the usual Marbles heading nor any date but has the same format and typeface and is to be found with other material containing information about Y.C.A.C.)*



expressed new influences such as Summy's, which embodied the new radical post-totalitarian outlook. Civil liberties entered the lexicon of protest where it had been dormant under the hegemony of liberalism *sans doctrines*, and the University became a place to organize resistance. There is a sense of dual transitions in this process — not only a transition away from the dominance of traditional labour evident in the constitution of Y.C.A.C., even if that was largely truncated in Brisbane by the absence of C.N.D., but also a shift of Protest congregation to the University, since off-campus radicals could not readily sustain a strong presence under adverse conditions. The campus group proselytised and practised the techniques associated with new radical thinking.

The early allies formed C.R.A.C., which reflected a new mixture of Protesters located at the university, while Y.C.A.C. embraced the notions of passive resistance. However significantly, the University campus was the source of initiatives and ideas. The adversary's role also stood out as forcing civil libertarian considerations with particular acuteness. However, as yet, there was not the momentum and collective action that begins to satisfy the description of a significant campaign.

As the conflicts regarding the war and Conscription intensified, so did the issues of civil liberties. The Civil Liberties Movement gained the momentum to be an independent concern and focus although some commentators saw the C.L.M. as included in the anti-war strategy. The following section plots the conflicts that ensued as the demand for civil liberties grew.

#### **4.0 CONFLICTS**

The dynamics of the conflict are the subject of this section. The thesis analyses the forming consciousness of the Protesters, their unity and diversity, and distinctions between variously composed organizations and institutions. Particularly the section focuses upon the evolving plans of action against the adversary and the constituent roles various groups played in the orchestration of the civil liberties march. The section describes both a political stake at the centre of the conflict and the possibility of more fundamental differences.

The distinction drawn between the various groups as allies, supporters and precursors, helps characterise the Protests, since some more readily mesh into the movement, while others are more distant, temporary, and only very conditionally a part. Allies participated in the direct action — the major political expression of the movement. The supporters and competitors were eccentrically involved in the conflict. The subsequent developments as they affected the marchers in the short term are also considerations.

The conflict existed on many layers, according to the material printed by the protagonists. They thereby indicated a growing repertoire of critique. There were arguments about the meaning of democracy at the broadest level, while at the narrowest the arguments were about footpaths and roads and their distinctions. There were many important discussions about the law, police, rights, conscience and political participation and the specific nature of Queensland's democracy and cultural conservatism. The conflict physically centred on those violent events in Roma Street. Principally however, the stake of the conflict revolved around democracy — its meaning and its local limitations — and finally a critique of liberal democratic principles not just the local practices. Evoking new meanings, new dynamics that are not just the product of intellectual critique but unleashed feelings of oppression and solidarity, the conflict about civil liberties indicates the form of a changing movement.

Viewed from the protagonists' perspective, the focus of the dispute was about the appropriate relationship of law and order to justice and liberty (*Student Guerrilla* No. 17 1968; Wertheim & O'Neill 1968 *The Civil Liberties Movement*). For the adversary, it was law and order cast within the interests of narrow utilitarianism. The right to use footpaths and streets for various purposes was a critical intersection of these conflicting views.

A primary concern of the Protesters under the *Traffic Act* was the arbitrary control of public protest by the Superintendent of Traffic. Barclay, in his chronicle in *The Australian Journal of Politics of History* nominated the clause regarding criteria for legal remedy as a key sticking point with the civil libertarians. Sections 123 and 124 of the *Traffic Act* allowed that

permits for the holding of meetings and processions on any road  
... [can] ... be withdrawn at any time at the discretion of the

Superintendent ... (who) need not give any reason. (B[arclay] 1967, p126).

Yet, Professor Tarlo revealed that the *Traffic Act* restrictions occurred in many countries, including Britain, and therefore were no evidence of Queensland's uniqueness. Hence Tarlo called his *Quadrant* article 'The Campaign Against Queensland'. To Tarlo, Queensland Premier Nicklin's election in 1959 led to the right of appeal going to a magistrate rather than the Commissioner of Police. Tarlo claimed this was a unique liberalisation in Australia (1967, p.39).

In practice, however, the separation of magistrates from the overall political authoritarianism was extremely limited. The magistrate could not request reasons of the police for denying march Protests. The Law Professor himself reflected this culture of authoritarianism — his comments about conformism were more accurate while the others were overly legalistic. Professor Colin Hughes, the Politics professor, disagreed with him. If Tarlo was right, it was very much out of character with the adversary, as the events described soon relay. In a community of liberalism *sans doctrines*, the unwritten doctrine of the Separation of Powers meant little.

While Hughes and Tarlo, seemingly exceptions to the culture of liberalism *sans doctrines*, disagreed in a debate in *Quadrant* about the legislation, this was still a disagreement over remedies and transparency processes available in the courts. Their dispute was neither about the Act's initial character, in relation to which, Protesters questioned the basic priority given to vehicular traffic, nor about the time taken to deal with the matter in court, obviating spontaneity of protest (Hughes 1967, p.29). These were real factors rather than legalistic ones. They were new perspectives of the Protesters, who saw themselves as vital to the political process. An engaged citizenry at the grass roots level required new machinery, which was not forthcoming. Perhaps few others, especially those with influence, saw their point — it was both experiential and doctrinal, and such experience and such doctrinal interests were both anathema to the hegemonic domination of the local public sphere.

Crucially the road (carriageway) included the footpath (*U.Q.U. Submission* 1967, p.1-2; Wertheim & O'Neill, 1968 *The Civil Liberties Movement*). The Protesters returned to this continually. To overcome the defence that car-owning road users had a practical

priority, the Student Union submission, echoing similar protestor sentiments by University staff members, Peter Wertheim and Dan O'Neill, advocated: "the separation of the street into carriageway and footpath or pavement " (*U.Q.U. Submission* 1967 pp.1-2; *The Civil Liberties Movement* 1968). Such suggestions appeared rational, particular and appropriate to the Protesters. However, the Act facilitated stricter legislation and control of these public areas as preferred by the government.

The police randomly gave permits, necessary to distribute leaflets and for displaying placards, although these incurred a fee (*Queensland Civil Liberties* 1968). Accordingly the C.L.M. asserted that this was "oppressive on large religious, political or industrial gatherings" (*U.Q.U. Submission* 1967, p.1). The C.L.M. identified these laws as in need of review. However, the law, its administration and policing were their concerns.

The Protesters felt the bias of the courts and street-level policing. Via O'Neill and Wertheim in the pamphlet *Queensland Civil Liberties*, sometime in 1968, they contended that the courts did not uphold more than a few of the legal challenges of Protesters to their arrests and that police were in the position of being 'moral and political censors'. On one occasion, they asserted, not conservative university students who harassed demonstrators, but only the anti-war demonstrators got arrested. The Protesters constructed this policing-legal context as an example of a *de facto* police state.

These issues created a dispute about democracy, law and authority. Democracy and liberalism in the Protesters' view were not the province of entrepreneurs and politicians with utilitarian, or worse, motives but were about the rights of minorities. Law and order became the focus for the differing views of democratic life — one guaranteeing economic efficiency, legalistic and authoritarian and the other idealistic, spontaneous and participatory. Such beliefs, experiences and antagonisms constituted a particular conflict over which mass mobilisations and repression occurred.

The conflict lent itself to reflections about the meaning of democracy ignored historically by both sides in Queensland's political mainstream. These situations characterise the conflict as between liberalism *sans doctrines* and an engaged activist

liberalism informed by allies, supporters and precursors. In between the two, despite deeper ramifications, the key to the conflict was the understanding of the virtues of legality and illegality. At its broadest, the stake was democracy; at the narrowest, it was a conflict about the meaning of legality.

#### ***4.1 The 1967 Supporters and Allies***

In 1967, the conflict over civil liberties emerged as the central dispute engaged in by those imbibing and articulating new views about democracy in the light of Protests attempted in Brisbane regarding war and conscription. Yet the civil liberties movement was formed by conscious decision rather than as a spontaneous digression from another campaign. The range of supporters and allies who became involved distinguished the C.L.M.

The university staff, the Student Union, the Trade Unions, and the A.L.P. were all important sources of supporters of Protests about civil liberties in 1967 as was the Queensland Council for Civil Liberties (Q.C.C.L.). The University was a supportive environment but did not express political views. The anti-war movement and derivatives of it were the C.L.M. allies. These supporters, organizations and allies assist in understanding the character of the Protests.

The main source of allies in action was the university community, a fact which was not coincidental but rather evidence that this community was firstly supportive of critical thinking and secondly youth-focused. About the first matter, the University's fundamental reason for being was quite distinct from the dominant culture in some respects — much as it shared some of the materialistic impulse and utilitarianism. Furthermore the University staff were bound to the University not only by the terms of employment but more importantly as part of a vocational culture. In this regard, staff were obliged to present cases for activities as intellectually justified in terms of cultural traditions. These traditions, expressed in the Humanities, but also underpinning the scientific tradition, include those that are enlightened, inquiring, doubting and sceptical. Within the Humanities beliefs enunciated and articulated traditionally were included: radical, liberal, atheistic, aesthetic, conscience, and occasionally action-orientated; viewpoints. These equated to a culture inconsistent with the local conservative pastoral

consciousness bound to tradition. Furthermore, University staff were much freer than many in work, to engage in political protest of a variety of sorts. Their boundaries were vocational cultures more than legal or labour-discipline orientated punitive systems, although subsequently these freedoms came into contention as the adversary also realised this “loophole”. The institution itself however had other obligations and to those that funded it in particular. Staff, if comparatively few, would support and lead the march for civil liberties. However University culture bound the students far more loosely as befitted their transient status. Their role is examined in terms of solidarity and indifference. There is evidence of this lack of structure in their own consciousness, which both assisted and hindered the movement.

### The Supporters

The Student Union aided in collecting bail monies but was unable to participate as an active political force, submission notwithstanding (Nucifora 1967). Like the trade union, its position was eccentric in mirror opposite manner — neither institution nor independent organization — rather a strictly controlled arm of an institution, yet a union.

As regards the labour movement, the T.L.C. became an ally, after, rather than before the first illegal march. Except for its Secretary, Alex MacDonald, and the familiarity the Unions had with mass protest, the official Trade Union movement remained a supporter only but with a significant difference - they gave different terms for becoming an ally. They understood and identified with the Protesters more than the A.L.P.

At the time of the civil liberties march in 1967 Q.C.C.L consisted of, amongst others, three Humanities academics, a member of the Quakers (Society of Friends), two members of the Board of Studies in Divinity (both Protestant) and Wilma Ward from the anti-conscription group Save Our Sons. As well, there was a member of the State Executive of the Liberal party and a farmer, plus legal advisers and others. (*Queensland Council for Civil Liberties* n.d.). The mix revealed activation of the civil liberties interest -a result of anti-war protests. Altruistic in intention, it was a diverse, issue-orientated organization.

The Q.C.C.L. had no interest in direct action. In relation to them, Ross Fitzgerald considered, not quite correctly, that they were a “‘respectable’ group, lawyers and intellectuals of liberal views. [They] addressed themselves to legal issues” (Fitzgerald, R., 1985,p.564). Their agenda and their membership were actually broader than Fitzgerald suggests. Yet since they appeared an isolated cohort, liberalism relied on more shaky footings than if there was a broad middle class as well as labour democrats where ideas were of significance: it lacked all these in Queensland to an unusual degree.

Q.C.C.L.’s analysis of legal matters strengthened the legalistic foundations of the civil liberties case. Furthermore, it had practical means-and-ends-orientated advice for improving civil liberties. Q.C.C.L. proclaimed itself, according to an anonymous spokesperson, to be in favour of investigating police powers, “especially as it affects the aborigines”, and to be also in favour of an Ombudsman, or Parliamentary Commissioner (Queensland Council for Civil Liberties n.d.). The existence in the late `sixties of the Q.C.C.L. also suggested another presence of the local variant of new international and traditional liberal concerns with civil liberties, including the Northern European interest in the Ombudsman in parliaments also advocated by Q.C.C.L. However, the Q.C.C.L. was not a group that generated grass-roots or illegal action.

Q.C.C.L.’s President J.B. Kelly supported protest leader Brian Laver’s decision to go to jail rather than pay fines (*Impact*, p.3). However when their President expressed his sympathies with the jailed activists he reinforced the legitimacy of the radical, largely student-comprised, Civil Liberties Co-ordinating Committee’s (C.L.C.C.) position. Even for the Q.C.C.L., legalism reached a stalemate, but illegal action was not their solution. Legality was a fundamental barrier in this environment and the contemplation and practice of illegal activity created a crucial boundary between various supporters and allies. Tarlo had his own absolutism, for it is difficult to understand the exercise of a right as anything but compromise with others doing the same; much as the principle itself cannot be forgone. Most of all, considering the Protesters’ peacefulness, he feared illegality it appeared.

## The allies

The allies of 1967 participated in the civil liberties march of that year. These included the anti-war students and workers formed into Society for Democratic Action (S.D.A.); campus religious activists; Catholics, Quakers, and other Protestants; youthful members of socialist and Christian organizations off-campus, associated with the Young Socialist League in the case of the Communists or Young Labor for the A.L.P.; some women, starting to articulate their very restricted position in the public sphere, radical Americans, particularly associated with the University. With their civil disobedience and uncompromising outlook, these all accepted the style and attitudes of new Protesters. Youthfulness was an important bond also, for that also meant a vulnerability to conscription for males: some variously bonded to young women.

Without doubt, S.D.A. was central to the C.L.M. and it was they, we shall see, who conceived the march and the campus activities, which led up to it. Already in mid 1967 they planned a civil liberties march (Thompson *ACTION THIS YEAR*). Significantly S.D.A., while having headquarters at 188 Gladstone Rd., Highgate Hill, was largely campus-oriented and separate from Y.C.A.C. thus establishing a break from the influence still evident through Y.C.A.C. of the traditional and a generation older labour movement and instead favouring an identity with the militant tactics of the American S.D.S. — provocative and grass roots but also expansive in its critique, as S.D.A. became.

The Vietnam Action Committee, more prominent in other states, also established itself as an initial focus of anti-war sentiment in Queensland. The formation of S.D.A. was indicative of changes in style, issues and orientations, which will produce the signature event of the civil liberties march for the Brisbane Protests. As O'Neill notes in 'Growth of the Radical Movement' in *Semper Floreat* "[i]t was the August vacation [of 1966] when S.D.A. formed as a hybrid in initials of V.A.C. and S.D.S." (17 March 1969, p.9).

The 1966 formation of S.D.A. advertised within Y.C.A.C.'s *Marbles* of December 1966 indicated a sea change in the Queensland peace movement to an independent, youthful libertarian orientation inclusive of large numbers of well-educated people without conventional political attachments. The intention couched in conventional



educated English and in the aspirations of modernity was expressed by O'Neill in his *Semper Floreat* article 'The Growth of the Radical Movement': "to bring the social reality of various areas of life into line with liberal rhetoric". O'Neill listed S.D.A.'s interests as including nature conservation education, Aborigines, local government as well as civil liberties (17 March 1969, p.9). This breadth is significant. It is an agenda free of strict ideology but reflecting new post-war impulses.

The intellectual characteristics of this movement are central to the nature of the campaign. Clearly in its wish to associate, by name, with the earlier-formed American S.D.S., S.D.A. declared itself of radical liberal persuasion rather than of Marxist derivation. O'Neill noted the influence of the radical liberal American paper *The National Guardian* on S.D.A. Already there was talk of participatory democracy derived in part from it ('The Growth of the Radical Movement' *Semper Floreat* 17 March 1969, p.9). The Brisbane S.D.A. in 1966 or 1967 published a pamphlet of Carl Oglesby's — a President of America's Students for Democratic Society — who distinguished between Jefferson's and Paine's humanistic liberalism, and corporate liberalism. (Oglesby, *Liberalism and the Corporate State*). However, if liberal they were, it was spiritual, activist, grass-roots, direct action and moralistic rather than representative, party- and interest-driven. Liberalism, in other words with participatory doctrines.

A central thread of S.D.A.'s early ideology came from Gandhi as popularised in the West by the activist Southern Baptism of Martin Luther King. Important to it were direct action and non-violent tactics. In the anonymously written *Queensland Civil Liberties*, religious references to St. Augustine reflected probably O'Neill's and the Newman Society (discussed below) cohort's moral orientation. The writer made extensive reference to King's view of non-violent, direct action (n.d.).

S.D.A., like the Newman society discussed subsequently, was moralistic<sup>30</sup> but it was also activist in style. It was more concerned with direct engagement, and so proffered the tactical and material instruments of the movement. S.D.A. was organised and had the capacity to materially support such activity. These characterise the new outlook of the campus-orientated Protesters. Both these groups had the beginnings of a worldview not limited just to a single issue. The war, Conscription and civil liberties were foundations of a critique that the C.L.M would express. A vital core of activists

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<sup>30</sup> Moralistic in an absolutist rather than communicative sense

joined S.D.A. on campus to create this new movement, which at this stage was radical liberal in its grass-roots style.

The new critique relied on new voices. Although immigrant and local proselytisers are essential conduits, it derives from outside Queensland and Australia largely. They all, however clearly share a university tie which is also a conduit given the presence of teachers like the philosopher Ian Hinkfuss, who was a moral relativist rejecting like the Romantics an arbitrarily constructed and imposed rule-bound morality but not accepting that conscience alone was right and must determine action. Nevertheless, the influence of local Catholics who had their own older religious sources beyond human rules coincided with the attitude of resistance. These were all part of the creative potential of the mix of this new protest formation.

Dan O'Neill in 'The Growth of the Radical Movement' specifically mentioned the American philosopher at the University of Queensland, Don Mannison. Noting his articulation of experiences with the Berkeley Free Speech Movement (*Semper Floreat* 17 March 1969, p.9) O'Neill suggests he was an influential person on campus. Ralph Summy and Mannison, Chuck Long and Bob and Jane Gaines, all Americans, had a very pronounced involvement in the early Brisbane protests but particularly in S.D.A. Ralph Summy was a member of S.D.A.'s civil liberties action group formed early in 1967 (*S.D.A. newsletter* January 1967). Before the 1967 civil liberties march, activist leaders taught to Protesters the practice of linking-of-arms, in the face of police actions to clear Protesters from the streets. It was a vehicle of solidarity and of making operational the new beliefs circulating about individual conscience. S.D.A. was the new activism broadcaster.

Activism needed its own ideology and ideas, beyond its practices. The radical liberal tradition and intellectual Anarchist tradition (typified by Paul Goodman, popular at the time) existed in America and the American activists brought that perspective with them. The local reading of Eric Fromm encouraged by Summy (*Anti-Johnson demonstration* n.d.) meant a transcendental psycho-moralism and affectivity underwrote their socialist education — they inherited the European romantic Marxist tradition. Fromm's works are psychosocial critiques underwriting the intention to inspire freedom at the basic human level and to reinterpret socialism within the bounds of such an initially individual-focused project. His philosophy also was rich in humanly sourced rather

than rule-bound morality. Conscience was central and so radicalism meant an inward dialogue.

A Catholic religious group had a profound effect on the Brisbane Protests. According to O'Neill in *Semper Floreat*, like S.D.A. it also was "in revolt against the provincial climate in Brisbane" (17 March 1969, p.9). The University's Newman society was the source of many articulate activists, most centrally the above mentioned Dan O'Neill and Peter Wertheim but also Maria O'Neill, Mary Murnane, Frank Varghese, and Matthew Foley (Foley, M 1986, p.54). O'Neill in *Semper Floreat* 'Growth of the Radical Movement' describes them as "intellectually puzzled" especially with the official position of the church in doctrinal matters, yet cognisant of orientations to social action and the new humanism stimulated by Vatican II (1969 p.9)<sup>31</sup>. The Catholic outlook had strong social commitment traditions but the majority of Catholics leaned more commonly and especially in this period to the social Conservative right than to the left. The Newman Society, however began to debate these social issues from positions outside the mainstream institution of the Catholic Church with the assistance of such perspectives as that of *The Catholic Worker*. *Dissent* was another new radical magazine edited by the Melbourne-originating Catholic Peter Wertheim who played an important role in the Brisbane Protests.

As O'Neill suggests in 'The Growth of the Radical Movement', the unification of these two groups, S.D.A. and the Newman society, identified two major strands of the Brisbane Protests (*Semper Floreat*, 1969 17 March, p.11). The two strands sometimes diverged but initially they united their common social commitment to moralism, transcendental pacifism, non-violence and activism as well as general social awareness.

These two groups tended to be male-dominated in their leaderships even if in other respects distinctive in outlook. However women participated centrally in the Civil Liberties march as evidenced in Gail Salmon's and Jane Gaines's refusal to pay a fine, and hence ensuring that they went to jail, at a historically significant juncture prior to the major demonstration (O'Neill 'The Growth of the Radical Movement' *Semper*

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<sup>31</sup> One cannot ignore the use of the phrase 'the movement' used as self-description by the C.L.M. in this regard as a competitor to the Catholic Social Studies Movement led by B.A. Santamaria so crucial in the 'fifties, and early 'sixties).

*Floreat*, 17 March 1969, p.9). They breached boundaries of conventional political discourse and passive political behaviours in so doing, just as Thornton and Bogner did several years before.

Outside the university were pre-existing groups: the Quakers, young socialists and anti-conscriptionists who were less important in numbers but still influential. Y.C.A.C. was representative of these groups and an important link between the on-campus and off-campus groupings. The effect of protesting about the war and Conscription was to involve groups in a widening range of concerns. The Quakers also were an important group in the war protests. The Young Socialists participated in the 1967 march and were close to, or part of S.D.A. in most respects as subsequent endeavours suggest. This demonstrated the overarching influence of the war.

The mixture of traditions and a creative transplant of these through immigrant and local purveyors into a public political testament expressed by direct action, illegal activity if needs be, and grass-roots activity, was a local realisation of a new radicalism present elsewhere in the world at this time. The most critical groups who made up the new protest orientations formed into the campus based Civil Liberties Co-ordinating Committee (C.L.C.C). C.L.C.C. was an alliance formed from the burgeoning interest in civil liberties. As repeated anti-war demonstrations received repressive treatment, a growing urgency and tactical response to these circumstances emerged.

On 28th June 1967, a mass-circulated leaflet Committee addressed staff members and students called for an initial meeting to organize a civil liberties protest. It read:

a cross section of student political and religious organizations and staff members have decided that if certain ideals and beliefs are held then they can only be effective if acted upon ( Civil Liberties Co-ordinating Committee ).

This meeting coalesced to constitute the C.L.C.C. As a complex entity, the organization was the umbrella through which the Civil Liberties Movement (C.L.M.) gained a presence on the Queensland political stage. It was an organization of distinctive character: an umbrella implying a multi-organizational alliance. It typified an inclusive organization.

The radicals arranged numerous forums to explain the situation and the attempted negotiations, to students. O'Neill, in his article in *Semper Floreat*, The Growth of the Radical Movement, suggested that, at the peak of interest, there were three forums per week (17 March 1969, p.11). Making the most of the opportunity to convince, the radicals took the task of rational persuasion seriously as well as the need for greater support.

Based on a submission made by the Student Union with the aid of Q.C.C.L. (Barclay, 1967 p 127), the Civil Liberties Campaign created great interest, and they set an initial deadline of 11th July 1967 for the Government to agree to a civil liberties reappraisal. This Union Committee involved as well as "lawyers and barristers ... staff and students" (*July 4th Movement* n.d) but the deadline was not met.

The Civil Liberties Co-ordinating Committee (C.L.C.C) proposed an illegal march irrespective of this deadline. It characterised an uncompromising attitude growing in a climate of oppression. Frank Gardiner, the soon-to-be ex-President of the Student Union thwarted this proposal, convincing a meeting of 1,500 students, despite the urging of S.D.A. to accept the Government's support of an investigative committee and disregarding of the deadline transgression (Fitzgerald 1985, p. 560). Police turned back a limited march, based on the radicals' assertion of the minority's right to dissent from the majority. This provided the chance for the momentum to grow, since next time 4,000 marched.

The Government, despite negotiations with the Student Union, C.L.C.C. and Q.C.C.L. and further prevarication, accepted "only one point in the submission" (*July 4th Movement*). According to the Queensland historian Ross Fitzgerald, two changes appeared, although one was a fee reduction alone, and the other a reduction in a waiting period after application (1985, p.560). The opportunity for spontaneity was denied and the potential costs of application for permits was prohibitive.

Accordingly, the civil liberties march, formally led by the Student Union's immediate past President, Frank Gardiner, happened three days later on September 8th 1967. According to Glen Barclay's 'Chronicles', immediately prior to this march, the Trade Union Vice-President Alex Macdonald "called on all unionists to give any possible

assistance to the students". The march had logic within events and negotiations but as well, it was of expressive intensity with an emotive climax. Barclay continues, calling it, a 'pure protest' (St.J B[arclay] 1967, p126). This 'purity' was particularly apparent in the resistant behaviour and the rejection of the permit given by the police. Some matters the Protesters decided were non-negotiable, which does not immediately imply a moral absolutism.

Not long after the 1967 march one of its very small numbers of high profile public and political supporters, Jack Egerton, (later Sir John) the T.L.C. President, proclaimed in *The Courier-Mail* on the 22nd September 1967, his tacit approval. A week after the march, a legal rally in King George Square in the centre of Brisbane attracted 1,500 people at which the A.L.P.'s Manfred Cross, M.H.R., spoke. Thus the march drew supporters of considerable political significance. Again, the question of legality divided the Protesters from potential allies. The thesis suggests that this division was a central dividing point for the Brisbane Protesters, ably demonstrated in this campaign. Given the numbers, the thesis concludes at best a quarter of the student Protesters attended. The divide between organized labour and students was palpable. The students embraced defiance and a new spontaneity while the labour movement embraced legality and resistance organized by Trade Union officialdom. This was a very constrained alliance between two groups.

However, the question of solidarity within the illegal protest group needs scrutiny. As an immediate outcome, solidarity appeared through those who milled around the watch-house calling out "Police state; Police State" on behalf of the arrestees (*Courier-Mail* 9 September 1967). In reflecting upon the march, participants and subsequent commentators, Chris Rootes in 'The Civil Liberties Campaign' in *Social Alternatives* and Dan O'Neill, in particular in 'Growth of the Radical Movement', note a changed perspective. Referring to the march, O'Neill asserts that "a whole political generation was born on that day" (1969, pp.11-12). There were then both solidarity and identity implied as outcomes. Yet Rootes, in his revisiting of events also suggests a gender divide in the response (1983, pp.55-58), that women felt a greater discomfort at the events that day and registered its violence more acutely.

The thesis suggests that the solidarity was shallow and temporary against the standard of other forms of solidarity discussed in the Brisbane Protests. According to the University of Queensland Union President, only 50 arrested wished to defend their case (Nucifora 1967). Thus, the subsequent legal process lacked personal appeal. There were no legal challenges, no appeals to higher jurisdictions contemplated. They planned no official redress. Certainly legal characteristics of Australia did not encourage this path. This indifference to the courts suggested that the solidarity was narrowly focused and had a peak of intensity that would not sustain Protesters through a process that would highlight their case but lead to humiliation in these courts. While liberalism *sans doctrines* left no legal avenues, there was little other immediate continuity. This may not be solidarity of great substance, but rather one narrowed to collective defiance — not insignificant in such oppressive circumstances.

O'Neill complained of two groups within the Brisbane Protests. He described some Protesters in S.D.A. in *Semper Floreat* as driven by 'gut-reaction' (O'Neill, D., 'The Growth of the Radical Movement' 17 March 1969, p.9) while the Newman Society members were more contemplative. O'Neill did not see the outcome of this march as a division. However, his comments illuminate the fact that very different outcomes might follow from marches in terms of identities and solidarities of groups internal to the Protests. Rootes and O'Neill point to internal divisions as well as certain unities. While these are the result of subsequent reflection and do not disprove the feelings of marchers at its beginning, nor even at its end, solidarity in these circumstances becomes problematic if conceived of as the 'core business' of social movements.

In summary, what was indisputable was the sheer volume of Protesters who joined from the campus to effect this march. The capacity to do this relied upon not only the flow of events but also the use of the new type of loose knit social movement organizations of the period. These however could not include supporters whose agendas were quite different. This organizational form aided the movement in resisting attempts to over-define or at least divisively define directions. Yet many student Protesters appeared indifferent to the potential of a temporary alliance with the Trade Unions. The Union leaders had not exhibited defiance or commitment of the same nature nor did they offer a shared public platform. Only a strategic perspective of compromise would tolerate this. Pure politics could not. Furthermore the students had

exhibited some indifference to pursuing any other channels than those they chose that day.

The march was an experience now bound to the Protesters' consciousness. It is central to characterising the earlier outlook of the Brisbane Protesters. An adversary which was illiberal, hostile and unyielding opposed a core group of activists, who used moral and intellectual persuasiveness, which provided immanent critique. They also provided a larger group of what were certainly (as Barclay noted) 'pure' Protesters (as Barclay noted), courageous, spontaneous and defiant but without deeper commitment. This provided the necessary ingredients. What was unavailable was the alliance with supporters in conjunction with broad social support. Only some Labor and particularly Communist Party supporters appeared from organizational and institutional sources. The allies had come from a particular cohort at the University with nevertheless important sections of a minute, town-based, Anti-War Movement, but not from the post-totalitarian Marxist splinters, and an almost untraceable small cohort of the genuinely radically liberal minded.

The action and resistance spread no further until 1968 when a much smaller legal march occurred. There was no contagion of radicalism set alight by these events. The following section details the C.L.M. protests in 1968 in deliberations and actions.

#### **4.2 Summer 1967-1968**

The pattern noted in the conclusion to the previous subsection very much repeated itself in 1968. Yet an entirely different march occurred in 1968, which gives further clarity to the character of the Civil Liberties Movement, particularly in regard to the search for alliances. The thesis observes the capacity of allies to engage in deep argument about democracy using critique from radical liberal perspectives. They stayed within the boundaries of liberal democratic discourse — but also transcended it. This critique pervades the intellectual discussions about civil liberties. The protest leaders compromised, foregoing the path of pure protest. By this compromise, supporters became allies. Various activities organized in the summer of 1967-8 gave further indications of movement activities. There is also in the following a further reflection about the nature of solidarity engendered by the march, as reflected in these events of the following year.



The Summer Campaign for Civil Liberties, a march planned for July 4th 1968 and the movement against the gerrymander of electoral boundaries comprised the three campaigns. The Summer Campaign for Civil Liberties was the work of the Civil Liberties Co-ordinating Committee, but endorsed by the University of Queensland Union and the National Union of Students. However again S.D.A. played a major role. The Gerrymander campaign was very limited and is not discussed in detail.

The Post Office Box number used indicated the Summer Campaign's printing at least, but also its contrivance by the major movement protagonist S.D.A. (PRESS STATEMENT 4th Jan. 1968). The Summer Campaign consisted of lobbying, petitioning, pamphleteering and many other activities including a state-wide speaking tour. Yet, the campaign attracted little interest (O'Neill 17 March 1969, p.12). Students were not on campus in summer. The bonds holding Protesters were fragile enough to find ready substitutes in family, home, work, holiday activities and non-activist friends. The march was no longer foremost in the students' conscience or consciousness.

Deeper critiques of democracy become more frequent, including by the use of new disciplines of analysis that grew in the post-war era: sociology and psychology as well as political theory, which took in the Protesters' hands a participatory direction as did their activist style. However the concern for debates about realities within the idiom of liberal democracy remained. These concerns with immanent critique were apparent in the nature of the Civil Liberties Campaigns of that year.

Following the Summer Campaign the leaflet distribution issue concerned a revamped Civil Liberties Coordinating Committee of 1968 (*THE CIVIL LIBERTIES MOVEMENT* Wertheim & O'Neill 1968). Restrictive legislation now, in the hands of a then Queensland style government, no longer applied to business literature but to every other form of literature! This decision drew pertinent hostile comment from the movement (*Student Guerrilla* 13 June 1968). One leading activist rebuked its philistinism (O'Neill, *Queensland Rotten Boroughs*). This criticism indicates an analysis that characteristically comes from the University, since it was not a customary comment of Queensland politicians. Philistinism was obscure to an electorate with a well-described education deficit and a proclivity to this very characteristic preventing them knowing its meaning.

There was another key target — the local press. Despite *The Courier-Mail's* satisfactory depiction of the civil liberties conflict in Roma St. in 1967, subsequent misreporting, hostile editorials, and inadequate or sensationalist coverage identified a central institution as hostile. There are frequent criticisms (*Student Guerrilla* 13 June & 20 June 1968). Anthony Bowen a central S.D.A. activist argued in *Student Guerrilla* that “the press is basically an instrumentality of the establishment” and, in the C.L.C.C. broadsheet *The Press , The Protest Movement and The Propagation of Minority Ideas* asserted, significantly, that the Soviet situation, so despised, was comparable (13 June 1968). This type of critique was also in S.D.A.'s *PRESS STATEMENT* (4th. January 1968). The critique indicated the Protesters' recognition of a real problem about liberal democracy, particularly apparent in a place where there was only one publisher of daily newspapers.

The notion of authoritarianism underwrote this new criticism. In O'Neill's and Wertheim's, *The Free Press Ain't Free* they argue

Our enemy is indivisible authoritarianism ... So must be our attitude [a]gainst it — a vigilant commitment to freedom in all spheres of our life and work. LIBERTY IS INDIVISIBLE”

Repressive tolerance, a concept peculiar to the new left, (Marcuse 1966) appeared in discussing government reactions by asserting, “we are only as free as we are politically harmless. Submission alone means freedom” (*Student Guerrilla* 16 October 1968). This was insurrectionary in implication — an external rather than immanent critique. Although the Protesters did not refer to J.S. Mill's critique of democracy in the face of utilitarianism, much as that had relevance to Queensland, they instead looked to new theory informed by the Frankfurt School critique, inclusive of the social psychology of ‘alienation and powerlessness’ of which Fromm was a proselytiser.

The critique of the lack of rights within the public domain and of the level of its critical strength and reflectiveness continued, as O'Neill stated that in Queensland there are “neither minority nor majority rights”, inducing specific social-psychologies: “the electorate is perplexed and disgusted into indifference ... hardened into an a-political cynicism” (O'Neill *Queensland Rotten Boroughs* n.d.). This sort of assertion reoccurred in *THE CIVIL LIBERTIES MOVEMENT*: “the great majority, confronted with the same run of ‘orthodox’ opinions lapses further into complacency, apathy and ignorant prejudice” (Wertheim & O'Neill ).

A variety of specific and more broadly based assessments — derived from different traditions — constructed the failings of Queensland democracy. There emerged ideas about the corruption of parliament and the public sphere — especially about the Press, as well as the gerrymander. Evident was the sense that these citizens did not understand the meaning of democracy and had lost sight of their pivotal role within it.

However, the Protesters also lived with the problems of local survival, demonstrated in their arrests on the streets in 1967 and 1968. There was need for supporters. Their most obvious ally in the anti-war and civil liberties movement was one of the totalitarian stalwarts although one (as can be seen with hindsight) about to abandon this outlook for a far more independent one. The Communist Party of Australia was a willing ally — its Cold War associations and experiences nevertheless problematic to the students' dispositions.

The march of July 4<sup>th</sup> 1968 evidenced new alliances in the civil liberties movement with the recognition by students that alternative approaches needed consideration and specifically through the realisation by the Trade Union movement that the civil liberties movement might benefit them. The possibilities of this alliance were only real to the extent that both organizations had commonalities. The Trade Unions' historical connections, interests and current conditions needed to meet the aspirations of the marchers whose connections to organizations and to power were completely tenuous.

The relationship between the A.L.P. and the C.L.M. was much more hostile despite the role of notable individuals, who included Senator Georges and Manfred Cross, the inner-city M.L.A. There were the vociferous attacks on the C.L.M. in Parliament by Labor's Colin Bennett, M.L.A. for South Brisbane. The A.L.P. had a conservative past as well as a present. In the main, it offered little support for those driven by ideals.

Yet the students, or some of them, saw a real alliance as possible with the Trade Union movement. They said so rhetorically, placing themselves within the labourite tradition. Referring to the march on July 4<sup>th</sup> they "welcome [d] the fact that our trade union allies will be there ... Their struggle for civil liberty ... has been one fought without allies." (*Student Guerrilla* 4 July 1968). M.Thompson in S.D.A.s '*Action This Year*' foreshadowed a march: its date, 4<sup>th</sup> July, apparently symbolically uniting several

movement-articulated hypocrisies — the notion that Australia and America were fighting for independence in Vietnam, while civil liberties in Queensland faltered. However, it is equally possible at a time when Labor like the rest of Australia looked to America, that many Trade Unionists recognised America held up a standard of democracy that Queensland lacked.

There was no evidence of united meetings and shared strategic discussions between groups such as an alliance produced on campus. In early 1968, some unionists called a half-day strike to support the issue of civil liberties (Anderson 1970, p.5). This lacked official support. The move of unionists into the political sphere by grass-roots action was outside the worldview of the Trade Union hierarchy.

The T.L.C.'s feeling of the traditional responsibility to the more elector-sensitive A.L.P. was not so great as to prevent its President Jack Egerton participating officially on July 4th 1968. Trades Hall officially cooperated, the A.L.P. did not. About a thousand people, including many unionists, marched in this legal protest. Barclay noted, the law was now interpreted more leniently, if still without explanation (B[arclay], St. J[ohn], 1968, p. 430). The march proceeded in town in conformity with the permit. This march and its legality were more calculated on the part of both government and Protesters.

Ross Fitzgerald characterises the 1968 march as not attracting the radicals (Fitzgerald, 1985, p.564). However various *Student Guerrillas* advocated participation in it. They encouraged the march, seeing the gaining of the permit as a victory, based on pressure, and welcomed broad community support, especially from the Trade Unions, (*Student Guerrilla* 25 June 1968) who gave it in the last days prior to the march. This was unlike the Student Union who withdrew support the day before. (B[arclay], G. Dec. 1968, p.430). Other supporters too were fickle despite or because of their legally and organizationally embedded character. The march was the campus-based radicals' moment of unity with the wider community, yet the numbers suggested students themselves had lost a degree of interest, which appears in keeping with ambivalent feelings about the efficacy and experiences of marching. Many evidently did not feel solidarity, and particularly not with these organizations.

Alliance formed with institutions and organizations with legal characters and clear roles is problematical as a concept, compared with alliance formed between those of a similar social standing and status who do act together more broadly. Those who led institutions occupied a quite different political time and space. They had no room to embrace illegality, they did not generate new ways of thinking, did not thoroughly criticise, through immanent critique, the institutions around them, yet they did sense the unfairness which they long-experienced and yet in which they seemed enmeshed.

Those who were supporters but not allies in terms of the first illegal civil liberties march, the unions, became allies in the second. Yet they were fixed into the web of political time and space due to other priorities, interests and responsibilities. This precluded illegal actions. Least able to offer support were those most vulnerable to economic pressures and most tied to the government vicariously or directly. Permanent political organizations were subject to the state of local public life – *sans doctrines*. Those who occupied the public space as altruistic interest groups, eg Q.C.C.L., were more free but still constrained by the endemic conservatism and lack of wide support locally, while the more political organizations operated with their own interest paramount and knowing that breaking the law and collective action offered no advantages to their legitimacy. However it was noticeable by the standards of local possibilities that this list of supporters was socially a more broadly cast net than those included in the anti-war movement.

The C.L.M. mobilisation was launched from the supportive environment of the University and created interactions with partially sympathetic institutions, permanent political organizations and other groups who were bound by commitments to legal rather than illegal protests as well as with allies who committed themselves to an agreed range of means and ends, including the possibility of illegal protests.

The Brisbane Protests now had a following that was significant by local standards. There was the sense that something new had been instilled into the local consciousness — there were new political dissenters, without typical Cold War agendas. The Cold War conservatism and deeper cultural patterns had temporarily shifted and receded for the first time in Queensland. Absence of precursors notwithstanding, this march was in that regard a quite momentous event — the public birthplace of the period of the Brisbane Protests of more openly defiant behaviours, which spread nonetheless exceptionally slowly.

To many Protesters the point had been made at some cost in 1967. The organizers of the 1968 march reflected in their choices some of this awareness as well as the need to find allies of strength, given the treatment they previously experienced. Ideology played a role and at least a few of the most active Protesters began to think as if the excluded working classes were 'natural' allies.

## **5.0 OUTCOMES**

The lack of local support and the barriers to political change, which extended for another twenty-five years, do suggest that this Queensland environment was particularly oppressive for a liberal democracy. It was economic, cultural and political oppression, and the only change with deeply different agendas comes with generational characteristics; with slow occupational and industrial transformation in Queensland; and with the related blossoming of the inner-city as the playground, political meeting place, and domicile of the younger, wealthier and more educated. Institutionalisation certainly comes, but it is not typical modern political process described in social movement theories. It is rather generational. Queensland was a type of semi-democracy paralleling culturally, if in milder form, the retreat of the core-peripheral neo-fascist states of post-war Southern Europe, which Arrighi studied. This was one State in a modernising nation, unlike those cases.

In the quarter of a century that followed the 1967 march the Queensland economy and political culture changed and a new group of people came into political life within the labour movement in particular. There was generational/political changing of the guard in the Labor Party; white collar and professionals came to dominate Brisbane's work force making for a democratic consciousness which was far removed from the mainstream public sphere which dominated in Queensland, despite Nicklin's brief flirtation with a conservative post-totalitarianism before he represented the dominant classes as Premier. Liberalism with radical, but often just belief-orientated rather than utilitarian, foundations slowly spread. The Unions, conservative still, and inner-city located A.L.P. politicians, demonstrated the virtue of longevity and survival, lacking often in protest organizations. They permitted the slow accretion of new ideas.

The Queensland T.L.C sponsored several marches in the late seventies with the C.L.C.C. It was not the same organization, although O'Neill recalls suggesting the same name be used by the new protesters. The character of the activists changed however, both in location and composition. In fact a full circle occurred as regards the relationship of town and gown, although, according to Chris Rootes, this was not just empirical information but results from the ideological reconstruction of their relative importance and the appeal made to these new cohorts in preference to students. Rootes's analysis suggests that the activists of this later era, now Marxists, appealed to both on- and off-campus groups, while preferring the latter. Yet Rootes felt they ignored their most responsive constituency still on campus. By 1979, the majority of participants in marches for civil liberties were trade unionists and members of the labour movement with the result of fewer participants and greater coherence in the roots of motivating ideologies. Generational change and the changing economic substratum, not least the new directions in labour force characteristics, came into play. It was white collar and professional groups whom Rootes identified as a significant section of arrestees in the 1979-83 era (1983, pp.57-58). Others have commented on the ongoing role of women in the Protests indicating that the intense backwardness of Queensland rested strongly on a patriarchy which women recognised as needing broad opposition (Mills & Duffield 1994, p.203).

The ban on street marching in the mid-eighties marginally lent weight to the division within the Conservative coalition, with the Liberals' insistence that reform was necessary. According to Colin Hughes and Rosemary Whip, Civil Liberties were the second most important issue for Labor voters in 1977-78, while in 1983 the second most important issue was Queensland democracy. A Queensland Council for Civil Liberties became a permanent part of the political landscape at this time. In 1983 after the Coalition split, Terry White, the then Liberal leader, promised reform of the street march laws (Hughes & Whip 1991, p.61-66). The Liberal Party was completely powerless to effect political change. From these dealings derived a sense of a lack of integrity about the Liberal Party and more substantially a lack of a constituency, which is part of the Queensland difference.

However, the slow pace of actual legal change indicated a distinctive culture and environment. The distinctive adversary, a weak public sphere, opposition social movements and their locations produced a strong influence on local events as much as

intentional influences played a role. Change was most noticeably generational. The slow industrialisation of Queensland and modernisation (Federally-driven) required extensive bureaucracies, occasioning the growth of a white collar and professional work force, with increased prospects of this more doctrinal mood spreading through a generational cohort.

## **6.0 CONCLUSION**

This section concludes the chapter by discussing the relevance of the analytical model to the primary sources. The analysis of the Civil Liberties Movement suggests the analytical model's relevance, especially in reference to the influence of post-totalitarianism and local contexts. The more general social movement theories identify external processes, internal movement deliberations and interactions that prove invaluable to the characterisation. However, certain problems emerge with these theories. Beside the fact that, at times, these general theories are not consistent with the primary evidence, some terms used in these general theories prove elusive and insubstantial. 'Solidarity' is one such term and one central to Tarrow's understanding. 'Democratic process' is another term used by Tarrow that needs review. The adversary's nature suggests a particularity, which extends beyond Tarrow's overarching theory, a theory which too readily assumes correspondences between Anglo-American and European democracies. Melucci's understanding of culture and cultural conflict needs further consideration in the light of the analysis of civil liberties, because there were the beginnings of a cultural critique in the Protest activities, but not one consciously directed at a new economy/society. While Melucci's understanding of the (male-dominant) new left suggests this deeper critique was unlikely (as would surely his recognition that Queensland was not on the cusp of post-industrialism), the problem of "newness" of perspective already proves problematic. These ideas articulated in the C.L.M. were largely new (local precursors were few), in Queensland. Habermas's reference to modernity and broad cultural shifts suggests that the Brisbane Protesters suffered cultural short-sightedness. They could have made much more headway because the underlying cultural structures of modernisation were partly in their favour. However in the short-term, which necessarily pre-occupied them, since they wanted to protest about the war, there was no obvious way to them, it seems, of mobilising public debate towards a more ambitious and comprehensive view of modernity.



It is difficult for theories to explain the events both with sufficient generality, as Habermas certainly does, and with sufficient specificity. Tarrow's "solidarity" fails analytically as a term because of its lack of complexity in definition. In Melucci there is evidence of over-generalisation.

The emergence of a radical democratic perspective in Brisbane in the form of the C.L.M. underpinned the particular influence of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism. Models of national and State geo-political contexts assist in characterising the way ideas were re-interpreted in local settings through both their relationship to the adversary and to pre-existing cohorts of resistance. Yet contexts both constrict and provide new opportunities, and more clearly set parameters. These parameters, explored as contexts, assist characterisation. The section reviews the analytical model in the light of these reflections on the material in this chapter.

In Queensland, the adversary was so entrenched culturally that the change was protracted and generational. Was Queensland a democracy? In Queensland's case the particularity of a society, under the influence of economic forces that are not strictly industrial, nor urban, yet are market driven, must be cited as creating a set of distinctive possibilities and limitations for social movements. To elaborate on these findings the thesis argues that proper understanding of the Civil Liberties Movement requires the breadth of the analytical model. The many assertions of theorists and historians prove problematic individually. Yet, in combination, they provide essential insights.

All the Civil Liberties Movement's concerns are not new, confirming Tarrow's outlook. For example the Protesters' ideals found in civil disobedience, individual morality-based radical politics, civil liberties, passive resistance and non-violence, a democratic outlook and the idea of democracy as an individually-lived and experienced life are in the main part of the Romantic tradition. Yet before these Protests, this element was missing in Queensland and often in Australia's traditions of democracy. Therefore the thesis draws attention to the debate about newness by recognising that this radical perspective was part of a post-war radical Romantic post-totalitarian consciousness,

which both includes and reached beyond John Stuart Mill's classical theory and is mixed with the influences of new third world resistances and signs of an emerging women's movement. There is newness in this respect, especially in Queensland, one that requires interpreters from pre-existing intellectual circles as recipients of new ideas as well as the influence of immigrants.

In a society without a political consciousness of a certain type, contention does not spread in the short term. The spread of contention over key democratic issues, as Tarrow envisages, occurred very slowly. The relevant Brisbane political organizations, characterised by being *sans doctrines* as far as public discourses went, did not compete, so much as slowly and ponderously respond. Similarly, the competition suggested by Tarrow did not exist as limited contention grew. In fact students worked with the Unions in the 1968 legal march rather than battling for ideological hegemony. Isolation in a very conservative environment operated as a force for co-operation as much as for competition. The interactions are distinctive in this regard and in this particular context. Even interaction with the Communist Party was important as they too realised that they must unite with diverse groups in conditions of democratic stagnation. Therefore, the Protests were distinctive in terms of almost complete reliance on a few supportive institutions and Protesters, whose strategic outlook reflected co-operative survival rather than competition.

Finally it was not until more mature and professional cohorts formed the new Queensland Council for Civil Liberties and a generational and occupational shift elevated civil liberties to central significance at elections twenty years after the marches, that change occurred. These are important characteristics, which Tarrow's viewpoint does not explain or point to, since, while they are processes of change, they are not through the political processes that he describes as typical of democratic contentions. 'Democracy' proves too imprecise as terminology despite his subsidiary desire to emphasise also the character of the adversary, while his understanding of ideas is too shallow to see where challenges might be less typical of traditions of conflict in democracies. He makes no room for semi-democracies nor for generational change.

As noted, some problems of terminology arise from the use of the analytical model. 'Solidarity' in particular is problematic. Variability in the depth of solidarity and in its

meaning point to the imprecision of such a term. Solidarity must in this case have qualifications like that of “unstable”, “defiant rather than commitment-based” or “short-term and easily confused with transitory elation”. Commitment appears a more useful measure if its components of time, continuity and belief are assessed. If it is solidarity, as Tarrow thinks, that is the power that activist leaders harness, it significantly appears a chimera in the case of Brisbane. The aspiration for freedom that drew students to the first march was to do with a personal freedom and defiance, which can be distinguished from a collective and deeper sense of the resistance to denial of freedom by a socially stratified section of the community experiencing oppression over long periods of time. Solidarity was in this circumstance a broader commitment to a view about agencies of change in stratified societies. The one that drew the students was more momentary, spontaneous and individual for the most part, the evidence suggests.

Recognition that solidarity requires shared viewpoints at a deeper level, even a level more akin to Melucci’s idea of identity, needs greater consideration. Habermas has a richer view of the possibility of shared projects. The act of conscience of 1967 might be described as expressive rather than communicative, in the sense of an intention to engage the public at every level in what was a sincere and therefore in this case long-term project. ‘Solidarity’ does not clearly distinguish these outlooks nor allow other qualifications and precision.

There is thus a mixture of conclusions in regard to Tarrow. Certainly, the pre-existing cohorts operated to articulate the civil liberties Protests, whose ideals were capable of reception and orchestration in the University. However the public sphere was so debilitated that change was a generational process, with survival in a semi-democracy underwriting the strategy of these claimants’ demands for intellectually well-established rights. Moreover Tarrow’s reliance on the critical resource of solidarity, which is his view of the currency of social movements, is inadequately defined and as such is of questionable use to social movements and to his theories of them.

An additional point of dissatisfaction with Tarrow is the following. He holds that the spread of contention from universities to trade unions is a feature of the democratic political process and therefore unremarkable. In Brisbane, however, this spread does not occur in the way which Tarrow’s theory suggests. Rather the initial Protests

stimulated very belated actions of support from trade union bureaucracy's leaders for a subsequent meeting and a march in 1968. In fact the centrality of the University suggests Melucci's view and Habermas's, that those outside traditional industrial conflict are the likely sources of protest.

The intellectual contestation at this point was focused on individual-morality and political factors rather than culturally focused on a contested mode of production. This is despite the implicit presence that cultural contestation in Romanticism, through the idea of moral and authentic work connected to the idea of "the activist". The cultural interpretation implied in the resistance to the moulding of personas by new cultural oppressions and the resistance of the activist as a new persona underwrote a new view of politics rather than economy at this point. Further some signs of the articulation of a new persona appear through the attacks on the conformism of citizens yet this does not suggest that Melucci's model applies, nor is it entirely excluded.

Queensland, while having a burgeoning tertiary education section, was not post-industrial but rather semi-industrial, with initiatives in education more intended to boost primary and secondary industry. That students were prominent and dominant in the C.L.M. is not explained by the presence of post-industrialism but rather refers to a transmission of a new set of international ideas — radical Romantic post-totalitarianism — in a University with links in its funding structures to modernisation by the Federal government.

Habermas's sense of the possibility of changes in societies in which modernisation does have purchase needs further consideration. The Protesters couldn't, it appeared, harness any such-like expectations nor did youthful defiance predispose them to look as deeply for these. Nevertheless the C.L.M. represented these possibilities in some of its more articulate spokespersons, as indicated in the analysis of their outlooks. Habermas would regard this sort of civil liberties march, as seen in Brisbane, as typical of an expanding modernity. There was much in the C.L.M leaflets and other material which argued for reform to the public sphere in regard to newspaper monopolies, the right to dissent, philistinism and authoritarianism, which, as criticism, was consistent with ideals of modernity. This critique by the civil libertarians of tradition-bound and corrupted institutions was just this advocacy of modernity. They had the possibility

eventually to “harvest the changes” of modernisation as Habermas alone implicitly suggests in his account.

However as the next chapter relates this impulse to immanent critique and to the potential to advance claims to modernity intellectually receded behind questions of colonisation and resistance in the face of war. This war appeared significantly more important in the minds of the Protesters than the absence of civil liberties in Queensland and the connections between these two factors too obtuse. Nevertheless the marches had delivered a sharp point of dissonance between young tertiary students and some workers, and the Government. Habermas offers an important insight relevant to the potential of movements. The civil liberties movement re-emerged in the late `eighties but was contained by the achievement of new legislation by Goss. Had the original movement developed as a vehicle of more ambitious and comprehensive views about modernity, greater effect on creating radical critique may have emerged. Yet to sustain this would have required resources, patience, greater intellectual investigation and a capacity to see beyond the war and Conscription or to include it in this critique. Instead these were all areas of limitation of the Protesters

The historical understanding, presented in this chapter, of those acting on a limited and emerging belief in modernity, such as that of the C.L.M., against considerable odds, might suggest that the very breadth of Habermas’s view conflicts with its practical application, in these historical contexts which are oppressive. Yet, in fact, the outcomes may sustain his relevance, in this very breadth and the strength of his concepts, which are both ontologically-rooted and reviewed over vast expanses of history in such adverse circumstances. The Protesters then needed to be bound by such understandings to fully sustain their development. More than half did not sustain it for more than a few months. The explanation lies in the shallowness of raw defiance, the danger of the task continued as mass-protest and in the dominating influence of other historical events but ultimately to their limitations.

However while this general dynamic of conflict between modernity and that which stands in its way does explain critical elements at stake in the C.L.M., it is general. It gives no particular explanation to ideas such as post-totalitarianism, but improves on Tarrow’s pre-established democratic processes as the explanatory model, since these

processes were so corrupted in Queensland. The long-term vision of social movements as embedded and long-developing, makes more sense in the case of the outcomes of the C.L.M.

This Queensland society may require a terminology like 'semi-democracy', to extrapolate from a term like 'semi-peripheral' suggested by Wallerstein to describe economies like Queensland's. The thesis rejects Marxist determinism but notes the possible extrapolations through Arrighi and Wallerstein to a Janus-face of semi-peripheral status — one modernising and the other reactionary. That Queensland has strong reactionary elements but was part of a more outward looking and modernising national economy might explain its specificity as a political economy with a particular culture.

As regards Feminist analysis, women's initiatives on their own behalf were precursor actions. Women participated and suffered arrest. There was evidence then of a change in women's consciousness from the 1950s and of a new direction and militancy in these precursors and participants. However the leadership or public roles in the main belonged to men, while early women's liberationists supported these activities. At least there is no contrary evidence until Rootes's study indicated women's particular ambivalence after the first march. At this stage feminism helps characterise the activities as largely male-led but also indicates its relevance in the finding that women took strong and initiating public roles which persisted, given that patriarchy's stranglehold in Queensland appeared to have a reactionary political presence which could not be ignored in other spheres. All these characteristics affected this Movement.

Australia's and Queensland's lack of intellectual interest in doctrines and lack of intellectual vibrancy was a pall over the Brisbane Protest's viability in spreading to a broader public. Evidence of the context in which the Protests took place suggests that if liberalism was *sans doctrines* in Australia, it appeared even more so in Queensland. Certainly, the adversary was not completely different from other Australian, American and European versions where police restricted expression. In these countries too, laws existed which were geared to suppress expressive grass-roots political displays. Yet Bills of Rights, supportive newspapers and movements already present elsewhere made a difference, and their absence forced the Protesters to think about democracy

more comprehensively than if the trappings and benefits existed and could then be dismissed as unsatisfactory.

However distinct possibilities existed for the effect on Protesters' intellectual outlook, which was broad and encompassing, given local absences and international presences as regards radical ideas. It is difficult to see either international or national issues as direct causation of this civil protest, given the reactionary anti-democratic stand of the adversary and deeper orientations of the dominant classes. There is strong evidence that the distinctive appearance of a civil liberties movement central to the Brisbane Protests and not to contemporaneous others nationally, reflects this State character in particular. Ironically the very backwardness of Queensland and its lack of an industrial and class culture allowed new radical ideas to take root, which are less constrained by Marxism-Leninism of the 4<sup>th</sup> International and Maoist kind. This challenges preconceptions about Queensland in some respects, but still the movement was small, as the context theory would lead one to suspect, proving this a useful part of the analytical model in this respect.

Post-totalitarianism remains the most precise explanation of the rise of the C.L.M., especially its re-awakening of a Romantic quotient lost in Anglo-American mainstream democratic projects. Yet while it is a contemporaneous view, it is not a socially or politically dynamic explanation but rather an intellectual and broad historical account. However the importance of decisions by adversaries, including to resist protests and to fight a war, indicates that a more dynamic view needs fleshing out, even if Tarrow's political processes, which are here the most detailed, do not always accord with the Brisbane situation. The reference to Tarrow's hypothesised role for pre-existing groups, precursors, allies, some roles of the adversary, is useful for the characterisation. However, neither his typology of protest cycles and democratic societies nor his view of the effect of the adversary is adequate for the characterisation. Melucci's picture does not fit and Habermas's views lack applicability for the explanation of dynamic relations but are useful in the long-term perspective.

Solidarity proves an elusive concept. The local context is crucial not just in its Anglo-American and University attachment but also in the power of the critique of Australian utilitarianism, and particularly of Queensland's fundamentalism in a semi-democratic

semi-industrial society, which the Protesters embraced. In Queensland this radicalism was, further, unattached to organized Marxist sects and so was distinctive in its openness. Through the University staff and students' ability to digest the new post-totalitarianism, the absence of precursors left a clean slate and, driven by the local adversaries' authoritarianism, radical liberal and intellectual post-totalitarianism took grip in the Brisbane Protest, albeit in a short-term isolated, and largely unsupported cohort.





## **CHAPTER 3**

# **THE ANTI-VIETNAM WAR AND ANTI-CONSCRIPTION MOVEMENTS**

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

With the intention to influence the public sphere, through demonstrations and dissemination of educational material, by cohorts of largely grass-roots activists, the Anti-War Movement in the Brisbane Protests included mass mobilisations and extensive campaigns. As elsewhere in the West, these deeper and more internal-to-the-nation dissatisfactions with the Cold War galvanised the opposition to other adversaries by new cohorts of dissenters with quite tangential connection to the Anti-War movement, yet within the shared horizon of broadly emerging, post-war critiques of Cold War societies. The Anti-War Movement, despite the limitations of its often simplistically-globalised perspective, was therefore a much deeper, more prolonged and consistently orchestrated set of activities than the C.L.M. It may be compared favourably in these respects with the anti-stratifications movements dealt with in Chapter Six, although these comparisons also have their limitations.

A spirit of rebellion coursed through the veins of an almost politically-lifeless community that had accepted the connection between dissent, treason and communist subversion, under the hegemonic dominance of Cold War ideology in Australia. Therefore, within the historical period stipulated in the thesis title, this Anti-War Movement is the most politically significant of all those discussed. Furthermore, in the sense that it challenged the core of national identity, it is also a cultural movement, even one within the ambit of a new economic outlook for Australia, in independence and autonomy.

This chapter focuses on matters of life and death and so engages a greater intensity of feeling. War invokes a natural gravity. It is a central defining moment in the intertwining of individual human lives and history. Even more, in modern times, it is a demonstration of the ultimate power of the state through which the lives of its citizens are pitched against those of the state's enemy. With war, politics can lose its mundane connotations — it makes nations, and remakes their identities and new heroes. Even politicians become statespersons, or greater-than-usual villains.

There were strongly-fashioned national and international influences on both the contexts and the resistances of the Anti-War Movement in the Brisbane Protests. The adversaries' decisions to go to war with the aid of Conscripted soldiers highlighted the dominant classes' fundamental culture and political-economic framework, which were

deeply historically-rooted in the Australian consciousness. Australia's alliance with a dominant Caucasian global power was so fundamental to these frameworks, accepted in the national psyche and household practices, that the thesis relies on the description of the dominant architecture as embedding American foreign policy and much of that country's culture, firmly within this hegemonic and structural framework. Australia rested as a subservient state, almost within, but formally allied to, an aspiring global state at war with another aspiring global state — the U.S.S.R. The meaning of that for Australia in this instance of the Vietnam War provides an outline of the orientations of the adversaries — the American and Australian governments of the day. For these reasons and because of the immediate gravity of the adversary's decisions to go to war, this analysis of the Anti-War Movement provides critical keys for understanding all of the Brisbane Protests, in their specific and general features.

The basically activist component of the Anti-War Movement developed a distinct identity, yet one which divides with internal conflicts. While having continuities with longer-held, counter-hegemonic views about national autonomy and, more particularly, with these in reference to opposition to Conscription to a foreign war, the radical university activists were separate from established political organizations' expressions of such oppositional values and beliefs. This distinctiveness separated them even from those who were initially supporters, and then temporary and very guarded allies. This identity of the original, soon predominantly, student activist Protesters was specifically anti-American. They articulated the view that America was the imperialist enemy and that Australia was complicit in this. There were other differences as well, as Summy (1986) indicates, regarding illegality, the role of the A.L.P., parliamentary roads to change and the need for socialism/libertarianism.

These conflicting outlooks divided the Protesters, creating the desire in those with established organizational agendas, particularly those initiating the later Moratorium movement, to take hold of the Protest movements and forge their somewhat contrived alliances mostly on their terms and therefore initially competitively. Yet, in the turmoil of these divisions and the debates between those who were just activists without established longer-term organizational attachment, but with often solid ideologies, and those attached to such organizations and without those perspectives, (certainly without these fore-grounded), the A.L.P. changed, in an historic manner. It also came to office, after twenty-five years of Cold War ostracism. The analysis of the Moratorium movement brings light to the dynamics of this conflict and outcome.

Through the A.L.P. finally, Australians did assert national autonomy in the new policies of the Whitlam Government in 1972. This critical struggle about national identity in terms of an internationalist, as opposed to a subservient outlook, underlies the historical import of this Movement, even if the outcome was the application of a perspective of national autonomy rather than the anti-imperialist internationalism preferred by many of the radical and activist cohort. Yet it is their identity, actions and reactions which are the main focuses of this chapter on the Anti-War movement within the Brisbane Protests.

While these originating and numerically-dominant radicals still drew upon radical Romantic post-totalitarianism, which invigorated debates about conscience, imperialism and war, particularly about Conscription, changes in perspective appeared. They soon drew on new, more ideologically solid and less open streams in it. They encouraged new anti-imperialist, pro-global-national-liberation-front perspectives. These initiators, predominantly student radicals, reintroduced a dogmatism and simplification, which undermined the original openness of the Brisbane Protests, evident in the C.L.M. as discussed in the previous chapter. That openness had been apparent in its burgeoning, if, at that stage underdeveloped, capacity to draw from the best of liberalism, Marxism and other threads of radical Romantic understanding. Some of these Anti-War activists struggled with the complexities of the implications of the global conflict. They hypothesised a global system, which did not do justice to the reality (made more evident by historical hindsight) that socialism's totalitarian record demonstrated even less capacity for justice than that of liberal democracy (difficult as that was to imagine as American napalm rained down on the Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians). Yet, others continued with the project of defining an internationalism, which did not rely on the mainstream dogma of the Cold War camps nor the splintered oppositions to it in ideologically-tight sects in the West, promising as these seemed in breaking the hegemony of the two nuclear armed protagonists. They, rather, hoped for a new perspective found eclectically within a more "mainstream" radical Romantic post-totalitarianism.

There was thus a second division, and this within the group of activists, which emerged between the more astute and sophisticated radical perspectives and those more ideologically solid which usually were these splinter ideologies. Yet this solidification of ideologies was wider than this and the analysis points to its apparent association with the intensity of the dynamic conflict between adversaries and activists over fundamental

orientations. This chapter analyses all these disparate aspects of the Anti-War Movement as part of the description of the Brisbane Protests.

The aim of this chapter is to test the usefulness of the analytical model in analysing the Anti-War Movement. Spelt out in Chapter one, this model, we recall, consists of three frames and multiple elements to maximise the analytical potential of research undertaken on events of the type found in the Brisbane Protests. The model's explanatory function connects to its subsidiary role of reflections on shortfalls — theoretical and specific — which flow from the application of the model to the primary sources.

The thesis finds Tarrow's theories of competition, incorporation of movements and conflict relevant, but questions his capacity to understand a cultural dimension in the challenge of activists to a national identity. Melucci's accent on these dimensions again proves valuable, if the reasons for their relevance are not his, and Habermas assists the description of the Conscription debate by his reference to modernity. Marxism provides the foundations for a reassessment of the dilemmas pertinent to national identity, in countries like Australia and feminism's insights are important in indicating women's contributions to public life. However the importance of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism most clearly defines the Protesters and indicates a degree of specificity in the Brisbane Anti-War Movement in its broad middle-ground interpretation of this cultural shift, while the national dimension and Whitlam's gathering up of the forces of change appears idiosyncratic within the limits of broad economic structures noted by world systems theory.

#### A play on words

In the era under discussion, the word 'marbles' conjured up the process by which National Service via the random fall of small, round, appropriately-numbered objects - marbles - became mandatory. In Victoria, this allocation used the same machine as the lottery (Hamel-Green 1983). *Marbles* was also the masthead of a Brisbane anti-conscription movement's publicity sheet. It was an innocent child's game too and perhaps this masthead was a nostalgic emblem for young men. For young men, their friends, lovers and families, everything was at stake. Male youthfulness was unmistakably politicised.

## 2.0 ORIENTATIONS AND THE ADVERSARIES

The Coalition's decision, in November 1964, to reintroduce Conscription, and, in April 1965, to send combat troops to Vietnam re-committed it to a bipartisan-orchestrated set of racial, cultural, military and economic presuppositions, which had placed Australia under the wing of the Cold War superpower, the U.S.A. (Dalrymple 2003). An American-led free world identity subsumed much of Australia's identity (White 1992). The complex presuppositions created and rested on interlocking relationships designed to deal with enemies and threats. These ideas and interlocking relationships constituted the adversaries.

The decisions to conscript young men and to go to war were a culmination of the national adversaries' Cold War conformity based on anti-socialism not anti-totalitarianism, as well as utilitarianism and liberalism *sans doctrines* which historically prevailed. The Indonesian insurgency, and the fear of the hypothesised southern march of Communism, intensified the Australian–American controlling classes' fears of the enemy. Australia's subservience to U.S.A. immortalised by Prime Minister Harold Holt's phrase 'All the way with L.B.J.' (U.S. President Lyndon Baines Johnson) reflected its culmination in the Vietnam commitment. Without further investigation, for a large group of Australians, racism or cultural prejudice justified these perspectives.

Conscription seemed a concomitant of the war, despite implying that young Australians could not voluntarily see the connections between their survival and the outcomes of a war far away. The weight of presuppositions and the benefits of the American Alliance did not penetrate a new generation so readily. The decision for conscription for overseas service was an admission of lack of legitimacy by tapping into one of a very few articulated political principles, widely-shared in the Australian community — an hostility to conscription that prevailed historically. Typically the issue, as with most Australian politically-felt "principles", was also a question of nation, since Conscription for service within Australia was not so condemned.

Treason, civil unrest and the undermining of law and order became ropes by which the adversary wished to metaphorically hang the Protesters and hold onto the alliance. The presuppositions and economic and political relationships that underpinned the adversaries before the Protests did not even require bi-partisan ratification. Casting the Labor Party as suspicious despite its professed and real allegiance to most of the pre-

eminent conservative adversary's tenets, Menzies, the great architect of post-war political culture, ruled without challenge. The Menzies period ended about the time of the decisions regarding the Vietnam War and Conscription, although conservatism's dominance of the political landscape did not end then.

While the Labor Party adopted a slightly more subdued assessment, especially about Conscription, both parties saw the U.S.A. as a foundational ally. It was because of the centrality of the American alliance that Vietnam became a pivot of divided Australian consciousness. Its ideological moment rippled the smooth waters of 'developmentalism', utilitarianism and suburban industrialism and, finally, the conservatism predicated on twenty years of Liberal Party domination and the longer colonial history.

### **3.0 THE PROTESTERS: 1. PRE-MORATORIUM FORMATIONS**

The section begins by discussing the precursors to the Anti-War Movement. It then turns to the many groups that made up the early allies and supporters in the pre-Moratorium anti-war and anti-conscription campaigns: the absence and presence of groups, how they joined and defined themselves separately, and their outlooks, location and influences. It is important to point out that the precursors to the civil liberties movement were also precursors to this movement, just as the resistances to Western colonialism may much more tangentially also form part of the precursor influences. However there is a sense that the list becomes endless unless the connections are immediate. The list actually chosen is done so for its analytical significance and historical immediacy in terms of the Anti-War Movement of the Brisbane Protests.

The Brisbane Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (B.C.N.D.) was the important precursor in its distinctive fate and early demise. Yet an array of early allies require analysis to establish their characteristics and their distinctiveness. Initially non-institutional and non-established political organizations became allies. These groups with grass-roots orientations defined the main thrust of the Movement, in its initial phases as discussed in this sub-section. Early supporters are those groups with an historical propensity to join the Movement in terms of outlooks, despite those reservations supporters usually have and their other propensity to competition.



The pre-Moratorium phases indicated significant involvement of old left groups with various new groups also making their presence felt. Nonetheless there appeared a definite drift to the University as the source of Protest and thinking about the war, while the Anti-Conscription campaign's activities, which were closer to immediate needs of those not wishing to fight in this war, remained more evenly balanced between its off-campus and on-campus concerns.

The critical early allies' umbrella organization Y.C.A.C. had an informal connection with an established political organization connection. Indicating this interweaving of allies and supporters institutions, especially the Trade Unions and mainstream political organizations, orientated themselves to the Anti-War Movement, providing varying degrees and types of support and finally conditional alliance.

### The Precursor

The precursor that requires the most attention to establish the characteristics of the Brisbane Anti-Vietnam War and Anti-Conscription Movement is the B.C.N.D., which had a distinctively absent role in Brisbane. In Queensland, the old left, in the form of the Communist - dominated Peace Committee, took up the C.N.D. outlooks, at least in style, in Hiroshima Day activities. V.A.C was not formed in Brisbane with the input of the town group, the B.C.N.D. B.C.N.D. dropped out of existence, indicating a distinctive absence of a major source elsewhere of a new consciousness, except as it slowly formed separately on the campus by a new cohort with no direct connection to B.C.N.D.

In Sydney and Melbourne, the C.N.D.'s influence flowed into the Vietnam protest formations. The C.N.D. in these cities formed the anti-Vietnam and Conscription groups with Save Our Sons (S.O.S.) and Youth Campaign Against Conscription (Y.C.A.C.) (Summy 1988, p.253; Murphy 1993, p.144). There was continuity, in Southern states, between the C.N.D. and the Vietnam anti-war movement (Summy & Saunders 1986, p.35) so that, according to Murphy, in Sydney and Melbourne at least, the C.N.D. was "the driving force" in the formation of the Vietnam and anti-Conscription movements (Murphy 1993, p.144). In Sydney, they became the Vietnam Action Committee (V.A.C.) (Summy 1988, p.254-255). In Queensland, students formed V.A.C. (O'Neill 1976, 'The Rise and Fall of Student Consciousness', *20 May Semper Floreat*, pp.11-13,36)

In Australia, the C.N.D., according to Summy, and Saunders as well as Murphy, a recent author writing on this era, helped usher in a new post-war non-aligned peace movement with its militancy and “alternative style” (Summy & Saunders 1986; Murphy 1993). In fact, according to Summy and Saunders, the sea change towards other types of radical activism, rather than the timid version offered by the old left at the height of the Cold War, was evident in the early anti-war and C.N.D. protests in Southern states by the early sixties (Summy & Saunders 1986, p.35). However, the early marches in Queensland were a pale reflection of these and the mantle of such protest fell to the old left.

In Queensland, the traditional anti-intellectual labour movement took up the C.N.D. mantle in name, if not in attitude and outlook. According to O'Brien, the Hiroshima Day organizers in 1966 managed, in addition to their usual memorial activity, to organize a long march (approx 40 kilometres) from Ipswich to Brisbane in the 1966 Easter period. Here the old left Peace Committee's activity was derivative “[E]cho[ing] activity in England, the long marches that had been organized by the peace movement during the Ban the Bomb era. Twenty people marched. (1992, p.196-7). Even the leadership of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation reflected the weakness of the local chapter of the C.N.D. In this case a Trotskyite / Pabloite leaning member, Joe Harris was its principal advocate and Secretary (Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation n.d.).

To summarise the distinctiveness of the precursor: the restricted public sphere in Queensland was exceptional as regards the C.N.D.'s role. Its local demise allowed other groups and in the main, the old left, to hold sway over the new Protesters' concerns and idioms, which elsewhere signalled a sea change in the peace movement. Harris's and the Peace Committee's role indicated this special role for the C.N.D. could not manifest itself directly in Brisbane, although some change was to appear in relation to Harris's own allegiances.

### Early Allies

The next part of this sub-section characterising the pre-Moratorium Protesters discusses the early allies, analysing, in particular, their outlooks and social locations. There were many groups, often small, but concerned with the national adversary's decisions in 1964 and 1965. Under consideration also is the evidence of change in the peace movement in Brisbane as compared with the peace movement nationally.

The early allies were young Socialist League (Y.S.L.) Save Our Sons (S.O.S.), the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (W.I.L.P.F.), the Quakers and the labour movement, who interacted with and through the Youth Campaign against Conscription (Y.C.A.C.). The thesis discusses the emergence of the Society for Democratic Action (S.D.A.) in detail due to the central role it played in the early protest rallies.

The list of early allies, reinforces earlier comments about the absence of the B.C.N.D. Rather than the break with the old left happening in Queensland, a very few groups and importantly some of them women's groups, reflected changes to the Cold War framework. C.N.D. or its variants centrally represented these changes elsewhere in the West. The groups formed in response to decisions about Vietnam and Conscription formed, partly, within the consciousness of the Cold War. In the Communists' case this was in defence of the 'other side'. Therefore the opposition to both camps in the Cold War, which so well defines radical Romantic post-totalitarian and new thinking in peace movements at that time, was not so definite, in their case.

Many members of Y.S.L. worked closely with the students in S.D.A. S.D.A. was an off-campus organization at all times and Y.S.L. was an important major component of this off-campus presence. S.D.A.'s activists intention to maintain a city rather than just a University based presence was important. Especially by 1968 S.D.A. made use of young worker member's trades and skills in printing and in other areas. Publications had critical support from young workers as activists, typists, printers. Several key activities, a central headquarters and printing presses were off-campus by 1968. Yet Y.S.L. was largely absorbed into the student orientated organization S.D.A. while their contribution again emerged more independently with Foco discussed in the following chapter.

In Queensland, Save Our Sons was a vocal early ally. This organization sprang to life in Brisbane, with the decision about Conscription and Vietnam in early June 1965. In its first newsletter, it identified its intention to protest against the National Service Act and the war. Its formation in Queensland involved a familiar face to the Protesters, Vilma Ward. Led by Ms. Ward, evidence of their persistence and character appeared in a national newsletter, which praised her as "[t]his enthusiastic woman [who] recruited 56 women to stand for one hour in Anzac Square on Wednesday, June 30th. [1965]" (S.O.S

Newsletter No.1). [The day Queensland conscripts left for army camp]. They repeated this protest on this special date over several years.

Murphy brands Save Our Sons nationally as middle class, since this was encapsulated in their attire of “white dresses with pink bows” (1993, p.144). Vilma Ward’s involvement does not suggest this class association since she was a Union official’s wife. On the somewhat speculative assumption that Union officials do not usually have middle class wives and that Ward’s “charges” were like herself in class/ marital allegiance, they differed from the national image. This was a pattern of the ongoing central role of the old left, demonstrated already in the role of the old left in the Hiroshima Day protests in Brisbane.

While W.I.L.P.F. might have fitted the stereotype of middle-class more convincingly, it however was slow to come to Brisbane, suggesting that middle-class influences as well as new elements of post-totalitarianism, growing elsewhere, found here the soil outside the university less fertile. Approximately five decades after its European originators’ foundation of the organization after the Great War, W.I.L.P.F. established a branch in Brisbane in 1964 (*The Courier- Mail*, 11 July 1996, p.5). W.I.L.P.F. played a role in the Conscription debates of 1940 (Summy & Saunders p.29) although apparently not locally. Juanita Laver, mentioned in this thesis, as a student activist was the daughter of a W.I.L.P.F. member and a central woman activist in S.D.A. Then, parents of tertiary students rather than spouses of Trade Union officials, were much more likely to be middle-class. The decision about Conscription caused ripples in the Brisbane community but failed to activate a new middle-class protest constituency despite W.I.L.P.F.’s belated arrival. There is no evidence that their activity matched S.O.S.

The Quakers’ affinity with a new and youthful left was not unusual, since the old left fronts included persons of religious commitment in the peace committees (Summy & Saunders 1986, pp.29, 33). However, in the new circumstances, the Quakers’ transcendental and absolutist moral position was more important as part of the new protest directions associated with the Civil Liberties Movement and the Anti-Conscription Movement. Their strongest contribution was to individual conscientious objection, central to the Anti-Conscription Movement. Yet, as they were a religious movement, they were not officially interested in the contemporary emergence of streams of post-totalitarianism, which could bring together a new movement of youthful and other Protesters challenging the Cold War ideology, with a new spirit that recognised the

failings of both ideologies. Their youth nevertheless joined with others concerned with peace and Conscription.

Considering national developments, Summy usefully contrasts old left-dominated post-war peace happenings with later events of the mid-sixties. Old left Protesters relied on “rituals ... prominent speakers ... and film showings ... [with] no pretence of ... peace through socialism.” (1988, pp.240, 251-2). He means surely no *public* pretence. However, Summy holds that there was a progression towards greater militancy, especially after the very well attended Australians for International Co-operation and Disarmament (A.I.C.D.) national Conference of 1959 (1988, p.253). It reflected Cold War fears and the emergence of nuclear issues. It is unclear if this was a deep change of direction however, since militancy is only one parameter of change. This change, miniscule as it seems, appeared only in belated form in Brisbane. The Communist-dominated Peace Committee remained limited in militancy but the nuclear issue did give it a new direction which was more palatable than its association with the Soviet cause alone.

The C.P.A., quintessentially, in its mainstream political outlooks, maintained the Cold War approach of conservative survival, typical of totalitarian perspectives emanating from the C.P.S.U. at this time. This conservatism was despite the interest here in C.N.D. by some members of the labour movement. Globally, in any case, Communist peace groups took an interest in the issue. The old left hegemony described below remained unchallenged in Brisbane in the early allies' formations, except in the developments on campus. Yet sections of the C.P.A.'s youth membership, described in regard to the early protest precursors, practised a more flexible interaction and outlook.

However, Hamel-Green, a major Sydney activist, recalls 27 unions calling for conscripts to mutiny and lay down arms (1983, p.114-5), which again, despite Brisbane union involvement in draft resistance, had no parallel locally. Furthermore no more radical impulses emanated from the Brisbane Union movement in the form of, for instance, the Fourth International influences, which were strong in Sydney. In Brisbane, there was no evidence of the new cohorts until the small contributions of S.O.S. and W.I.L.P.F.

In *Towards Peace - A worker's journey*, Phil O'Brien, a significant peace activist of the old left and Waterside Worker's official, recounts local Brisbane events, noted nationally by Summy. O'Brien points out that the struggle against the Vietnam war started in

Queensland in 1962. “[W]hen the Menzies Government sent advisers to Vietnam our union went to the U.S.A. Consulate in Queen Street to raise our objections” (1992, p.187). Dealing with the `fifties and early `sixties, O’Brien complains of the poor attendances at many peace activities. “The maritime unions ... were the main participants.” So, in Brisbane, O’Brien does not see the presence of a new mood, nor even the impact of B.C.N.D., although he notes also that the national 1959 Conference was well attended and led in Queensland to the formation of the Queensland Peace Committee (1992, p.169, p.185). In short, there was not yet in Brisbane evidence of either a new militancy or new cohorts that Summy regards as part of national politics. So the allies to a new movement of the type identified by Summy were almost nowhere to be seen in Brisbane.

What in fact emerged, with the decisions of 1964-65, was predominantly, in Brisbane, a Labor Party (sans doctrines) umbrella, Y.C.A.C., which nationally and locally was the key early player in Anti-Conscription Movement, but not V.A.C. which was such a player in the Anti-Vietnam War. Y.C.A.C. was a typical formation of the elector-vanquished A.L.P. and the old left Communist youth. It was without radical ideas. As the lack of reference to Vietnam in its title indicated this old left creation followed a strategy of lowest-common-denominator politics. Conceived within the conservative strictures of the Cold War and the Labor Party’s anti-intellectual utilitarianism, Y.C.A.C. emerged with some vigour in its Protests by the mid-sixties, but without the new ideas expressed in C.N.D. and elsewhere. Yet it was, for all this, inclusive, since no ideologies other than reflections on the immediate concerns created friction. At best, labour movement youth and older people noticeably, some older women, gravitated to new styles of action within Y.C.A.C., without articulating alternative ideas.

The Labor Party influence was naturally pre-eminent given its outlook and strength in numbers on the left side of politics. It was mainly from that organization that Y.C.A.C. formed in response to Menzies’ decisions. As Murphy sees it, Y.C.A.C. was an adjunct to Young Labor, but with Communist youth also present (1993, p. 144). In Brisbane, it played the umbrella role for the early allies, which reflected the influence of the A.L.P.’s non-doctrinal character. Youth Campaign against Conscription met at the Friends Meeting House, home of Brisbane Quakers. Y.C.A.C. advertised old left events, socials for civil rights, International Women’s Day, S.O.S., Peace Committee, Civil Rights Action Committee and then S.D.A. events when the latter formed. The members leafleted on campus where it had “several student members”, sponsored a female “PEACE QUEEN”,

and wrote about the police harassment. Certainly, Y.C.A.C. held a talk about Civil Disobedience by Ralph Summy in 1967 (*Marbles* March 1967; November 1966) and, as we shall see, organized joint speakers for Centennial Park with the more radical Student group S.D.A. Civil disobedience itself proclaimed an anti-bureaucratic post-totalitarian outlook. Jim Beatson, in fact Vice-President of Y.C.A.C. (*Anti-Johnson demonstration* n.d.), was later a key S.D.A. activist and publisher of S.D.A.'s *Impact*. However at this point it was the inclusiveness that stood out and the limited interest in new ideas, with an absence of radical critiques of international relations also evident.

In Queensland, students without the input of C.N.D., S.O.S or Y.C.A.C, formed V.A.C. which Murphy cites as the new force in the protest movement elsewhere in Australia. The off-campus focus in Queensland for any new forces does not appear. In 'The Growth of the Radical Movement' in *Semper Floreat*, Dan O'Neill suggests that Brisbane's Vietnam Action Committee (V.A.C.) formed early in 1966 as a  
'gut reaction' to the Vietnam war when those students involved in the radical politics of the town-based Y.C.A.C. soon c[a]me to see the need for an independent campus- based group with a widened scope of protest against the war. (17 March 1969, p.9)

According to O'Neill in the same article, this group not only emphasised an interest in Vietnam as much as in Conscription, but also in education, and "nature conservation". It is this widened scope that suggested new characteristics of protest.

This broader intention initiated by mid-1966 meant that V.A.C. changed its name to Society for Democratic Action. However, more significantly, its origins resulted from 'crossing' V.A.C. initials with those of S.D.S. in America. The American influence and was clearer still then. S.D.S. constructed at this point a radical liberal critique of society, of which the war was an example not a singular focus and Conscription another example of a type of authoritarian, corporate domination of this society. S.D.A. began a similar process and, as Chapter 2 noted, reprinted material of this nature from S.D.S.

Although there were different emphases between Y.C.A.C. and S.D.A., clear division was not present, since S.D.A. activists were initially part of Y.C.A.C. S.D.A.'s formation was newsworthy in *Marbles*. Its first meeting attracted "a large and enthusiastic workers" (sic), with many Y.C.A.C. members present (Y.C.A.C. December 1966). In other parts of Australia, 1966 was also a definitive turning point, but linked more clearly with the failure in the elections in November, which also in Queensland spelt the end of Y.C.A.C.

(thereby indicating its connection to the A.L.P.). Cahill in *Notes on the Australian new left* says frustration at election results split radical youth away from more established youth movements (1969, p.14). However S.D.A. formed earlier and more distinctively than groups elsewhere in Australia. Cahill suggests that S.D.A.'s separation from the traditional peace movement pre-dated others (1969, p.28) although, as Summy notes above the separation process had begun elsewhere in Australia in 1965, but only in terms of militancy.

However, these old left-new left differences curiously did not yet emerge in Protest actions, although evidence of the possibility grew. In 1966, U.S. President L.B. Johnson and, in 1967, Marshall Ky, President of South Vietnam, visited Australia. The anti-Johnson and anti-Ky demonstrations were significant rallying points for all groups. Several national actions occurred in 1966-67. A major demonstration marked U.S. President Johnson's visit in 1966. Saunders points out that the Johnson demonstrations occurred in all three Eastern States in October 1966 and all used civil disobedience (Saunders 1982, p.368). Yet in Brisbane, a permit gained by the old left Peace Committee suggested civil disobedience was not their perspective. Rather it was winning an election (the 1966 election was held in November) and a wider, more conservative audience. The October 22nd 1966 demonstration was organized by S.D.A. and Y.C.A.C. Y.C.A.C. members, *Marbles'* records, threw themselves in front of a car. (*Anti-Johnson demonstration* n.d.). S.D.A. members did also. "[T]housands attended" and placards carried such slogans as "make love not war". 11 women and 10 men were arrested (*Marbles*, November 1966). Remarkably well-represented were women. Here was evidence of a break of wider proportions between old left and new, with this enhanced militancy and a generational characteristic apparent.

More than anything else there emerges, in this Protest, the old style of protesting and a now more expressive style, which showed, in the most defiant protest actions, a desire to express hostility to Johnson and particularly the alliance relationship between America and Australia; all of which was broader in radical ideas and more defiant. The alternative may have been to engage in peaceful protest away from the motorcade and suffer the costs of getting no publicity rather than potentially bad publicity at the hands of the media. The choice of the expressive action represented a major sea change, shared nationally. It disregarded the electoral interests of the A.L.P., which were sacrosanct for almost the entire Cold War period bar 1961 when denial of Communist preference spills



lost the A.L.P. the election. The protests against the two leaders then were substantial turning points nationally, yet the product of different groups in Brisbane.

By the time of the Ky demonstration the militancy of another woman - this time a member of the Communist Party and its associated organizations, the Union of Australian Women and the Peace Committee, became notable. Norma Chalmers broke her heel when she attempted to penetrate through police lines (*Impact* No 1, *Marbles*, February 1967). Her plight but not her associations adorned the first issue of the Protesters' publication *Impact* — itself evidence of a more militant youth alliance including S.D.A. and Y.S.L. Yet, it was also evidence of the ongoing unity of purpose between old left and new. *Impact* did not reflect any splits in the groups under the heel of Queensland's government and police.

Cahill describes how the February 1967 Ky demonstrations led to “a bitter split between the A.L.P.-led peace movement and the youth and student component” (1969, p. 28). In Brisbane, the demonstration attracted 2,000 people (*Marbles*, February 1967). Significantly, *Marbles* does not discuss such a split. There was no “bitter split” in Brisbane, because of the isolation of groups from the mainstream and the lack of pre-existing Marxist and other sects, underwriting ideological differences.

There is evidence of these differences, in the grass-roots implications of the civil disobedience technique. Furthermore, with S.D.A., there was evidence of a lack of interest in electoral politics (*Marbles* records electoral results in detail; S.D.A. does not) and S.D.A.'s interests were in events in Vietnam rather than just Conscription. By its lack of mention of, and presumably presence at, a joint meeting of Y.C.A.C. executive members, Save our Sons and the Queensland Peace Committee members and other interested groups where the results of the elections were predominant concerns, S.D.A. had already separated from nearly all the town groups (*Marbles*, December 1966). The anti-war allies characterised by a willingness to engage in street militancy and direct action diverged from the A.L.P., C.P.A. and Unions, who mostly eschewed civil disobedience for legal and political reasons.

This situation created an idiosyncratic role for the campus-orientated group S.D.A. as the early and decisive initiator of a new direction of change closest to the radical libertarianism of the American student new left and the C.N.D. with its civil disobedience and other post-totalitarian orientations. As well there were a group of individuals and

youth groups such as the young Communists (Y.S.L.) allied to S.D.A., as events in a subsequent chapter indicate. Young Quaker Christians identified more with S.D.A. Although those further from Trade Union officialdom appeared more experimental and militant, particularly women connected to the U.A.W. and youth, these new campus Protesters adhered to civil disobedience, while those from the traditional labour groups did not. It was only through S.D.A. that the new directions of civil disobedience implying a new outlook eventuated.

Yet, the divisions, which might have rapidly emerged, did not, due to the sense of isolation of all groups. Therefore, while the differences were quite distinctive in terms of affiliations to traditions in Brisbane, between the youthful radical students and the old left, their common isolation remained a bond at this point that was greater than the youthful radicals' growing hostility to the hegemony of the old left groups.

Nevertheless, the campus group developed its own outlook in S.D.A.

This belated, but finally more decisive division, which caused Cahill and Osmond to describe S.D.A.'s formation as ahead of other States, created lines, which separated the campus group from those in the town. Disregarding the small group of youthful socialists in town who joined S.D.A., the failure of other new influences and reaction against the dominance of the old left created the exaggerated *avant garde* role of the university-orientated group in Brisbane. Yet the fact that they experienced a shared isolation peculiar in its intensity to Brisbane as far as Australian capital cities go, and the fact that the new protest idiom was not rooted in sectarian left battles with local histories meant a truce, and tolerance for differences remained for a longer time than in other Australian states. Nevertheless, the new idiom expressed itself in word and deed.

To sum up the characteristics of early allies and precursors in the Brisbane Protests, the thesis notes the under-representation of all of the non-traditional labour groups, including the Marxist–Leninists, Trotskyites and Maoists. Such groups were far less numerous and authoritative than in many other localities, where traditions of protests were more deeply rooted in radical labour movements. In Brisbane, not only were these almost non-existent, but also new waves of middle-class Protesters, including C.N.D., were less evident. Instead, the political peace work remained with the non-ideological Labor Party and, particularly, the C.P.A., which was conservative in approach and, of course, at least before 1968, aligned within one of the Cold War camps. Yet it took on some of the mantle of the new forces concerned with the nuclear threat, although less

decisively in name and practice than A.I.C.D. In Brisbane, partly due to the weakness of the precursor C.N.D., which elsewhere was effective, and which wanted the issue to be considered apart from the Cold War allegiances, this unusual outcome prevailed.

The conclusion here is that, exemplifying the influences of post-totalitarianism, Brisbane's shift to new directions of civil disobedience in the peace movement, focused at this point on moral absolutism and radical liberalism, was distinctively late and narrowly focused through the University influence. The Brisbane Anti-War Movement was tangential in terms of these formation processes nationally.

#### **4.0 THE PROTESTERS: 2. THE MORATORIUMS: COMPETITION, ALLIANCE AND CONFLICT**

The high point of the mass mobilisations of the general peace movement in Australia was the Moratoriums. This section examines the historically-realised differences between allies and supporters. The problem of difference becomes a focus at this point, as the students and more radical Protesters raised the question of imperialism and, less emphatically in Brisbane, Australia's national subservience. Competition and alliance both appear within the Moratorium movement. This section also begins discussion about over-simplification in the most ideological of the student and off-campus groups. Their positions, while open to the argument of Australia's subservience, overgeneralised the experience of this. In terms of the continuity of such experiences of colonialism or economic domination, these not only differed politically but also in human terms. Those who suffered colonialism and American global domination could not rationally be united in universal and profound categories of human experience just by identification of this one common enemy.

In this section the thesis examines historical moments within the Anti- War Movement's conflict with adversaries and the Protesters' internal differences and competitions. While the terminology of competition and alliance is useful it does not do justice to the full spectrum of differences that operate, especially between supporters and early allies, as the two interact through the Moratorium movement. It is the analyses of these differing expectations and the interactions of groups, institutions and organizations bearing these, that concern this section of the thesis.

There was no doubt that the earlier protests allowed the adversary to make political capital. The campus-orientated allies whose outlook and willingness to use civil disobedience and actively articulate support for the enemy against imperialistic America were the driving force of protest, as Y.C.A.C. disappeared after the 1966 elections. However, it was the Trade Unions, the A.L.P. and the Communist Party, who set in train the process of the Moratorium mass mobilisations. The Federal Labor Party had been out of office since 1949. So deep were the recent defeats, especially the 1966 result, that Whitlam felt they endangered the two party system and therefore Australian parliamentary democracy (Whitlam 1985, p. 4).

According to Summy and Saunders, there was, in 1966, strong support in the peace movement for Labor, yet polls indicated that the peace issue was low on the public agenda. Some polls showed both parties losing ground on the issue yet voting analysis also indicated the peace issue was the most important reason for voters changing sides (1986, p.36). By the 1969 election, which Labor also lost, this trend of disaffection with the war was very much clearer. While Labor lost under the leadership of the middle class lawyer Whitlam, they achieved a substantial swing.

The adversary was able to make political capital from the Protests when Prime Minister Gorton made an attack in Parliament on protesters as 'political bikies who pack rape democracy' (Summy & Saunders 1986, p.42). However, the course of the war was also significant. 1969 was a watershed in public opinion. The public registering of the horrendous revelations of the My Lai massacres, the consequences of the 1968 Tet offensive, combined with the increasing numbers of deaths of Australian soldiers and the deepening suspicions about the democratic characteristics of the South Vietnamese government, all whittled away at public confidence.

In many ways, the 1969 elections reflected a sea change for Labor. In Whitlam's account, the 1969 elections were a resounding success for Labor (17 seats gained) (Whitlam 1985, p.4). Although they did not win, the results gave Whitlam and others hope, and some of those others were supporters of, and earlier participants in, the anti-war and anti-conscription campaigns and now looked to a broad mass movement of protest.

However, driven by the Conservative logic of electoral survival, Labor refused to say they would withdraw troops immediately and Lance Barnard, Whitlam's Deputy, even

suggested that peace activists (which included Maritime unions refusing to load supplies to Vietnam) unnecessarily kept Hanoi's hopes alive (Summy & Saunders 1986, p.36). The A.L.P. held the short-term key to withdrawal and ending conscription yet its ambivalence irked the Protesters. It appeared that the anti-war and anti-conscription campaign was without political representation in conventional politics. This ignores the role of many individual Labor Party members and some Labor Senators and M.H.R.s but underscores the political realities in the midst of which the anti-war, anti-conscription issues arose. This lack of representation was to a degree exacerbated by the 1966 defeat of Labor, and Whitlam and Barnard's ascension to power in the Party and defeat again in 1969. Yet, it was also an ideological matter. The Labor Party held the American Alliance as still central.

The Moratorium movement was an attempt to strengthen Labor's 'backbone' and win it a victory through a mass movement led by established Labor supporters. For the labour movement the only outcome that mattered was an end to the war and Conscription. For radicals, mostly but not entirely outside this movement in Brisbane, what mattered was the defeat of U.S. imperialism and Australia's complicity in it. In Brisbane as well, the Moratoriums represented the re-engagement of the old left, the Peace Committee, Communist Party, Unions and sympathetic Labor Party forces, in the moderates' attempt to form a coalition against the war and conscription: "[the] Queensland Trades and Labor Council endorsed the May Moratorium" (O'Brien 1992, p. 185). The attention paid to the Labor Party was critical. The Moratorium movement was a mass movement of the Australian people, but the intention was that it would influence the Opposition and the ballot box of 1972:

[T] he first step towards the grand revival of the Australian peace movement is the conference in Canberra on 1 st. November 1969 to plan a moratorium campaign for Australia on the American model (Summy & Saunders 1986, p. 42)

There was a clear message in this revival. It was the intention to legitimise the anti-war and anti-conscription campaigns, which had become more radical, slightly larger and certainly with a stronger outsider identity particularly in their youthful guise. The word 'moratorium' certainly added a sense of particular importance. It was unromantic - legalistic and business-associated, and was contrary to the peace images of shaggy beards and "daggy" jeans, flowers, nudity, "make-love-not-war", or connotations of arms to the N.L.F. and anti-Americanism. The labour movement saw little to identify with there,

since this labour movement represented a broader age cohort with more complex but predominantly more standard allegiances, and typical suburban attitudes. Verbal support for the enemy was unlikely in the suburban repertoire since Australian sons' lives were at risk.

At best in Queensland young student Protesters hoped that the C.P.A. might align itself with them, as their own youth group had already done. While the 1968 decision in Queensland to support the N.L.F. articulated the more unpopular message of anti-Americanism and anti-imperialism, in which Vietnamese heroes could defeat U.S. imperialism, and as well asserted the immorality of the endeavours of Australian soldiers, Summy and Saunders feel that the differences between what they term moderates and radicals distilled only after the 1969 elections. In Brisbane, clashes occurred at T.L.C. Labour Day celebrations in 1969. Yet, the Communist-dominated Maritime unions defended the Protesters' entry against the T.L.C. hierarchy.

This strengthened the belief that the Communist Party, which moved dramatically from its Soviet associations with the 1968 opposition to the invasion of Czechoslovakia, might align itself with the militants. This was the only group with which these militants had anything in common (O'Brien 1992, p.187; Thomis 1985, p.320). Yet this view, that there might be a broader radical alliance inclusive of workers and students, and nurtured by mutual discussions in Brisbane through the Socialist Humanist Action Centre, proved overly optimistic and no doubt, somewhat naive.

Some members of the Maritime Unions, some women in Union of Australian Women (U.A.W.) and likewise some of the Communist Party were on the side of the university radicals, sharing some mutual criticism of Trade Union officials, non-acceptance of legal boundaries of protest and orientations to conscience, so there was potential for a broader-based movement built around socialism and anti-imperialism with these Romantic as opposed to more orthodox Marxist, understandings. The divisions were not simply at this point between radical and moderate, co-determined by the University/ non-University divide. Yet, the Protesters of the new radical persuasion, emanating from campus, would find, in the main, few allies. Nevertheless, the view that the hostile Brisbane environment produced odd alliances without intense ideological positioning appeared proven by the formation of S.H.A.C., supported by the Revolutionary Socialist Alliance (R.S.A.) which was an insurrectionary libertarian socialist group of ex-S.D.A. and Y.S.L. members, mostly off-campus, and the Communist Party. The Communist

Party had rejected the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia so the historic opportunities for alliance especially in Brisbane appeared real.

Yet instead competition rather than difference prevailed in this relationship. The C.P.A. worked with the A.L.P. in the Trade Union movement. Their historical experience determined that this alone was where they might survive. They were still victims of the conservatism that forced survival to the centre of their political agenda.

The growing conflict between the more traditionally and elector-oriented labour movement, including much of the C.P.A., and those who were much more radical, emerged as the 1972 election became a strategic focus to the former. This strategic approach was central to changing the A.L.P. and Unions from organizational and institutional supporters to allies, albeit very much with their own agenda. The vehicle for the strategic approach was the Moratorium movement, and, through it, differences increased in some respects as the disillusionment with the war grew. These differences remained within the contexts of a broader shift of attitude in the Anti-War Movement and outside it.

Held on the 8th May 1970, the first Moratorium, has been described as, “nation-wide, the biggest march in Australian history” (Saunders 1982, p.370). In this first Moratorium, a Joint Secretary of the movement in Brisbane, Carlene Crowe, estimated that 3,000 out of the 5,000 marchers were students in the R.S.A.- and S.H.A.C.-produced *The Communist Party is Behind this Moratorium — Way Behind: ‘Letter from Carlene Crowe’* (Joint Secretary, Queensland Moratorium Campaign) to Steering Committee Members’. Such estimation was possible as the university students marched separately from St. Lucia Campus. The highest estimate (by O’Brien) of the total march was 10,000 marchers (1992, p.188), but he provides no breakdown, nor did press reports vindicate his estimate, although they also were unreliable. The proportions, suggested by Crowe, between students and citizens were distinctive. For example, Melbourne boasted an initial march of 80,000. Allowing for disproportionate populations, university students were evidently a significant minority whereas in Brisbane, the thesis suggests, the proportions were reversed. It was more likely that, as found previously, the campus provided much of the active protest sentiment in Brisbane.

The first signs of clash between allies in Brisbane were with the organization of the speaking platform of the first Moratorium. Brian Laver, located off-campus, but the

recognised leader of the Marxist libertarians, collectively known as R.S.A.-R.S.S.A., who had a strong presence on campus, argued in *The Communist Party is Behind this Moratorium — Way Behind* about the reasons for this clash (Laver & Crowe n.d.). He specified the source of the schism as the allotted speaking time at the central rally point in the city. Now the Protesters' temporary alliance turned into competition. The speaking arrangement ignored his group's right to speak, yet the thesis observes that this group was an articulate and committed section of the campus Moratorium movement. This schism led to the students' representative Carlene Crowe's resignation (*The Communist Party is Behind this Moratorium — Way Behind: 'Letter from Carlene Crowe'* (Joint Secretary, Queensland Moratorium Campaign) to Steering Committee Members' n.d.).

The Communist Party decided that its allegiances were with those seeking electoral victory. The C.P.A. held firm to its Cold War logic, with its legalistic and traditional understanding of its long-term opportunities. Yet, in Brisbane support would come from few other places. The analysis emanating from the University and other smaller associated groups, or newer groups who emerged after 1967 off-campus, was ideologically much more radical than that implied in the demands of the Moratorium movement's popular front approach. *The Communist Party is Behind This Moratorium — Way Behind* ended with the growing belief in syndicalist methods and trenchant anti-capitalism. The broadsheet finished: "SUPPORT VIETNAM MORATORIUM -MAY 8-9-10 DEFEAT IMPERIALISM CALL FOR A STRIKE IN YOUR WORK PLACE OR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION ON MAY 8TH". Sponsorship of this broadsheet was by the Socialist Humanist Action Centre and the Revolutionary Socialist Alliance. However, it spelt the end of any alliance between the Communist Party and the radical students and revolutionary anti-Americans who had no faith in the A.L.P. and the C.P.A.'s alliance of convenience with it.

In the leaflet, its title a parody of the Cold War hysteria about Communists being 'behind' and 'under' various things, Laver accused the Trade Unions and A.L.P., but particularly the Communist Party of having a bureaucratic disposition. For Laver the strike proposal failed because "no work was done in the rank and file". Further accusations included one aimed at Dr. J. Cairns M.H.R. (later a Labor Deputy Prime Minister) by referring contemptuously to his intention to have the Moratoriums as a "peaceful" and "inoffensive process", as in the *Commonwealth Hansard* 16th April 1970 (Laver & Crowe, *The Communist Party is Behind This Moratorium — Way Behind*). The lines between short-term and long-term goals, conformity and non-conformity, pure expression and strategy



were obvious, but so were the lines of strategic interests between supporters and the allies of the earlier protests. Certainly an election victory was not important to the Brisbane radical Protesters.

Comparing this short-term strategy of electoral success to the outlook of the radical groups, the thesis observes the indigestible nature of the revolutionaries' catchcry to suburbanites. In *The Communist Party is Behind This Moratorium — Way Behind*, the word revolution appears in many sentences in the pamphlet. The solution to the war was workers' control of industry and "to seek out the root cause of war and oppression" (Laver *The Communist Party is behind this Moratorium — Way Behind*).

The same sorts of differences appear in literature on Conscription. The radicals advocated non-compliance with the National Service Act. In the end, the draft resisters, representing the civil disobedience orientation, and Trades Hall separated, ironically with the formers' formation of a Draft Resisters Union. This ended support by the Trades and Labor Council, and ended their once formal endorsement of the Draft Resistance Centre at the 46th Trade Union Congress held in 1970. Aided by the Building Workers' Industrial Union (B.W.I.U.), Trades Hall had provided a refuge. The Trades Hall was the major institutional player interested in this level of involvement. However, this relationship ended. Civil disobedience with its implication of illegality remained the point of difference with the Trade Unions.

In the second Moratorium, held nationally on 18 September 1970, the adversary dominated by a strategy of a "strongly law and order based campaign" (Saunders, 1982 372). It was a strategy to split the movement as well as to tarnish the A.L.P. It attempted to divert attention away from government policies and to associate the A.L.P. with militancy. The strategy suited the government's requirements of an upcoming Senate election (Summy & Saunders 1986, p.42). The divisions between the two positions, radical and moderate, intensified. The A.L.P. knew what challenged the Australian basic attitudes excessively — the Cold War created a ferocious conformity. The adversary was far more active in the second Moratorium and the students far more adventurous. The divisions and conflict escalated. Competition operated in these circumstances.

At Queensland University, two major events just before the second Moratorium added radically to the repertoire of expressions of dissent. The first, the Citizen's Military Force

(C.M.F.) raid and the second, the Quang incident, occurred in the same week. Ambassador Quang was the South Vietnamese First Ambassador to the Australian Government who was impeded in his exit from a meeting. The C.M.F. events occurred on Wednesday 2nd of September 1970 and on what authorities called Black Friday, the Quang incident followed.

Adjacent to the University, the C.M.F. building symbolised a traditional connection between the University, youth and the armed services in peace as in war. Yet the C.M.F. occupied buildings apart from the University's main teaching areas and on Commonwealth property. While the C.M.F. raid was symbolic as opposed to being of any military significance (guns were not taken), it signalled an attempt to raise the stakes of the Moratorium to one more aggressively political. "Victory to the N.L.F." the Protesters sprayed around the walls of the building. The slogan reached the front page of *The Courier-Mail* the following day, with a picture of the temporarily-Protester-occupied C.M.F. (*The Courier-Mail*, 6 September 1970).

In the Quang incident, students hindered the South Vietnamese Ambassador from leaving a meeting. At a later University investigatory hearing, a leader, Richard Shearman made it clear that Quang the South Vietnamese Ambassador, had no entitlement to respect (Davies Committee 1970). The revolutionaries on campus made sure that the public heard their message and identified it with the Moratorium. Perhaps as a result, the second Moratorium was considerably smaller, although it was law and order that was most efficacious, so that the marches in Australia were small everywhere.

According to Summy and Saunders, [t]he "[t]hird Moratorium was an anticlimax" (1986, p.42). The preparation for the third Moratorium was, as in the past, the work of the Queensland Vietnam Moratorium Campaign Co-ordinating Committee, which became the site of a factional fight between moderates, and, particularly, the radical Labour Action Group (L.A.G.) and some independent socialist revolutionaries. L.A.G. was an offshoot of the original off-campus core that formed the Revolutionary Socialist Party. By the second Moratorium, the Revolutionary Socialist Student Alliance and Revolutionary Socialist Party now represented the radical anti-war Protesters on and off campus. "Party" suggested abandonment of typical forms of open coalition for a more definitive organization and one more purposeful in achieving purely political ends. An R.S.P. pamphlet asserted in a letter addressed "Dear Comrade" and dated June 1970 that "in order then to struggle for our first major task as socialists, the seizure of power by the

people, we intend to form a revolutionary socialist party” (Adler et. al). It specified the desire to exclude certain people through its formation. While there was evidence of a libertarian emphasis in reference to the likelihood of ecological disaster and in calls for workers’ control of industry, the formation of a party represented a full circle organizationally. Some were once members of the innocuous sounding open which was nevertheless more threatening to the adversary, Civil Liberties Co-ordinating Committee.

The divisions within the Moratorium organization created tension exacerbated by undemocratic behaviours by the once-supporters-turned-allies although underneath these were significant differences in outlook. The success of the first Moratorium may have created this increased tension. Clearly, strategic interests operated to exclude Brian Laver, but equally students wanted the global perspective articulated, as did other socialist revolutionaries. Slogans encapsulated the fight for control of the Moratorium movement: “troops out” rather than “Smash U.S. Imperialism” were critical points of difference. These were deep differences, explored subsequently. The competition for authority over the Moratorium movement generated very distinctive types of actions. It was this necessity to form identities from practice that drove deep wedges in the Moratorium movement.

In Brisbane, while off-campus groups grew, it was the campus radicals, who were in conflict with those in positions in institutions and organizations or those with allegiances to them, who defined the locational and attitudinal outlooks of the Protesters. The more conservative groups and their many adherents were in organizations of much greater permanence and with greater immersion in typical expressions of popular aspirations. Yet the competition between radicals and moderates is important to the movement’s characterisation, but it does not derive from the spread of dissent but rather its ebbing prior to the Moratorium movement, although signs of electoral success in the 1969 elections originally provided encouragement.

Competition, difference and conflict created extremes of action, searches for distinctive identities and new perspectives, and to some extent, simplifications, while residues of older more complex identities, associated with more open understandings of post-totalitarianism, remained. The problem was now that new major players, institutionally and organizationally established, offered the chance of effective mass mobilisations. However, the thesis suggests that this was not competition alone, as if of two products competing for the same thing and the same market share. As the thesis re-iterates and

clarifies in the following section, two emergent world views in the Anti-Vietnam War and Conscription Movement emerged from quite early on, and while these evolved they retained certain features of difference. These groups roughly divide into the major institutional and organizational supporters, on one hand who wanted what they thought was the shortest route to the end of the Australian involvement in this war and, on the other hand, other activist allies, who wanted to convey an intensity in their horror about the war and the urgency of the N.L.F. victory and the need for a total social transformation of Australian internal and external orientations and global structures as well. For these latter America was the enemy; for the others America now had an morally ambivalent status and was an object of greater scrutiny in international politics.

## **5.0 THE PROTESTERS:3 INTELLECTUAL ARGUMENTS DIFFERENCES AND SIMPLIFICATIONS.**

This section analyses the thinking of the Protesters about the key concerns of Conscription and opposition to the war in Vietnam. While the early allies' understanding of Conscription evolved within a radical liberal framework and towards radical individualism and libertarianism, they interpreted the war through various worldviews. These, at times, wavered between traditional Marxism, Maoism and the Romantic critique of Western society through Western Marxism and with it a more critical and humanistic anti-colonialism. While the literature about Conscription strengthened the case for a libertarian perspective, the anti-American and anti-Alliance sentiment graphically demonstrated the new attention Brisbane Protesters gave to traditional Marxism as an explanatory tool of what they usually called American imperialism.

There were problems of simplification of world politics, the emergence of differences over Australia's outward perspective in a differently understood world, including its rightful allies and intentions, and problems of political styles and domestic paths to change. Many of these differences remained in Brisbane despite Summy's and Saunders' representation, noted subsequently, of these differences as concerned with the A.L.P. However, as well, another difference, that within the radical Romantic post-totalitarianism of the Protesters, emerged. This complex of influences proved inadequate to define a common path, even for the radicals, since it had too many nuances and differences. The thesis examines the differences between the more complex perspective and the narrower 'official' new left one, while also emphasising the radical view of the

differences with moderates, which has had less attention in the scholarship and is consistent with the thesis's purpose.

Fundamentally, the war added greater complexity to the Protesters' world, to which they needed intellectually adequate responses. The radical activists, predominantly from the campus, defined a new internationalism, often without associating it with an existing Marxist-Leninist global movement or an existing power or a renewed nationalism. They furthermore utilised disruptive, deliberately manufactured, 'deviant' personas and illegal tactics and called for socialist revolution. These new Romantically-based, if otherwise novel, perceptions also had limitations. The thesis focuses on the tendency of the now more doctrinal radical allies to oversimplify the world.

The chapter recognises a watershed between the period before the Moratoriums and the periods during and after them. However, this applies most clearly to the formations of organizations and alliances, the dynamics of differences between groups in alliance and defined in actions. Yet this watershed is illusionary to some extent when applied to the evolution of ideas. The Moratoriums certainly defined and exacerbated growing differences but did not, by their processes, intensify the construction of a new internationalism. Rather new outlooks on the Australian identity flowed into the broader movement and eventually to the A.L.P., from recently established campus-originating internationalist perspectives in Brisbane. Nevertheless, some of the expressive actions during the Moratorium period intensified and highlighted these differences.

The anti-conscription debate was distinct from the anti-war debate. It had much stronger links to community attitudes, while the opposition to America was much less- readily digestible. The systemic critique of Western society emanates from the newly arrived allies, especially the students, in the anti-war movement, not from established political groups. The opposition to Conscription has deeper roots in the Australian consciousness. The two issues connected through the particular dislike in the Australian mind for conscription to foreign wars. This perhaps invoked an apparently practical example of the need for real national autonomy. Such was the labour tradition in Australia, *sans doctrines*.

Initially in this section, the thesis establishes the outlooks of the new groups, especially S.D.A., about Conscription, but particularly the growth of hostility to America's hegemony in world affairs and to Australia's subservience to the U.S.A. Some of these attitudes

appeared in the content of protest declarations; others appeared in arguments in mass-distributed leaflets or booklets.

### Conscription

Not unexpectedly, the Protesters saw Conscription as authoritarian. However, they also constructed it in the light of Fascism. The latter gave impetus to refining the argument of moral responsibility in war, beyond the religious domain to actual rules of engagement with particular enemies. Still other arguments couched opposition to Conscription in terms of building a culture of non-conformity.

The section begins by reviewing the changing attitudes to Conscription as part of new understandings of the activists. However, these exemplify new thinking about such problems especially in the public domain in Brisbane. S.D.A. published in 1968 a substantial document titled "HOW NOT TO JOIN THE ARMY" which included detailed advice on how to manufacture and use various abnormal behaviours to escape recruitment in national service processing: "Homosexuals are not wanted in a man's army... Join the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist ... or D.L.P. club" ("HOW NOT TO JOIN THE ARMY" n.d.)<sup>32</sup>. There was then a strategic foundation to non-conformist behaviours rather than just a moral or personal/political one. Here at least, the personal as the political lost the nexus of authenticity and was simply strategic. This may reflect a shift from interest in the question of authenticity in parts of the Movement.

However, more persistently, the anti-conscription campaigners argued that the Nuremberg Trials were a fundamental reference point. In a June 1968 publication of *Student Guerrilla*, S.D.A.'s Juanita Laver talked at length about the implications of the Nuremberg decisions that followed the investigation of the Holocaust after World War 2. *Student Guerrilla* outlined its objection to that morality which confined conviction not to participate in war to rigid Christian moral beliefs alone. This article opposed the current standard for conscientious objection in Australia, which blocked other rational justifications, particularly that of objection to the justice of a particular war. It cited the Nuremberg trials for

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<sup>32</sup> "HOW NOT TO JOIN THE ARMY" was probably plagiarised from *Lot's Wife*, the Monash University student newspaper where it previously appeared.

the transcendence of the individual conscience over state laws ... Thus revolutionary [sic] subjects were safely institutionalized - No legal recognition was given to political or moral convictions concerning particular wars. (*Student Guerrilla*, no.10, 5 June 1968).

This argumentation differed in style and content from the Marxist condemnation of imperialism. The writer used essentially philosophic or moral discourse.

The Labor club evinced, in part, the same sort of argument when they quoted from the *New Statesman* of March 22nd 1968.

[W]hile one needn't believe in a Supreme Being to be a C.O., 'political, philosophical, sociological, moral or ethical' convictions don't qualify. (*Compact* 1968 no. 3)

Therefore, debate constructed Conscription beyond the application of the tenets of religiously informed liberal democracy, which typified contemporaneous, but changing, norms. It was resistance to societies with parallels to Fascism and it was the extension of rationality for greater rights, that motivated the radicals' analysis. This thinking derived also from liberalism and libertarianism. The thesis notes that in the situation of Conscription, the Protesters considered any at least non-violent resistance including deception about identity but primarily their focus was on the rational expanding of the availability of rights, in certain wars to conscientious objection. However even the Liberal government acceded to some of these rights reflecting their modernising orientation and even the influence of post-totalitarianism.

### The War

The attitudes to the war were more complex because its brutality represented a real pattern of structural and hegemonic relationships against which conscience appeared less important as a strategy, and even change of government appeared too incremental to matter. It was at this intellectual juncture that the more radical Protesters maintain their overwhelming hostility to the American alliance and America's global role while those with the more narrowly focused organizational perspectives competed for control of the Moratorium Movement with an agenda of a short-term outcome of election of a Labor government, irrespective of this Party's roots in underwriting its and previously Britain's global imperial role. Saunders and Summy delineate some of the central features of a changing mood of these radicals as disillusionment with Parliamentary politics; the intention of the radicals to effect a thoroughgoing transformation of value

systems as a substitute strategic totality; and blaming a system for the cause of the Vietnam war in so far as it was not seen as one act of aggression but as the by-product of a world totality — led by United States imperialism. However, the two authors argued the main sticking point in this whole disagreement in perspective was over parliamentary politics: “the moderates increasingly accepted the radicals’ position ... on all but the A.L.P. and parliamentary politics” (Summy & Saunders 1986 p.39-42). Yet the thesis argues that this division from the radical perspective might equally be cast in terms of their belief that the A.L.P. simply never was or would or could be anti-imperialist *vis-à-vis* America.

While the discussion about the divisions over the organization of the Moratorium speaking platform created the renewed expression, with monotonous regularity, of the desire of the Protest leaders to advocate revolution irrespective of its appeal, vindicating Summy’s and Saunders’ understanding, a fuller interpretation suggests that this sticking point implied the centrality still of the American Alliance. Few in the Labor Party would jeopardise that international safety-net given their generational loyalties to America as well as current realities about defence. In this sense then, the apparent coincidence of opinions about American imperialism between moderates and radicals needs re-examination as does the presence of other lines of difference which appeared in the Brisbane circumstances.

An equally overwhelming direction of change in Australian political culture was in the representation of the adversary and the creation of the dichotomy between the good democratic guerrilla and the fascist U.S. Imperialism with which the Australian dominant hegemonic groups complied. While these and many others might in one perspective boil down to potentials for electoral appeal, their characterisation remains important as their advocacy maintained radical pressure on the A.L.P. The latter did embrace more radical perspectives than the lowest common denominator approach of those C.P.A. and A.L.P. officials and unionists proposing the Moratoriums.

The anti-war campaign explored the anti-Fascist theme still further. It also constructed a global picture assuming national subservience. It furthermore constructed an image of alliance with the third world against Australia. The Protesters ignored the tradition of Australian soldiers serving the Australian nation. Such traditions of respect, based to some degree on self-interest of the community which needed defending, had little



appeal. These perspectives underwrote not only antagonism to war but also a degree of shallowness.

The anti-war campaigners equated those governments, which America helped in the third world with the Nazis. Therefore, the adversary, the Americans, Australians and others in South-East Asia were Fascistic according to these S.D.A. publications (*Student Guerrilla*, no.5, 16 April 1968; *Student Guerrilla*, no 13, 25 July 1968; *Student Guerrilla* 'The Fascism U.S. Arms and Influence Impose on Guatemala' no.1, 3 January 1968; Thompson, 1968 *October 25th Committee*).<sup>33</sup>

The concomitant of the anti-Fascist and anti-imperialist analogy was the support for the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and increasingly the Protesters saw the N.L.F. as in tandem with the North Vietnamese, as democratic and as like the French Resistance. 1967, according to Saunders, was the year when bifurcations occurred in the Peace Movement nationally with the formation of the Vietnam Solidarity Committee (p.369). This group, in Sydney and Melbourne, helped raise funds for the N.L.F. in July 1967. There was however no evidence of its formation, at that time, in Brisbane. Nevertheless, there were two marches in solidarity with the N.L.F. in Brisbane in 1968 (Thompson 1968 *October 25th. Committee; Should we support the N.L.F.? Student Guerrilla* 1968 26 September). The "enemy" guerrilla victory in early 1968 — the Tet offensive indicated its popularity — proving America's duplicity as a self-appointed democratic force in Vietnam. *Student Guerrilla* said that "[i]n January this year the N.L.F. launched their Tet offensive and the whole tower of lies came tumbling down" (*Student Guerrilla*, no.16, 18 July 1968). To the radicals the N.L.F. was the legitimate representative of the South Vietnamese. It was a democratic and popular insurrection in their account, one which demanded reunification of North and South.

Only by ignoring the influence of Communist political theory, Stalin's nationalistic concern with the Soviet perimeters and the potential of their conflict with China and the N.L.F.'s logistical dependence on the Soviets, could the Protesters create such a picture of the northern allies and their relationship to the Southern rebellion. It needed increasing simplification of the world, and ignorance of the N.L.F.'s dependence on those

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<sup>33</sup> The October 25 Committee's letter was headed "Dear Sir" which represented the ingrained sexism of most of the male Protesters at that time.

who provided arms to sustain this interpretation of those in the midst of a life and death battle, including providing a sustained resistance to military genocide.

The Protesters' most regular publication at this time was *Student Guerrilla*. The title referred to an ideal of the decentralised autonomous armed freedom fighter associated with national liberation fronts. According to the Protesters, this figure was at one with the people rather than the humble subject of the chain of military command. The revolutionary guerrilla rather than the peacemaker moved to centre stage in these accounts. The guerrilla image created or sustained a perspective which created a suspect commonality between the Protests and events in completely different environments: hence *Student Guerrilla*.

There were however important shifts in these arguments, which were increasingly very anti-American. The anti-war Protesters saw the U.S.A. not as wrong but as a universal enemy. By 1968 *Student Guerrilla* suggested reading the neo-Marxists Baran and Sweezy's *Monopoly Capitalism* and *The Black Dwarf*. *The Black Dwarf* was a militant pro-socialist revolutionary paper, and the former was a book which had a neo-Marxist, pro-third world liberation revolutionary socialist approach. The catch-cry became *Smash Capital* and the view asserted that Vietnam was no mistake rather An example of a pattern of imperialist incursions (*Student Guerrilla*, no.20, 3 October 1968).

In analysing the literature, it seems that the Protesters operated as if the Vietnamese guerrillas too, were Protesters or at least that the Protesters were guerrillas rather than, in the former case, soldiers driven by necessities made for them, and in the front line of Vietnamese nationalism and Soviet imperialism. It also ignored those benefits of a liberal democracy accruing to these Protesters.

In other literature from 1968 the more characteristic and mainstream moral and peace-focused post-totalitarian themes continued. Even *Student Guerrilla* kept in contact with this theme. The American libertarian and independent influences remained against capitulation to Marxist ideology. *Student Guerrilla* reminded its public of the centrality of peace. C. Wright Mills (a very influential figure on the early new left in America and in Brisbane) was quoted in 1968 in 'Causes of World War 3': "[t]he drift and thrust towards World War 3 is now part of our contemporary sensibility" (*Student Guerrilla* no. 2., 26 March 1968). This same *Student Guerrilla* advertised "THE WAR GAME", a film about an hypothesised nuclear attack on London, and its global effects (*Student Guerrilla* in

1968 (no.4, 9 April 1968; no.5, 16 April 1968). *Student Guerrilla* no. 6 included a graphic over which was printed “the search for peace”; No.10 of 5 June 1968 quoted Peace News (on a local activist in London) and contained the Jesus Christ poster describing him as having the alias “The Prince of Peace”. The influence of these perspectives remained despite waning during 1968 but almost ceased after with the tide of anti-imperialist rhetoric. However where it remained it represented the preservation of differences from the increasing ideological solidification typifying the Anti-War Movement by then.

Since in the anti-colonial lexicon all the world should be united against the Fascist American imperialists, the Protesters put increasing emphasis on united strategic actions rather than analysis of individual conflicts or matters of conscience. Somewhat incredibly, *The Brisbane Line* emerged as the product of R.S.A. and they employed Maoist Dave Nadel, as editor on this paper. The name ‘The Brisbane Line’ recreated the resistance of Australia to Japanese imperialism in World War 2 and the assumption that Northern Australia might fall to the Japanese, under the plan of Australian rulers and General Macarthur. As Maoism asserted, these ruling class decisions created Australia as a minor imperialist power under the strategic domination of the U.S.A. in its worldview (usually with considerably more hyperbole). These were traitors, not real nationalists, as their division of Australia through the Brisbane Line indicated. The alliance formed through the production of *The Brisbane Line* was rather that of an “odd couple”, and would have been seen as such, had not the anti-American position come to be the defining moment of some radicals’ thinking. The uniting of the puritanical Maoist and the libertarians (who advocated grass-roots democracy, freedom from censorship, opposition to loveless sex and inhuman culture) expressed the increasingly simplified worldview emanating from the Anti-War Movement, in its desire to focus on the agreed enemy — U.S.A. imperialism.

The 29 August 1968 issue of *The Brisbane Line* attacked the Soviet Union for the Czechoslovakian invasion while eulogising the Chinese people’s independence struggle. It looked to the Chinese model of socialism and vilified both what they saw as the liberal and nationalistic changes in Czechoslovakia and the reasons for intervention by the Soviet Union’s as anti-socialist. A loss of connection to post-totalitarianism to which the radical Romantic version was also prone appeared (p.3). Yet the paper rapidly failed, possibly indicating the significance of breaching the tenets of post-totalitarianism to a reading public who still had those sentiments, due to the spread of

such ideas in Brisbane, especially in the youth and student movement. *The Brisbane Line* appeared an aberration in its short-lived activity.

However, it also reflected the ideological relocation happening in parts of the Protest movement. The most significant was the reconstruction of Australia as potentially separate from the U.S.A. in foreign policy. The Maoist position reaffirmed the importance of this. The idea of the anti-war and anti-conscription campaigners as patriotic went against the general influence of post-totalitarianism, since nationalism was associated with Fascism. However, anti-colonialism again reflects contradictory elements in its inevitable desire to reconstruct colonial and Cold-War-divided countries, as independent and democratic. The richness of the diffuse traditions accessed by the Protesters created the need for great consideration and balancing of directions of thinking. While this third world nationalism was traditionally part of Romanticism its connection to radical post-totalitarian Romanticism must be more tangential in Australia where racism and nationalism were synonymous. The complexity of this could not be ignored since already Indigenous movements in Australia heralded this realisation. Yet Australia was certainly subservient. A new radical Romantic post-totalitarianism needed to assert a new internationalism rather than a Maoist dominated one. This Maoist Marxism-Leninism was right on the extreme edges of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism and showed totally inappropriate solutions to the problem of liberal democracy, which complexly underwrote both freer metropolitan environments than those of totalitarian socialist states yet generally underwrote more oppressive international actions. Even that failing was at least temporarily overshadowed by the Soviet intervention.

*The Brisbane Line* approach that failed to recognise some central themes of the Western Marxist critique of the Soviet Union choosing instead to solve these arguments about bureaucracy and oppressiveness by highly anti-intellectual populism demonstrated in such texts as the *Little Red Book*, which was a chorus of inane slogans as they translated into the Australian environment. At this point some of the Brisbane Protest orientations had lost most of their distinctive characteristics. There was no doubt that the ideological frames had moved a long way from religious and private conscience, Gandhian anti-colonialism, Romantic liberalism and libertarianism, intellectual enquiry and application. Nevertheless the question of national independence had a distinctive airing albeit with the Maoist influence (critical of any "bourgeois" tendencies such as those of the Czechoslovakians!). *The Brisbane Line*

might have resonated conceptually with a lot of people, especially the Indigenous some for whom suffered, during the war, forced resettlement below this line (Osborne 1997). This was not discussed. Yet many resented the American dominance.

Associated with these changes, however, was the emergence of a critique from within the movement against the lowest common denominator represented in it. *The Brisbane Line* and the recurrent, almost constant, demonstrations became objects of doubt. A critical article appeared in a 1969 edition of *Semper Floreat* called 'FASCIST AND REACTIONARY OVERTONES'. Again sympathetic in principle, it described activists in the radical movement as "impatien[t] ... to see things ... in terms of day-to-day events ...[and]... ignor[ant of] historical background and institutional structure" (17 March 1969, p.15). There was an emerging internal critique of the anti-war campaign's orientations as the ideological grip of simplistic anti-Americanism and expressive activism intensified.

Those who criticised the naive conflating of activist and guerrilla identities found sustenance in the contribution of Dan O'Neill, a leading activist and lecturer in the English Department. Centrally O'Neill implied the need for a distinctive approach to social change in Western democracies, and thus recognition of layers of specificity within global complexity as well as detailing the discourse relevant to understanding the society that needed change. In his preface to an interview, O'Neill's interviewer, John Alexander, noted O'Neill's recognition of not only an 'underdeveloped' world in turmoil but also the relevance of "Marcuse, Gramsci ... Williams and the British new left in general" to Western capitalist nations (*Semper Floreat* 17 March 1969, p.4). To have identified with Raymond Williams was hardly insurrectionary but rather exhibited identification with working class and intellectual cultures, the relationship of culture to society and the dependency of radical Marxist politics on other realms of discourse.

Gramsci and Marcuse have a complex idea of culture and politics. These new more broadly conceived views rejected not only economic determinism but also political voluntarism (and here the connection with Maoism), and these understandings of characteristics of stratification, consumption and hegemonic influence on Western people were complex *New Left Review* fostered these new demonstrating its role as the critical Western Marxist journal of intellectual standing.

As the Moratorium movement got underway, the activist-oriented Protesters articulated a view of world justice that had only limited allegiance to Australia's current political traditions and certainly to many of the Labor Party perspectives. It rather asserted that protesters must share the strategic goals of the N.L.F and others like it, in the third world. While Marcuse argued the possibility also of this historical conjuncture, his theory of Western social change had little to do with insurrectionary political projects, but rather with those of cultural contestation. Often the activist Protesters retained that complexity yet often, also, they abandoned these more lucid perspectives for a universal revolutionary incantation with no more substance than the Maoist ones, in terms of applicability to the lives of Australians.

However in opposition to this trend, the Moratorium literature included the thoughts of the two existentialists (modern Romantics) Albert Camus and Martin Buber and a concern with poverty, in *REVOLUTION OR STARVATION*. The Campus Moratorium Committee's writer Christopher Rootes produced a broadsheet quoting Camus' '[t]oday tragedy is collective', which ended with a poem of distinctly literary Romantic flavour by William Wantling (sic) which gave the pamphlet its title ('at the market-place' n.d.) As well, and in a similar vein, J.B. Wilkinson articulated the ideas of the philosophic Romantic, Martin Buber. Wilkinson asked why "we" should make decisions about Vietnam, and discussed the nature of personal responsibility (*Moratorium*). However R.S.S.A, in the guise of the Revolutionary Moratorium Committee, produced a booklet on global imperialism supporting and describing the struggles of the national liberation fronts fighting the U.S. all over the world, including in Cambodia. Called *World Imperialism*, it, according to its content and to the graphics on the cover, asserted here was a unity or totality imposed on the non-Communist world by capitalism, particularly by the multinationals. It used British, American and Australian examples, C.R.A., G.M.H., B.H.P. The *World Imperialism* booklet drew a parallel between the authoritarianism of the third world reactionary dictatorships and similar governments in Australia — a significant simplification. However it also described the Soviet Union as imperialist, reinforcing the libertarian influence in the Brisbane Protests. Yet with the proviso about the Soviet Union, *World Imperialism* was closer to the return to insurrectionary and classical Marxism. There is a lot of dogma and shallowness in this. However it was unusual in its sense of articulation an international community free of colonialism and imperialism, scant as the details of this were. Other material mentioned more exactly reflected Western Marxist concerns.

The ongoing influence of humanism, moral discourses and existentialism still appeared to distinguish the Anti-Vietnam War and Anti-Conscription Movement in Brisbane. While the new campus Protesters originally orchestrated important intellectual steps in regard to the analysis of a broad set of problems in Western life, including environmental issues and the articulation of post-religious arguments for conscientious objection, they began moving to more intellectually rigid and simplified positions. Nevertheless elements of humanism and existentialism remained, as well as the rejection of authoritarian versions of Marxism, as did the Protesters' attention to the freedoms implied in the Conscription issue.

Yet these changes were not the reason for the disagreements within the Moratorium movement. In the desire to articulate an alternative scenario and practice to that which informed the activists, the established organizations and institutions of the Moratorium movement attempted to realise a desire for speedy change in ending the war, through a movement that eventually relied on electoral instruments and organizations.

Major differences were evident within the Movement between the strategic and lowest common denominator approach and an approach which had much broader aspirations. Therefore conflict developed between activists with no electoral organization associations and those attached to these and associated institutions, where legality, electoral viability, conformity in political rhetoric and indifference to participatory democracy and/or populism prevailed. Furthermore differences appeared over that which eliminated conceptual challenges to mainstream thinking — the lowest common denominator — including an abiding respect for the Americans despite their “mistake” in Indo-China. These differences presented two views of the portals of change, electoral or not, citizens as occasional Protesters or as the front line of a participatory democracy, individually-motivated electors or collectively engaged demonstrators. Differences flowed into assessments of the need for identities that were corporal and non-conformist — open to illegal actions even at personal risk, or of identities believing that such approaches gave the adversary sustenance or an understanding of the Australian people as well-intentioned, ambivalent and ill-informed but moveable, in terms of outlook, and in the short-term, who needed no ideological shock tactics or deep challenges to their concept of national identity or the Australian soldiers' virtues.

Fundamentally a new identity for Australia was in the balance: one protagonist was internationalist and the other closer to the idea of the national, if with a growing recognition of the need for incremental changes in identity. However this latter, electoral-organization-view, advocated no alliance with China nor support for the view of Australia as a facilitator of world revolution. In these ideas — the radical's idea of identity — Australia was an ally of those seeking social justice in an active and resistant manner and often against Western imperialist powers. These were construed not as sources of Australian heritage but as a county whose racism and colonial past was widely disdained in the third world. The U.S.A. was not “mistaken” but the enemy.

These represented tensions in the Anti-Vietnam War and Anti-Conscription Movement which could be connected to social locations inside or outside mainstream organizations and institutions and allegiances to same. While the radical perspectives were less palatable to the public, they influenced these other members of the Protesters' alliance, despite the tendencies to simplification within these outlooks.

## **6.0 OUTCOMES**

In this section, the thesis demonstrates the capacity of the A.L.P to turn the rising sentiment of feeling against the war and Conscription into an election victory. However the thesis interprets this victory as one demonstrating the power of the Protests to drive Labor's foreign policy in an historically-unique direction — towards Australian independence. Here this relationship between social movement and established organizational player was symbiotic despite the obvious differences, real conflicts and hostilities, described. As well the formation of the independence-oriented, Australian Democrats began at this time as another effect of the Protests on major political organizational structures. These were historically new positions for Australians to articulate, as governments, in terms of autonomy, and in small new parties with doctrinal beliefs about liberalism, even if these ideas remained standard within the theory of liberal democracy. Post-totalitarian liberalism was making a mark pressed by the nuances of its symbols of peace and justice, resistance, and an enlivened public sphere and the influential, if less mainstream effects of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism. Both the Labor Party and the forming Australian Democrats were infused with its influence, symbolised in the Moratorium movement mainstream.



The Labor Party's connection to its mass base allowed them to tune the Protesters' message. Therefore for a period of time much of what was mainstream politics was reforming politics aimed at initiating an Australian identity, independent of America, and removing some of the cultural baggage of British influence and furthermore, causing a break from the white Anglo-Celt-fortress-Australia-in-Asia mentality.

Whitlam's election speech at Blacktown Hall in 1972 attempted to pull together the relevant groups in the Brisbane Protests and most others of their ilk in Australia. Elected, Whitlam immediately ended Conscription and the Vietnam engagement. Summy and Saunders note these events of 1971-72 as ending the peace movement and highlighting its issue-orientated character as opposed to its possible permanent presence in political life (1986, p.67). However this neglects the transformation that occurred in the Labor Party, even if it too was temporary.

In 1972 Gough Whitlam came to office as Labor Prime Minister with the intention of significantly changing Australia's view of the world, of the neighbouring region, and of Australia's place in both. The appeal to Australia's vulnerability as a justification for close adherence to United States policy was dropped, and, to the extent that vulnerability figured at all, it was rather in the sense that Australia must resist exploitation by powerful American and other western commercial interests. "Whitlam and his colleagues sought to approach all foreign policy issues from an independent Australian perspective" (Dalrymple 2003, p.27-28).

Whitlam's time in office created a rare moment in the history of Australia, in which its independence from a superpower flourished. While this was a concern particularly of *The Brisbane Line*, it underwrote the Protesters' sense of Australia's proper place in the world community, if not nearly to the extent the Protesters wished. Whitlam recognised Communist China, which was a monumental symbol of integration into the realities of modern Asia, yet not a decision America wanted. In its dying days, the Whitlam government expressed concerns about the spy facility America had at Pine Gap. While there was no suggestion of dissolving the alliance with the U.S., Whitlam represented the relationship more as that of an agreement between two equals.

Certainly Whitlam was no doyen of anti-imperialism nor did the characteristics of the Protesters' outlook — radical Romantic post-totalitarianism — emerge, but there was something of the rebel in his government and ministers. There was even the hint of the

Romantic in its larger-than-life characters. Most importantly the Labor Party drew together what had electoral viability to assert its own view of internal changes in Australian society which showed an understanding of important changes, not only through post-totalitarian agendas concerning human rights, including racial equality and multi-culturalism but also critically, a sense of Australia's autonomy which was peculiar to some extent to this country in particular. The radical views of the Romantic post-totalitarians partly, even mostly, fell on deaf ears but even these changes by Whitlam were profound. This demonstrated the importance of conflicts in national identity as watersheds in Australian politics as well as the power of radical ideas to percolate slowly into the mainstream, changing political agenda even at the risk of weakening the original vigour of these social movements that carry these ideas by the very processes that allow for their percolation.

Another political organization connected to the anti-war and anti-conscription campaigns formed in the wings of these Protests was the Australian Democrats: successors to the Australia Party. The capacity of the old left and Labor Party to rise to the occasion via Gough Whitlam was remarkable. But its tardiness and its class allegiance saw the arrival of the Democrats onto the scene. They incorporated a more middle class version of the new Labor Party and also asserted the need for an independent Australia, particularly through its business class. According to Starr, (et al 1978), the Democrats' beginnings can be traced to some extent to their founder's letter about the Vietnam war written to the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1966. Democrats cornered the protest vote held by the D.L.P (Lovell et al., 1998, p.586). The Democrats reflected a very deep change related to the growth of tertiary education. This is a sign of an important shift in Cold War attitudes achieved by the Anti-War Movements. They brought about significant changes in Queensland as D.L.P. Senators left the scene to be replaced by the left and protest-orientated Australian Democrats.

## **7.0 CONCLUSION**

This section draws together the characteristics of the Anti-War Movement within the Brisbane Protests, using the analytical model set out in Chapter1. In the general theory, the outlines of appropriate social movement theories supplemented by Marxism and feminism suggest the characterisation of this Anti-War Movement. This movement also demonstrates the influence of a diffuse post-totalitarianism and particularly a radical Romantic version, while the tendency to activism for its own sake also

eventuates, as the 'official' new left account predicts. The Brisbane Protests can again be described with some specificity and generality, within national and local parameters due to Australia's specific historical trajectory and with more general political-economy descriptions. As well, the characteristics of the Brisbane adversary and its deficient public sphere produced a specific outcome.

Yet the most dominant picture which emerges is that of a crisis in national integrity and international associations which stimulates the broad acceptance of the new political idioms of post-totalitarianism. It was influenced not by conservative insights, which even the Liberal Party reflected in changes to conscientious objection rules but to one emanating, in terms of a broader social movement, in Brisbane's case, from the radical Romantic post-totalitarians. Here the intellectual and social networks through which post-totalitarianism might become influential were limited and the conduit relied on the Civil Liberties Movement. However those activists in it, both through reflection on liberal democracy and its lack discussed in the previous chapter, and due to more theoretically concerted reflections in the light of the Vietnam War, moved past this perspective into a more radical and Marxist appraisal of varying standards of sophistication. Yet still, usually but not always, these had radical liberal influences in them. Much more rapidly and independently of such a mass-movement, the radical liberal threads of post-totalitarianism were taken up in other states, finally giving Whitlam victory. Queensland's specificity was apparent in the absence of that influence.

Tarrow is very useful for defining the way the Anti-War Movement was swept up into the victory of the social democratic Labor Party and the formation of the Australian Democrats. However the latter's formation suggests that social movements create new political dimensions rather than just being swamped by pre-existing ones. While Tarrow might argue that the ideas of a post-totalitarian and national independence and concomitant new internationalism are not new, Australia's absence of tradition creates obstacles to accepting his theory. Further, the analysis suggests that political parties are dependent on social movements as do Touraine (Melucci's mentor) and others. Furthermore the problem of Australia's autonomous identity is not a political matter, as a theorist of the core industrial countries might suggest, but rather is a matter of cultural identity, with deep changes emanating from the need to adjust rapidly to new circumstances. Examples of these, such as a location in a distinctive and 'foreign' hemisphere and perceived vulnerabilities at the core of their immigrant identities

immediately deserve consideration. Yet the political decisions by Whitlam, at the national level, despite their encasement in the Alliance, did create dramatic effects as Tarrow's theory would suggest. It remained these, rather than international decision-making, that affected the political processes moulding the Movement. However the origins of the war lay partly in an explanation based on Australia's lack of autonomy. Tarrow misses analytic insights by assuming a predominant autonomy. As to the newness issue, this is reviewed subsequently.

Tarrow, as well, indicates that the parameters of competition create conflict, even if he under-estimates the efficacy of prolonged conflict to re-route national agendas and identities as in this case of the Anti-War Movement. Yet political processes of competition such as he describes do indicate some of the characteristics of the Anti-War Movement.

As regards solidarity, the extended period of resistance by the Anti-War Movement indicated the importance of the issue and the Movement's depth was apparent in its relative longevity. These characteristics of prolonged intensity emanated from engagement in issues of great seriousness to human life. This was a type of commitment which must be imbued with a sense of solidarity with those affected directly by the War and between those who were activists against it. The capacity of activists in the Anti-Conscription Movement to support those fleeing Conscription indicated a depth as well. The prolonged reflections about Australia's strategic presence in the world also helped orchestrate alternative views of masculinity such as the counter-cultural ones<sup>34</sup>. However, as far as research indicates, the Anti-War Movement did not initiate self-reflective activities, which explored personal relationships nor of solidarities which might have bound resisters more deeply. It rather appears to have created the image of the activist whose capacity for solidarity is in common protestation rather than sustaining communities and personal support processes. It may better characterise a masculine solidarity — more outward than internal in orientation. Yet it also was real and a coherent group of people can be traced in organizations and the literature: people who fought against injustices associated with the war.

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<sup>34</sup> The thesis cannot deal with this movement well described in Richard Neville's *Playpower* or more broadly in the contemporaneous writings of C. Reich in *The Greening of America*

The characteristics of the activists described here are those of an outsiders, defiant, and uncompromising, unwilling to tailor their outlooks to shared beliefs and norms about the nation, and with a varied message about internationalism, moral belief, and equality. These characterisations are very different ones from those required in an elector in a representative democracy. Even if, as Tarrow suggests, these behaviours are prone to political processes, they deliberately pre-define a new type of polis, which is participatory and internationalist rather than national and liberal democratic and requiring activism rather than representation. The Protesters challenged and changed through Whitlam the functions of the nation, which Tarrow takes as unchanging and dominant over protest processes.

Melucci might be more useful, in terms of suggesting the importance of cultural change, were it not that his concern with culture is tied to new economic models of post-industrialism. It is probable, however, for such countries as Australia, that the transition from dependence to autonomy, with the implication that the economy attains greater complexity since its executive navigators — large companies — are no longer off-shore, is a quantum leap within industrialisation not dissimilar to a transition to post-industrialism. It requires the same integration of the economic, political and cultural, as that which he suggests typifies post-industrialism, if not necessarily all of its postulated endless creativity in codes of production, administration and consumption. As well the central role of the university in Australia's post-war industrialisation, even where this industrialisation was not conceived, for strategic reasons, by the dominant classes as being in terms of autonomy, still suggested a major economic transition with characteristics not dissimilar from those delineated in Melucci's post-industrialism theory, but yet implicitly differentiated from those transitions to post-industrialism as they were conceived by him as affecting core industrial countries.

There was a cultural struggle about identity in Australia orchestrated by the adversary Menzies and which must be described as subservient modernisation, against the latter quality of which the Queensland adversary expresses suspicion, where it contravened the tenets of traditional reactionary Romanticism. The Protesters presented another variation on this identity. Added to the radical Romantic post-totalitarianism of the Protesters, all these ideas, while also partly pre-existing, are the product of new reconstructions and applications not just about economic cultures and codes of interaction and authority but also about nation. Melucci's views must be tailored to Australia's semi-peripheral status in which the thesis, extrapolating from Arrighi

postulates the inevitability that identity and nation are in turmoil, even in the type of modernisation preferred by the dominant classes in Australia. These crises were multi-stranded and not so different from post-industrial transformations. As well Melucci's comments about educated youth as key components of change must be, in the Brisbane case, modified to adjust to a product of a debilitated public sphere and the apparently post-industrial-like characteristics of a modernising semi-peripheral country, with a national ideal in crisis and with the influence of post-totalitarian views, not post-industrialism.

The shift to new arguments on the principles of modernity, as Habermas defines it, appears in the new arguments, which were no longer religious ones, but rather conscientious objection to particular wars. While straying from the absolutism of much of the then moral argumentation of the Protesters, such argument demonstrates the use of the insights of modernity, reinforcing Habermas's use in the analytical model. Furthermore it is entirely compatible with Habermas's perspective that the universities should provide some of the rationality underpinning modernity.

The Anti-War Movement was part of a national and international movement expressing concerns which emanate from the post-war world, especially concerns not only about the then recent drift to totalitarianism but also about long-standing and thwarted aspirations contained in the lost, actual and idealised possibilities of various modern traditions and societies. This general ambit of much post-war politics, especially in the liberal democracies, which the thesis describes as post-totalitarianism, has a very wide array of meanings and applications. These lay in a specific interpretation of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism, exemplified in the Western movements in largely liberal democratic environments. The value of representing the post-totalitarian theme in the second frame appears in the coincidence between the ideas of the Protesters in the Anti-War Movement and the broad swathe of ideas incorporated in this perspective. The virtues of anti-colonialism and the anti-bureaucratic socialist resistances, as well as the model of the defiant Western activist, expressing his/her broader persona and moral disposition, and the potential to use deviant personas as challenges to the status quo, characterised the reconstruction and application of this Romanticism.

Were these ideas — variously received and interpreted— new? Tarrow does imply rejection of the special qualities of ideas — they all recycle in liberal democracy. However post-totalitarianism was more than a recombination of democratic and

socialist thought. Its intellectual confluences are uniquely expressed in the Conscription arguments and others not only as a libertarianism, which is an 'old idea', but also as Western Marxism, which engaged the parameters of individual experience, and analysed normative hegemonies applying to democracies. These were Romantically oriented, but with a post-totalitarian outlook, and while this argument is open to rebuttal, in that these ideas are present in ancient religious or traditional societies' practices or in turn of the 20th century Central European thinking about alienation, the thesis favours the view that these were not old and certainly not typical critiques but represented a new set of principles to deal with a new quandary — the Cold War, the rise of totalitarianism and the efficacy of colonial resistance in global transformation.

Can the thesis describe the Anti-Vietnam War and Anti-Conscription Movement as radical Romantic post-totalitarian given the Protesters' evident capitulation to more ideological positions and the attention to the extreme edges of this spectrum of ideas in Maoism? This Maoism is Marxism-Leninism which includes the vindication of Stalin. Obviously those of Trotskyite persuasion had far greater claim to genuinely representing the anti-bureaucratic, but it is more particularly the anti-authoritarianism associated with radical Romantic post-totalitarianism that is a key perspective in this group of influences. The answer to the question is that despite these and other strong tendencies to simplification, the Protests still relied upon Western Marxism to a significant degree with lingering existential influences as noted. While the more formally and rigidly organized revolutionary groups took a more definitive stand at the Marxist edge of this understanding as in the case of R.S.P. or (Labour Action Group) L.A.G. with Trotskyite orientations, these retained anti-bureaucratic elements, which they associated with anti-totalitarianism. However Trotskyism removed the thread of cultural critiques and new dimensions of resistances that the Protesters reflected. Maoism also assumed this anti-bureaucratic standpoint and was therefore with hindsight both contradictory and in other regards rightly part of the radical Romantic thrust, of which individual threads deserve scrutiny, but whose historical associations at the time were still rightly bundled together with libertarianism, radical democracy and conscience politics and in Maoism a type of populism. This observation maintains the Protesters' perspective. In this radical Romantic post-totalitarianism, the 'activist' was in these events a Romantic character. Electioneering makes routines of ideas and actions. The thesis notes that activists also were prone to simplification, without, however, giving up, in their own mind, the intensity of their feelings and uncompromising perspective. Activism does not de-personalise by routines, the

individual Romantic subjects' political input, for electoral and other political compromises, part and parcel of these routines, are unnecessary. All these matters make the differences clearer between these activists and mainstream political-party-mediated and Cold-War-channelled post-totalitarianism. Populism is an in-between case somehow both routine and expressive and so underlining its irrationality.

As for the 'official' new left view, such a condemnation of Protesters does suggest itself. Yet nihilism was limited, and competition better explains the extremes. The oversimplification of a global order indicated the Protesters' willingness to see the world through prejudiced and shallow thinking, and adopt the convenience of thinking that the national liberation fronts were both ally, and route to a solution. These were mistakes and misunderstandings. In hindsight, such Protesters had to live with the endorsement of Pol Pot and Mao Zedong. These simplifications, which appeared to represent a path to a 'routinising' of politics, evidenced a loss of contact with their roots in deeper and complex traditions, vindicating Habermas and Melucci's critiques of the new left.

In relation to the third frame, Australia and Queensland's distinctive histories influenced the Protests. The nature of Whitlam's distinctive government has some explanation in the long years of opposition. The Labor Party in 1972 encouraged all those who were marginalised in various ways to change government. This amounted to — or Whitlam eagerly interpreted it as — a mandate. The Protests fitted within part of something bigger. This was not just the other Protester issues but in changes they themselves ignored. However in tapping into the Conscription debate, the Protesters tapped into one of the few strong ideological beliefs of Australians. The effect of these Protests relies not just on the gravity of the issues, but on the connection that these issues had to national identity. For it is contestations about this identity that evoked strong feelings, it seems, and this points to a key to understanding of the Anti-War Movement's broader effects, already demonstrated in the previous chapter by the rise of the C.L.M. within the Anti-War Movement and the rush of changes that accompanied it, which are dealt with subsequently in the thesis.

However the character of the Brisbane Protests may reflect Queensland's sense of distance from 'the golden triangle' as there appears no connection of a prolonged nature to the Melbourne Maoists and it was those activists who most clearly identified the relevance of Australia's colonisation by America. National identity was seen as



more ideologically constructed by nationalists within the axis of left and right and the nation's significance more directly part of the world view of those in these major nation trading and commercial centres. This sense of location within nation meant the potential to use nationalism as an ideological instrument affected more, the radical Romantics there. Trotskyism, more dominant in Sydney, despite its internationalism also recognised the relevance of national moments of resistance although this was subservient to its international focus. Brisbane's Protesters also challenged the national identity but with critiques without intention to refashion nationalism yet still to critique national identity except in the exceptional case of the in-any-case-failed, Brisbane Line.

The Brisbane labour tradition was distinctive within the national context, as was the adversary. The public domain in general evidenced few pre-existing examples of post-totalitarian or radical Romantic post-totalitarian thinking amongst precursors. Rather a small group, broad, and necessarily inclusive, unfolds. This was part old left, part a miniscule new middle-class presence, which, in Brisbane, rather than cementing a Marxist or Anarchist post-totalitarian identity falls under labourite non-doctrinal hegemony, although this C.P.A. by 1968 had joined the radical post-totalitarian ranks in some respects. Students established a numerical, and to some extent ideological, dominance.

Yet students aligned with more complex, theoretical and generalised concerns, which were previously almost completely absent in Brisbane. Radical Romanticism was therefore interpreted, without the narrowing influence of the Internationals, and with a wide cultural vision and cultural complexity. Hence, the Protests retained some of a distinctive breadth, despite indicating a tendency to simplification of the characteristics of the world order and the real potential of third world guerrillas to be symbols of independence, equality and justice rather than caught in their own ideological limitations and the realities of strategic Communist Party intentions — especially those of the Soviet Union.

The campus groups forged and reflected both the new breadth and some of the tendencies to simplification. Yet they created patterns that were distinctive. Support came from small groups of women, radical unionists — the Maritime unions in particular — young communists and socialists, and religious dissidents. Furthermore, in this political culture, the peace movement, other than Melbourne's, which had a

stronger radical tradition, was small. In Queensland, the students were the main force in numbers. This meant that they were isolated and easily contained, restrengthening the sense that the University was the only source of Protest. Ironically the potential of the Protesters thereby gained greater intellectual breadth.

So, in conclusion, the patterns of the Anti-Vietnam War and Anti-Conscription Movements in Brisbane were those of social movements emerging post-war in Western democracies. These had features explained by Tarrow's emphases on political processes, but not by his suggestion of their continuity, cultural stability, and universal form within an autonomous nation, by Melucci's emphasis on culture, but not the implications of post-totalitarianism nor the implications of his specific reasons for the role of students in this context (but their role nevertheless), and Habermas's understanding of modernity. Marxism helps the understanding of the potential economic foundations of Australia's identity crises, while feminism contributes to the understanding of the gendered nature of solidarity.

The absence of the Marxist-Leninist splinter groups in Brisbane added to the interest in rational advances in arguments about Conscription. Nevertheless there was a definite tendency to return to classical Marxism in Maoism with some groups, which was evidence of simplification. Even these groups focusing on global U.S. imperialism retained the Brisbane orientation, in the socially broader, if still insurrectionary, theories of libertarianism. Other groups retained the challenges of post-totalitarianism recognising distinctions in the global order between colony and homelands and their different requirements for resistant movements. The broader path of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism remained, while the major patterns of anti-colonial movements in the third world ensured Marxism became influential.

Australia's history of domination added to the transitions occurring around and within the Movement, which flowed into a conflict about identity. This, which the Protesters analysed as a potential for transition to a more internationalist identity committed to the oppressed, also unleashed a broader movement of supporters, whose interest in being involved would not come from deep ideological divisions or such internationalism but from those divisions about the concept of nation, the human costs of war and the need for change (it was time). Nevertheless these combined forces of the Anti-War movement did create strong challenges to an older more conservative subservient identity. In Brisbane a more student-dominated cohort of Protesters carried the

Protests, thereby underwriting the potential of the newer dimensions of radical Romantic post-totalitarian ideas.

## **CHAPTER 4**

# **THE ANTI-SUBURBAN MOVEMENTS**

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Whereas the analysis in Chapters 2 and 3 was of clearly defined Movements (the Civil Liberties Movement and Anti-War Movement), the object of analysis in this chapter is two of the many, often disparate and diffuse, anti-suburban movements. These two are the domesticities and urban spaces movement and the cultural production movement. These movements are both different from each other in some respects and both are very different from those of these previous chapters. Their analyses require and challenge different aspects of the analytical model. These analyses suggest challenges to the theory in the analytical model, which fails to contribute to debates about cultural/material infrastructures and their effects, implied particularly in the analysis of the domesticities movement. The cultural production movement confounds some representations of the new left in the general theory in the analytical model.

The orientations typical in the West in the post-war period not only lead to conflicts about both the content and the mode of production and consumption of culture and advertised products but also provoked questions for women, in particular, about the nature and purpose of suburban domesticity. However rather than involving representations of gender identity, sexual orientation and the anti-consumer movements, which typically associate with expressions of such post-war criticism, the thesis analyses the domesticities and urban spaces movement and the cultural production movement. The former was a part of a more universal trend which, in the Brisbane case, sustained, in a particular way, the articulation of the questioning of such produced and gendered hegemonies and facilitated the Protesters' attempts to live out some of these questionings as alternative living arrangements and as new modes of cultural production and consumption. In fact this movement sustained all the Brisbane movements discussed in this thesis and was its common lived core. Yet it had particular affinity to those issues that can most readily be associated with the most fundamental of all the radical Romantic themes for the Protesters — the personal is the political. The domesticities and urban spaces embedded that idea in various forms in the living arrangements of the Protesters yet within the particular contexts of Brisbane's inner-city and -suburbs. In the case of the cultural production movement, patterns of creative endeavour, in a significant variety of rich cultural media, appear quite unusual in the writings about contemporaneous movements, especially about the new left,

by the close approximation of those who carried them out to those who were centrally involved in political activity in the Protests.

The populating of, and co-habitation in, these areas by the Brisbane Protesters was not politically, organised, unified or orchestrated, yet it was purposeful, rather than just financially-driven. However the analysis of the cultural production and consumption movement indicates a movement with greater self-definition in its tasks and purposes than that of the domesticities and urban spaces movement. Yet its members were also fulfilling needs for conducive experimental environments, cheaper spaces and for central locations that offered the opportunity to address the spatial separation of production and consumption of culture just as the latter embodied the need to reconstruct the separation of the production and consumption of political and private life.

In both cases, these movements cannot equate to political movements associated with clear demands and large demonstrations, but rather were involved with the articulation of meanings that are in personal, social or cultural realms of understanding — less amenable to conversion into political demands in the conventional sense. These were movements that satisfied personal needs or desires to create cultural milieux or social spaces. Yet those in these movements often had critical political intentions understood in the conventional sense as well as in the newer or reawakened sense of the link between these domains of the domestic and urban and politics, or cultural production and politics. The two movements chosen for particular focus in this chapter require a breadth of analytical focus due to these broad associations.

The chapter notes four separate elements within this concept of anti-suburban opposition to the orientations of the key economic, political and cultural interests in post-war suburbia and their advocates. They were firstly the alternative inner-urban communities and domesticities, secondly the counter culture movement, thirdly the performance venue, Foco and fourthly the sexual liberation movement. Although all of the anti-suburban movements characterise activities less readily connected to campaigns or demonstrations, they were movements in the sense used in this thesis. Only a public performance on Erotica Day as a part of the sexual liberation movement was an exception, but was still atypical in that it is a performance not a march, vigil or picket. While all four were sources of cultural conflict only two, as noted, are analysed in this chapter, while the others are

ancillary concerns of other movements described in this and other chapters. The Protesters evidently found that the houses and urban spaces they lived in, as well as their activities, encouraged their oppositional identification to the suburban nuclear family. They offered new types of solidarities thinking that these circumvented the restrictions of the suburban nuclear family and instead argued for the benefits of resistant or atypical households in different communities. These expectations and their actuality varied greatly in depth and insight. The solidarity of those in Foco the cultural production movement's main venue, appears in the analysis of its public form. This movement engaged in the practical task of creating a performance venue and it also appeared in reference in the interview of Barbara Bacon (now deceased) to accept patterns of personal self-disciplines.

Analysis of the Brisbane Protests suggests the need to describe the inner urban *spaces* of Brisbane socially, and through its material and town-planning characteristics. These spaces were the residential addresses and domestic contexts of many campaigners discussed in the previous chapters. However the appeal and location of these domesticities was much more complex than just a place where people, related, talked, ate, slept, produced, studied, campaigned, entertained, sought intimacy or had sex. These locations encouraged different ways of seeing and acting, since these domiciles, urban spaces, lifestyles and patterns of interaction did not conform to those of suburbia. Adding to the overall importance of this analysis, these dimensions of experiment and location, influence and possibility, while common to all movements in the thesis to some extent, exist very markedly, in the two chosen as the critical examples of the anti-suburban movements i.e. the domesticities and urban spaces movement and the cultural production and consumption and these therefore best stimulate theoretical reflections.

While Tarrow has little relevance to the analysis of these types of activities, since they are farthest from the political processes although his concern with necessary resources is relevant, the work of Melucci appears relevant, although he does not analyse the spaces, as other than in the intellectual sense that they were experimental. That certainly describes much of the intent and activity of the younger cohort moving into these spaces. However, missing in Melucci's analysis is the cultural/physical dimensions of the spaces they inhabited.

Habermas focuses on the problem of the depth of the activities in comparison to other parts of the 'lifeworld' (Habermas 1985, vol. 2). He implies therefore that radicalism can be

measured by reference to its communicative achievements. This is an important criteria not only in its own right but because in the context of the times (which were not diabolically oppressive for many Australians) any retreat from the achievements of greater communicative freedom and, more especially, evidence of lack of depth in communicative actions may have been received in hostile fashion by otherwise potential supporters. This is therefore helpful for the understanding of the character of the Protests. However this does not, the thesis argues, lend credence to the understanding of this chapter's subject matter as evidence of a clash of lifeworlds: inner suburban versus suburban.

The thesis recognises that suburbanites articulated some exacting (if sexist and culturally closed) standards in regard to child-rearing and significantly enriched types of private caring and bonding in many families. However the chapter indicates the extreme variability of those occupying the inner-suburban world and this existed even within the Protest cohort, in terms of familial socialisation, e.g. immigrant and Indigenous extended families and inner city communes which were usually childless; in terms of traditions of belief although the thesis establishes the Protests share a type of radical Romanticism the inhabitants of the inner-suburbs did not so share these traditions consciously but practiced rather, more traditional ways of life because of their own traditions. While an outsider status appears to define these inner suburban dwellers their links are rather in spatial and in cultural surrounds — as defined by others' architecture — in which they have found possibilities for survival, recreation and domesticity. It is the Protesters in this environs the thesis seeks to understand and this is not their unified understanding and practices as lifeworld but rather the influence of its multiple characteristics on their expressions and the way it preserved certain marginalised cultures who were part of the Protests. Furthermore Habermas does not theorise the interactions of differing groups within a lifeworld which remains an interesting project.

There is no value in representing the conflicts in this chapter as a unified and consciously inner suburban world against the suburban world — one where investments in privacy are much more critical and participation in public life appears largely diminished as an observable part of living. Nevertheless there was partial awareness of difference reflected in the literature in the Civil Liberties chapter and in the chapter concerning the women's movement. The lack of homogeneity especially in the inner-suburban world, itself interesting in comparison to the suburban world, is not the source of a movement which is quintessentially and consciously inner suburban but rather against the privatised and



privileged and nuclear characteristics of it in favour of a great diversity of perspectives within the challenging groups which the thesis constructs as consciously and unconsciously Romantic. Rather, it is a site where there were opportunities (especially through the availability of and while this site is inclusive of a more public and more organic set of community interactions this does not intend the implication that the inner suburbs had a coherent self-understanding ideology — at best its radical Protester components shared this sense of difference which rarely found unified expression although analytically it can be so perceived, if in reference to particular and specific streams. The thesis finds the discussion about solidarity more useful to describe some of the bonds apparent in groups of Protesters and particularly the idea of stratification dealt with in Chapter Six. In this chapter, it is the opportunities brought about by cheaper premises and living spaces, the related possibilities for communal living and the ambiance of a more public world of the inner city as well as its architectural influences which are important. It was a set of cultural resources and opportunities rather than a lifeworld against which suburbia must be described as system or more system-influenced, for in some cases the inner-city childless communes share the qualities of the system more than suburbia.

It is feminism and especially in its local applicability through the edited work of Gail Reekie, which suggests the significance of these spaces (1994). Her and her contributor's work has the added benefit of being an analysis of Brisbane circumstances and environments. Life in Brisbane was suffused nevertheless, if idiosyncratically, with the influences of national directions to modernisation.

## **2.0 ORIENTATIONS AND ADVERSARIES**

This section defines the characteristics of the adversaries. The politically bipartisan approach to post-war reconstruction rested on stimulation of the economy through migration and a suburban domesticity with an attendant economy of consumption built around home ownership. Australia was also to be reconstructed with the help of American investment. Australian 'exceptionalism' as regard the American influence was only in its pronounced cultural subservience.

While home ownership was not new as an aspiration, the strategic orientation of the dominant post-war elite was to encourage all classes to a suburban lifestyle idealised as bestowing, not only happiness but also social harmony. Both assertions are now, more apparently, problematic. The cultural orientation to suburbanisation as the road to harmony

was a critical part of political, economic and many other strategies of a Cold War, American-led 'way of life'. As a broad generalisation, employment, domestic bliss leading to children, and ideally including home ownership in suburbia, were rewards for recently-past war services and the way forward for Australians (Menzies in Walter & Macleod 2002, p131-141.). Menzies' nearly 25 years of rule symbolised the power of this hegemony, with the only limitation that it rested on economic underpinning, which when weakened in 1961 nearly caused an electoral upset. Yet in any case, the Labor Party endorsed this same view. The deeper problem, that these overviews were endorsed in a system of American dominance, seemed initially, hardly important, in the face of the security and material benefits that people associated with them. However, more particularly for this chapter's concerns, suburbanisation produced the technologies of new suburban domesticity and the wonders of television. Not only were these technologies tied to the dominance of American cultural productions (Barnouw 1975) and hence to a cultural colonisation but also to a more subtle stratification — an effective exclusion from the ideal for many who could not, or would not, conform to its codes of stereotyping and conformity. These excluded lived in the inner urban spaces and in more provincial and rural circumstances. The thesis is ignoring, for the purposes of this chapter, another crucial segment: those alienated by, yet living within, this suburbia.

However the cultural architecture of the Cold War-founded 'way of life' (White 1987) was contradictory: on the one hand delivering certain comforts and material advantages yet on the other creating an imposed and stereotypical mode of reproduction, of both life and cultural symbols. Firstly it challenged Australian cultural nationalists. The re-defining of the cultural resources of Australia by America was particularly challenging to attempts to define an Australian culture. This was a project of a few notable authors and historians of the old left in the post-war period, as *The Bulletin* tradition lost relevance or needed, in Russell Ward's version (Ward 1956), reconstructing. Nettie Palmer, and particularly the Communist Frank Hardy engaged in this nationalist project.

Yet there were new dimensions of this colonisation in the medium of delivery. While suburbia seems a distant adversary, it was the restructuring of culture to suit suburban-friendly media that was the major driving force of concern for the Protesters. The television stations distributed a packaged, distant product without critical character (except the graphic richness of TV news). Authenticity became an issue in cultural production as elsewhere. Additionally, a tangential effect followed from the introduction of the new technology. TV generated a competing niche market in non-mainstream music (Zion

1988), even if American. These counter-eddies to the American-Australian 'way of life' assisted the new movements, especially in Queensland, where fundamentalism — the idea that the Bible was the word of God and therefore the only source of wisdom — befuddled governments, right and more right.

### **3.0 THE PROTESTERS**

This section concerns the domesticities and urban spaces movement and subsequently Foco, the principal venue of the cultural movement. One way to describe all the movements analysed in the thesis is through their interactions with urban spaces, and through their domesticities or domestic arrangements. Through their activities, they locate in specific urban spaces and within households of particular types. In other words, at the same time that the campaigners launched their distinct Protests, their locations bound them.

However the cultural performance movement was a specific example of this urban location. It was also, in some other respects, unique in the Australian setting. It relied on a performance space created by those associated with the Brisbane Protests. Just as locations intertwined, so did activities. Perhaps this was, in part, the product of life in a 'big country town', however the activists' relationships were conscious and deliberate in some respects, if not clearly explained by them in terms of opposition to suburbia — partly since these people less commonly put out manifestos about their choice of domesticity. More explicitly, opposition to the ways and means by which American culture penetrated local cultural life appeared with their commentary on Foco.

#### ***3.1 The New Domesticities and Urban Spaces Movement***

Common to all the movements discussed in this chapter were many of their adherents' attachments to a set of alternative domestic practices and/or social locations in urban geography. This link to alternative domesticities was fundamental since the new domesticities contained many Protesters, while the link to the inner urban spaces featured in the location of most of their venues and meeting places.

Brisbane's inner-city and inner-suburbs represented a social destination that had resources, possibilities, complexities and opportunities, of all of which the Protesters made use. The thesis demonstrated in Chapters 1 and 2 that the St. Lucia campus was the other

location of importance, yet due to the unavailability of cheaper rent and of older inner-urban houses and venues immediately surrounding the campus, many chose to live in these inner urban locations in which such resources were available. Suburbanisation emptied the post-war city of the better-off working class and middle class families. Although a pattern of central urban cohabitation of the Brisbane Protesters is difficult to prove statistically, the location of meetings and printing presses mentioned in the literature indicate this.

According to *Action this Year* S.D.A. met at 188 Gladstone Rd., Highgate Hill, (S.D.A. 1968,) anti-conscription meetings were held in Benson St., Toowong (*Anti-Conscription Co-ordinating Committee* n.d.) and the student socialists met at Jephson St, Toowong. Meetings were held frequently in Red Hill. In addition, the South Brisbane Club for Aborigines and Islanders, and the West End Greek Club, frequented by Greek migrant Communists, all often associated with the Protests, if in the latter case, tangentially, indicate this pattern. The Elizabeth Arcade in the city became the site of various radical bookshops. The other inner-city venues the Protesters frequented were Foco at Trades Hall and the U.A.W. rooms for women in Elizabeth St. All these locations were part of a map of meaning to Brisbane Protesters.

No doubt, strong undertones of economic necessity affected the decision to set up the S.D.A headquarters to a mostly deserted, old, inner-city building. This was once part of the central Brisbane Fruit and Vegetable Markets<sup>33</sup>. In reality S.D.A.'s new headquarters was a basement, a real, and poetically speaking, underground location, through which students increasingly could see themselves as subterranean outsiders.

Many students lived in the inner-suburban areas of West End and Hill End, a ferry trip away from St. Lucia campus, but firmly in the inner-suburbs. Also living in these areas were the culturally distinctive and oppressed, non-Anglo-Celtic migrants. No matter how conservative many Southern European migrants were politically, in their location and as cultural enclave, they bolstered the outsiders' sense of other social differences. In these typical households of inner-city Southern European immigrants, some of the attractions of earlier Australian non-nuclear, non-suburban, familial stereotypes survived. Here, as well,

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<sup>33</sup> It predictably moved to a suburban location where adequate parking for motorised transport and suburban distribution was available (Fruit and Vegetable Market Authority (Oxley Library)

were the widely extended families of urban-dwelling, Torres Strait Islanders and Aborigines.

The inner-suburbs provided interesting cultures. The streets had a life of their own in the sense that pedestrians still used the footpaths, unlike in much of suburbia. These streets were a separate reality: they opened another non-private world so diminished in this suburbia. Suburbia stood for privacy. It broke down all solidarities except the familial, and then only the nuclear family survived.

The remnants of the material evidence of domesticities and urban spatial relationships of earlier Brisbane generations' modes of co-habitation and community existed in the older inner-suburbs houses and streets. They remained architecturally and demographically different from post-war suburbia's drive to more peripheral developments. Yet the older domestic sites were not slums in Queensland. Aesthetically there was the possibility of enjoying the often-attractive dilapidation, and the romance of large older houses. Artisanry added to the romance of these wooden dwellings on "stilts" ready for the floods.

Kay Ferres and Jennifer Craik in separate contributions to Gail Reekie's *On the Edge* on the subject of the local architecture identify the flexibility (Craik 1994) of the houses in terms of their use. While Ferres's is really a theoretical contribution it complements Craik's specific insights about Queensland. The lack of rigid walls and partitioning reflected the desire of freer airflow, the thesis suggests. However of particular relevance are Craik's comments about the Brisbane verandas. Despite their common role elsewhere in the British Commonwealth they are particularly common in pre-war buildings as found in Brisbane's inner-cities. For Craik (in Reekie 1994) verandas are a "point of constant negotiation of inside and out". She argues Brisbane's

was an externally orientated architecture ... rather than creating a private world cut off from public realms, the house worked at the interstices between public and private activities and institutions.  
(p.146,156).

Groups of students, young workers and the unemployed rented cheaply and (theoretically) convivially. Neither the stigma of boarding houses and tenement slums nor the confinement of the suburban lot operated. This was a foundation for an alternative view of domesticity for the wave of Protesters. These inner-suburban households exuded the

fluidity and flexibility of young lives freed from elders' responsibilities. However, they were also environments, which were free from restrictions, from overseeing parental figures, and places where young people felt perhaps they 'owned' their own needs, emotions and freedom. Meals were communal, and parties inevitable. However, they also realised the possibility of co-operation and a type of solidarity so missing from suburban life. There was the freedom and novelty of communal needs which they discussed and acted upon.

However, such a life had its own problems. This inner-suburban lifestyle for the young workers and students also spawned a household economy. Sources of illegal and dangerous drugs and even growing environments for the lucrative cash crop marijuana, these communal or shared homes harboured selfish motivations as much as altruistic ones. Protester Max Hughes, S.D.A. member, and marijuana legalisation advocate (now deceased), was an example of the connection between this drug culture and the Protests as was the R.S.A.-R.S.S.A. split document's discussion of the 'hippies'. (Pearce/Prentice n.d.) There was also the manufacturing of University assignment essays on demand, by poorer and more gifted students, usually for richer and lazier ones. Furthermore not only did this less 'alternative' side exist, but also these groups often lasted only a year or less. These realities indicated that rather than just freedom and possibilities there was also degeneration of the intellectual aspirations of some Protesters, their colonisation by the drug culture, and their shallowness in terms of relationships.

Some of this alternative cultural movement, though it was of limited significance in the early 1970s, sought semi-rural or rural lifestyles. The Nimbin Festival, precipitating a large rural commune, soon happened; yet, already the Protestors' domiciliary arrangements included the farms in the Western and other outer suburbs, such as those at Chapel Hill and Brookfield. There, indicative of the new cultural emphasis of alternative families and lifestyles, not farming but lifestyle experimentation was already under way. These too underscored hostility to suburbia.

Outside the middle class suburban dream then, there was a potential cauldron of outsiders living in the inner-city and suburbs. This mirror produced some homogeneity in the Protests, and often it provided experimentation and chances to change, surrounded by a cultural complexity and an older urban culture. This other Brisbane housed students, the poor, the elderly, migrants, the Indigenous and young workers and professionals. For the Protesters this was not an environment signalling a lifetime (or a significant part thereof) of an inability to conform but rather an unwillingness to conform, although such divisions

cannot be exclusive. It was an opportunity of sorts for youth but far less so Aborigines, migrants and lower working class youth, who found themselves there, with their families, most likely because they fitted nowhere else. For them, a sense of defeat may have tinged their experiences. But for the students, the University was just across town or the river. Theory and practice were only a ferry trip away from each other for the activists.

This inner-suburban and inner-city discarded world, then, was the foundation of a set of alternative possibilities, which realised material needs of shelter, new possibilities of living without conventional repressions, and opportunities to experiment with, organise for, and create, a different world. It was a chance to circumvent dominant stereotypes and at the same time to live out an alternative to suburban domesticity. It reflected the needs of mature, still non-working and non-conventional youth, who found a set of ways of remaining independent, communal and part of a citizenry.

These households were not above conflict and exploitation by those who lived in this culture. The capacity of these groups to produce a continuity and longevity of new values and better lives requires consideration. The picture drawn of this world is an important part of characterising the Brisbane Protests. It was a challenging, experimental, socially fluid, culturally and politically free, and engaging lifestyle. If anything, it gave some people too little stability and too shallow an experience of bonding, if some of the problems noted are indications. However, had it not been available, the sense of movement would have been powerfully hampered, for this world was facilitator and symbol and crucial resource of the Protests. These symbolic and material environments containing the newer domesticities and alternative venues therefore need to be incorporated into the analysis of the domesticities and urban spaces movement and, in fact, into all the movements considered in this thesis.

### **3.2 *Foco – Movement of cultural performance***

This section describes various performed activities, which distinguished Foco. These suggested a particular need to respond to a new adversary. The adversary to the anti-suburban cultural performance movement was new, by virtue of its mass-distributed and visually-based performance products. Using new technologies, which took cultural output directly into the home, TV, in particular, was both 'the medium and the message', which threatened local cultural traditions. The analysis of Foco is crucial to understanding the distinctiveness of the Brisbane Protests in the Australian setting.

A leader of the Foco movement and noticeably a working-class one, Alan Anderson described it politically as “a mass outlet, in which student revolutionary action could be brought to, coupled with, the aspirations of the young workers” (1970, p.5). Yet, he also describes it as

an attempt to interest young people as to how enjoyable a combination of entertainment and culture can be with only a little imagination..Politics co-exists with entertainment and rarely dominate. (Anderson, 5 September, 1970, p. 5)

Anderson clearly identified a fundamentally interesting characteristic of the Brisbane Protests. Very early in the history of the Protests, the Protesters asserted the need for a venue for expression, performance and discussion. The reasons for the conception of this need and how it manifested and continued are major concerns of this section.

Television created cultural products and yet its production structures reflected the monopolisation of this new technology by Americans. Yet on the level of popular culture, the communications revolution, typified by the advent of television, also had contradictory effects. In America, “[r]adio, sensing disaster, looked for new functions.” (Barnouw 1975, p.145). In Australia according to Larry Zion, both American radio and television eclipsed local musicians. Zion notes that the dual domination “made Australian musicians subservient, second, backup” (Zion 1988, p.214). Yet American music, radio and its saleable records and tapes were full of Afro-American music — a by-product of marketing changes in radio in America threatened by television. The influence of new Afro-American music had implications for cultural tensions of a generational sort, as it symbolised a new cultural protest that arose with the civil rights movement in America. These racial implications were less politically-immediate in Australia, except to the Indigenous, however its generational effects on a culturally defiant outlook were important and the political message attached to these broad understandings, if not the racial experiences, needs recognition.

However in Queensland, even the racial connections were challenging enough to the adversary who at least ensured such music could be only performed six days per week. The need to perform this music live, to experience new directions of change in other performed cultural expressions which flowed from the broader world and to challenge a culturally stifling environment, encouraged Foco’s formation. There was no pre-existing “Push”. The Protesters had several live performance venues but Foco was both the



biggest and most longstanding. It was this performance space, located significantly, in this oppressive small-town world, in Trades Hall, which defines the characteristics of the Brisbane Protest in a distinctive way.

Foco was a rather special and remarkable example of the character of the Brisbane Protests. Although such venues appeared in many cities, in Brisbane, Foco grew as part of the Protest initiatives rather than as a commercial offshoot, which might naturally grow in a large city, where a stream of new behaviours and outlooks influenced a new generation.

The adversary demanded that Sunday be put aside for worship. Foco existed in a period where church stifled most Sunday, non-religious activity — even sport, that other Australian belief structure. It was everything that the adversary feared: Romantics looking to immediate ‘salvations’, defiant, participatory, youthful, urban and Bohemian. This was not the world of farmers and pastoralists. Two key producers of Foco noted the increasingly mundane fact that “the security police ... station themselves at the entrance with their cameras” (Zetlin & Zetlin n.d.).

The anti-suburban cultural performance protesters of the Brisbane Protests initiated Foco. It was a joint venture of the Young Socialists and S.D.A., reflecting a bond between youth of old and new left noted in the civil liberties and anti-war chapters. The creation of this environment was a joint activity, campus and non-campus, perhaps more evenly balanced in representation than any other activity, except when there was the engagement of Indigenous groups, discussed in a subsequent chapter. The other ally was the artists themselves, often associated with the youthful left enclave, if only in rebellious spirit, who suffered under the new cultural imperialism of American TV, broadcast into an ever-increasing number of Australian homes. Trades Hall was the institutional supporter. It shared a view about the need for a youths’ trade union social venue.

*Student Guerrilla* advertised Foco with a summary of its cultural menu: “disco, folk singing, Jug Band, poetry reading, debate, films” (*Student Guerrilla* 3 January 1968). According to another *Student Guerrilla*, “FOCO cultivates an interest in the arts, as well as being an effort to provide Sunday entertainment in Brisbane.” (*Student Guerrilla* 10 July 1968).

Dianne and Larry Zetlin, both of whom were involved artistically in Foco, stated, “Foco had a membership of about three thousand and regular attendances by about 450 people

Zetlin & Zetlin Oz n.d)). Apparently, there was at least one attendance of 1,200 people (Anderson, 1970 p.5). Anderson in particular notes the diversity of groups re-attracted to the left through Foco, including

teenagers fed up with disco, the folkies ... a cross section of University people, and the hippies, the arty crowd and some of the flashily dressed middle class beautiful people [and] a whole Young Liberal Branch. (Anderson 5 September 1970, p.5).

This inclusiveness indicates a real capacity to engage broad sections of youth often lacking in the many middle-class, male-dominated activities.

Foco also had a teaching role. *Student Guerrilla* noted “that seven workshops have been conducted on film and drama” (*Student Guerrilla*, no.6, 23 April 1968). Foco established a considerable momentum of artistic endeavour and involved new people in new experimental developments. These challenged the dominant culture in drawing on music of different origins, especially that of the oppressed non-Western and non-industrialised people. The theatre was avant-garde and sought to convey new immediacies of experience, while the films, also were not mainstream.

Foco's participatory psycho-drama was one direction the performance venue took. At times, Foco rested on highbrow cultural footings: an undisclosed Dadaist influence emerged through the influence of local graduates of the National Drama School. They were part of the dramatic group at the University of Queensland, Dramsoc. *Student Guerrilla* (1968 2 April 1968) advertised Foco's Drama group's formation — *The Tribe*. Dramsoc was a major contributor to *The Tribe*.

A Foco Vietnam theme night was held which included the subject of “Vietnam Atrocities”. Defining the event further *Student Guerrilla* described how, in the words of the organisers,

we can explore the nature of the war and each of our most secret reactions to it. Despite all this, the evening will have the feeling of a huge surreal fun chamber. BRING YOUR NAPALM BABY!!!  
(*Student Guerrilla* , no 20, 3 October 1968).

Dramsoc was sufficiently part of the changing consciousness to put on not only existential works but also, in 1968, a collection of plays called *American Hurrah*. It was described by Dramsoc as “a horrifying image of Western Society gone awry”. (*Dramsoc*). However it was not just the content that was different it was its format as anti-theatre.

Ronald Hayman notes the development at this time of this genre of anti-theatre. This included the trilogy *American Hurrah* renowned for challenges to sexual and familial mores. Predictably in Queensland the use of obscenity caused its banning. The international directors who most influenced *The Tribe*, according to Barbara Bacon daughter of Eva and Ted Bacon of the Communist Party, were Brook and Grotowski — the Surrealist Artaud's major followers (interview 1/98). The actors, from synopses only, fully, creatively and comprehensively developed scripts, as Artaud and followers demanded: pre-existing comprehensive scripts being regarded as implicitly authoritarian and oppressive. (Hayman 1979). According to *The Tribe*, "[t]he new theatre ... expose[s] the assumed myths ... Guilt, reaction, rejection have produced in all of us various forms of violence" (FOCO VIETNAM ENVIRONMENT n.d.). Therefore, theatre was cathartic; here the psychological rather than didactic morality was the focus.

Following Dada conventions, the theatre attempted to bridge various boundaries between player and audience, player and script:

The result hoped for [was] a kind of spontaneity and immediacy rarely seen in regular theatres, and so audience participation and involvement [was encouraged]". (*Semper Floreat* 17 March 1969, p.16).

This style reflected "theatre-in-the-round". It was "larger than life", further encouraging originality, participation and creativity (*Semper Floreat* 17 March 1969, p.16); (FOCO VIETNAM ENVIRONMENT); (Anderson 5 September 1970, p.5).

It was interesting that *The Tribe's* approach, itself, did not indulge in the sexual liberation of the new post-war scene. Bacon remembers that *The Tribe* was strict about such bodily functions and concomitants as chewing, swearing and inappropriate sexuality (Bacon interview 1/98). These influences differed from the counter culture. They were not part of the permissive American commercial culture of the time. The Brisbane Protesters therefore were open to international influence of diverse sort and this remained a characteristic, especially the openness to European influences in the face of the domination of commercial American culture.

Films advertised through *Student Guerrilla* were not always so challenging; rather, many were moneymaking ventures. However some were foreign and alternative and Romantic. Some simply were political. Felix Greene's *Inside North Vietnam* was shown. This film depicted how devastating the war is for the North Vietnamese (FOCO NEWSLETTER 4

September 1968, p.3). Films such as *Bicycle Thieves* by de Sica showed at Foco along with the Swedish film *One Summer of Happiness*. The same *Student Guerrilla* suggested, “don’t expect to see *Mary Poppins*” (*Student Guerrilla* 8 May 1968). The artistic radicals saw Hollywood as providing escapism. The counter-direction was implicit, in Anderson’s and others’ simple description of Foco’s films as “quality films”; (Anderson 5 September 1970, p.5; *Semper Floreat* 17 March 1969, p.16). That ‘quality’ meant European since these had less of the cloying and contained sexuality that fed the nuclear family ideal, spawning in America and repeated in Australia.

The tastes in music pursued at the performance venue were various. The producers and audience imagined it as either avant-garde or non-mainstream. Musicians of rhythm and blues, jazz, protest, folk and country music all performed at Foco. Greer recognised the authenticity of blues music as it spread more rapidly on the non-Afro-American music scene in the ‘sixties. She saw it as opposed to pulp fiction which “confuses kissing and orgasm; it rather escaped all the prudery and false mysticism of sex” (Greer 1981 p.218). Another transcendence was found in country music with its exponents’ opinions expressed thus in *Semper Floreat* :“(f)or us it has become a personal and handmade statement in the midst of mass- produced culture.” (Anon. *For Us, Semper Floreat*, March 17 1969, p.5).

Foco music was often merely the live embodiment of what was being played even on radio, although not mainstream radio. One singer of local fame, Greg West, was strongly associated with S.D.A., and his strong preference was for Bob Dylan, played also commercially and described in medieval-communalistic terms that are associated with Romanticism, as a troubadour (Anon. ‘Confessions of a Troubadour’ *The Weekend Australian* 27 December 1997, p. 4-6). Popular also was the band led by the ‘godfather of heavy rock’ Lobby Lloyd, including his song “Human Being” played by his band the ‘Coloured Balls’ (JJJ 4/11/2005)

Eventually some Foco advocates began to suggest Foco “entertainment” had little political significance. For example “[t]he disco was the main attraction [,] the financial carry-all” (*Semper Floreat*, 17 March 1969, p.16). Beside the Zetlins, Jack Thompson, Brent McGregor, Doug Anders, Michel Thompson, David Guthrie and others all participated in the formation of Foco and its ongoing discussions. There was, according to the memory of one Tribe participant and other evidence, an ideological dispute in which Michel Thompson and Dianne Zetlin took the perspective that Foco culture should serve politics (Bacon, B.

interview 1/98); (Zetlins, Oz n.d.). Others, especially Laver on his return from Czechoslovakia in 1968, made clear their opposition to that principle. This shows that the new possibilities present in the original conception of a fluid mix of politics and culture created a complexity that all found difficult, especially when one transgressed on the 'territory' of the other. Nevertheless the conception was unique and no simple guidelines existed which could resolve it.

Worse still, adversarial groups united when claims of drug dealing within Foco arose (Anderson, September 5 1970, p.5). This was behaviour the Unions could not indulge. It indicated an emerging problem of new addictive drugs in the community with which some of the Protesters also became associated. While the organisers had everything to lose by the infiltration of a drug culture, it does show that the followers had other agendas, and they easily associated one set of rebellions with another, underscoring a more universal defiance. Yet Timothy Leary and even Robert Laing in the *Dialectics of Liberation*, which the more intellectual of the Foco adherents may have read, since it receives mention from time to time in radical bookshop advertisements, associated L.S.D. with liberation, rather than a route to psychopathology.

However when Foco split, it was, in the main, between the workers and the more ideological students. In fact, Anderson noted that Foco ended, as well, in bitter recriminations internally between the young workers associated with S.D.A. in Foco, the Young Socialist League (Y.S.L.) and the Trade Union movement. According to Anderson, Foco split internally when the students pulled out. This broad explanation differentiated working class and middle class groups, the thesis asserts, since Foco relied on non-students but often also on those who had once been students. This withdrawal was entirely consistent with the increasing dominance of political thinking over all other things that now concerned many younger radicals.

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. (Anderson September 5 1970, p.5).

It appears that, for these workers, according to Anderson, culture was a vehicle to express experiences of liberation and oppression especially where that culture was lively and informative if not entirely political. Brisbane needed such a venue for cultural and political reasons as those not at university experientially understood. For them this was its potential. In the case of Foco there was much that challenged the dominant understanding

of cultural production. The performance venue was a symbol of an alternative. However the consumption culture of drug taking threatened these potentials and may have concerned the more politically focused. Yet the turn to ideological rigidity was just as likely an explanation of this split and the one identified by the protagonists in the sources.

Foco was a culturally broad innovative experiment with no obvious contemporaneous parallels, in terms of broader social movement connections, elsewhere in Australia. The need for a meeting place, performance space and political forum denied to Brisbane youths, reflected in part the adversary and its culture, but, more so, the cultural activists who created it. Foco's production — its immediacy, starkness and newness — indicated a genuine interest in the performing arts. This movement showed a capacity, if temporary, to branch into new ideas and activities; it showed an experimentalism that characterised the Brisbane Protests.

According to Anderson, Foco's demise was hastened by a then-unsupportive Trade Union movement. They, the thesis shows, had no tolerance of illegality. The Press and Conservatives' vindictiveness ensured its demise. Trades Hall closed Foco. The experiment lived on in less centralised activities, but it established a precedent within the Brisbane Protests. Audience participation, spontaneity, theatre-in-the-round, anti-war nights and the music of people with different views of the public and private, all represented a genuine cultural criticism of mainstream television and even filmic culture preferred by and imposed upon suburbanites. A unique cultural experiment died, and with it, a source of artistic authenticity.

Australia, of course, blossomed culturally with Whitlam's ascendancy to power. The notorious controversy about the purchase of the modernistic *Blue Poles* by the Australian Gallery then reflected the growing internationalism of the Australian aesthetic consciousness, and its new exploratory dimensions, with evident roots in this earlier period when Foco emerged. However this was art consumption but Whitlam also initiated a community Arts program.

## **5.0 CONCLUSION**

This chapter analysed two movements under the broader description of the anti-suburban movement. The domesticities and urban spaces movement and the cultural production movement challenged deeper levels of the cultural reproduction of Australian society by

the post-war ideal of the American way of life. This way of life was a hegemonic symbol of freedom, democracy and anti-communism. The suburbanisation ideal of post-war Australia imposed stereotypes of a social and cultural sort as well as a mode of cultural production, including its content and the mode of its consumption. These, the Protesters recognised as oppressive.

While the marked weaknesses in Tarrow's political processes theory come to light in this chapter, his recognition of pre-existing cultures and material resources proves relevant. However his conceptual framework in relation to both is not encompassing of their nature and complexity in the Brisbane Protest environment. Melucci's contribution to understanding the inner life of movements, which he asserts are experimental and new movement-like in their concern with culture, is far more relevant, while Habermas's concerns with new rationalities and new sources of resistance appear vindicated. Through Marxism, the thesis speculates on the relationship of crises in cultural identity to semi-peripheral status, yet such speculation points to Marxism's inherent weaknesses in connecting structure and belief deterministically. Feminism is most valuable since it identifies domesticity with the foundations of politics. While gender issues are not specifically the subject of this chapter the dimension of private and public life is fundamental to the analysis. Reekie's understanding of the dynamic between the public and private viewed through housing types highlights the importance of this.

Romantic post-totalitarianism is exceptionally relevant to these life-style and cultural movements. Such movements often defined the Romantic tradition. In the local events of the Brisbane Protests, culture and politics formed an uneasy alliance typical of this tradition. There appeared signs of an emerging, illegal and new, drug culture that threatened the well-being and security of this movement. These 'official' new left insights are useful.

Tarrow's theoretical connection to resource-mobilization and his understanding of pre-existing resources suggest a quasi-material foundation to movements. However while this is essential in the material analysed, it is the movement-created meaning of this environment which demonstrates the variability of meanings for such resources. The meanings vary between, for example, those possible meanings constructed by an alcoholic middle-aged man found in abundance in boarding houses in these areas, and the meaning generated by the Protesters. For Tarrow these are either physical or political resources: they are elements of facilitation not of symbolic meaning. The symbolic features

of this anti-suburban world do not concern Tarrow. His theory likewise misunderstands the meanings of cultural resistance and its significance.

Foco was vital to the character of the movement and exemplified features which gave the Brisbane Protests a special character, although its relative originality might confirm Tarrow's opinion that these dimensions are irrelevant to most others — as if the exception proves the rule. However the interior character of this movement exactly fits Melucci's descriptions, thereby suggesting Tarrow simply misses the point. Foco was a distinctive and meaningful cultural movement rather than simply expressive, and its roots, discussed subsequently, cannot be traced just to pre-existing local cultures, even if Catholicism and the local Communist Party as well as others predisposed adherents, and they their children, to cultural pursuits. Rather it vindicates initially the Romantic post-totalitarian impulse as new, if not, hardly surprisingly, a never-heard of genre.

Domesticities provided creative spaces as Melucci suggests, yet for him, the creativity and experimentation typifies post-industrial movements. Brisbane was in transition from a large country town to a commercial centre and dormitory facility. This surely was more a product of industrialism. Modernisation describes the Federal government's intent, much as it also co-ordinated culture, politics and economy in ways perhaps peculiar to semi-peripherality in which, as Arrighi points out, the state plays a co-ordinating role. Melucci's post-industrialism is too general and too imprecise. Yet, the strength of and the configuration of support lying in groups outside production, living in older areas, is new, as Habermas and Melucci suggest. It is atypical of conventional politics in Queensland. This is an outsiders' politics in this regard, although such politics also has a history elsewhere, therefore newness remains problematic. Newness and oldness prove relative and confusing terms. Yet these Protest sites are different from the mainstream of Queensland politics and are no longer mainstream locations, which is more to the point.

Habermas's work aids the understanding of the domesticities and urban spaces movement as one which simplifies the private familial world, which ideally is inclusive of supporting generational phases of life and deep bonding. The value encouraged by the new domesticities were substantial in terms of freedom which were pertinent to domestic arrangements supporting types of political activism, yet these relationships were inappropriate to satisfying many other human needs. These groupings were transient and the bonds relatively shallow. The 'official' new left explanation suggests that the young students and workers may well have chosen this new domesticity without the



responsibilities of a life strategy but rather just as a life-style. One is very different from the other. The former implies, in particular, greater complexity and depth, which may of course not ensure the good intentions of the advocate but merely their intensity. The shallowness of these transient domesticities of life-style requires consideration, as do the inherent differences between the two dimensions of the life strategies of long-term outsiders and the choices of those seeking a life-style — albeit also a serious one. These differences become clear when the thesis analyses the material in Chapter 6.

However a further element of this solidarity was suggested by Bacon. It seems that to achieve the complex task of script development and performance in *The Tribe*, a degree of self-discipline was assumed by those performers. This conflicted with the defiant expressive Romanticism which some Protesters interpreted as resistant behaviours and which readily became the hallmark of those connected to the emerging drug cultures and the counter culture expressed in the R.S.S.A. split document and even in the most unilaterally expressive students of the Romantic university movement discussed in the subsequent chapter. Again the problem of what constitutes solidarity and its personal relationships needs greater theoretical precision, which Tarrow fails to provide.

Foco's presence demonstrates both Habermas and Melucci's relevance in their interest in cultural conflict. It appears that Melucci rightly attaches this to how movements operate, but Habermas's more appropriate view of it as a long-standing conflict appears vindicated. The media used by Foco and its performance vehicles, if not home-grown, required live performance by locals, and broke the relationship of passivity between audience and performer, which pervaded television. As well, the cultural activities represented new art forms and inherently critical ones, deviating from the Hollywood stereotype. While these were derivative cultural expressions, the influences were broadly international and encouraged creativity, especially in the theatre script example. Culture then was a central pivot of contestation with a deeply authoritarian structure of cultural production. Yet this was not a post-industrial society, although the arrival of new technologies like TV. suggest the influence of new inventions, but rather it was one marked, in the main, by backwardness. The thesis looks to the adversary and the local open-minded Protest tradition forming in Brisbane to explain the influence of these dimensions.

Habermas indicates the importance of aesthetic conflicts to the rationality of modernity as well as the tendency of apparently-radical groups to withdraw into simplifications. Both these aspects appear in the Foco movement. While such criticism can be levelled at the

Foco movement, the influence of the Dramatic Society demonstrates his argument about the carriers of modernity resting in new groups outside mainstream commercial associations. Yet the young workers also made a major contribution, but they also were forming atypical subcultures rather than following patterns of traditional occupational orientations of such youth. Nevertheless their presence stands in partial contradiction to Habermas. Foco's presence suggests that the Brisbane Protests constructed something of great originality, which was not tried by contemporaneous and more ideological groups, associated with the post-totalitarian Marxist-Leninist tradition in particular.

Post-totalitarianism remained a powerful impetus. Foco's interest in theatre, music and other presentations, and the desire for authenticity all reiterate a Romantic intention critical to post-totalitarianism. The immediacy, starkness and newness of the presentations at Foco indicated the impulses of Romantic culture of Dada, as did Foco's interest in folk cultures. The contestation of notions of private life and their meanings, are also Romantic concerns in the broad construction of Romanticism's meaning in the thesis. The tradition of critique of the family lies in types of Romanticism privileging, as always, subjectivity over structure and rules.

As to the specific context of the geo-political frame, the power of American domination influencing Australia increased the resistance in the area of cultural performance in particular. Australian suburbanisation was pervasive and extensive in an already highly urbanised society. As well the old infrastructure of the inner-suburbs was distinctively benign. These provide explanations for the evident specificity of these Protests.

It is pertinent that Foco's construction represented the choice of culture as a mode of resistance to colonisation, rather than more political nationalisms predominant in this eccentric location outside the dominant power concentrations of S.E. Australia's 'golden triangle'. However the oppression of the political, social and cultural climate and the open ended opportunities for radical critique appear as the critical moments of difference

It is hypothesised that semi-peripherality lends itself to cultural crises and resistance to the threat of core domination was demonstrated again in Foco's independent and eclectic cultural influences and its programs. The fragile Australian identity was a cultural phenomenon as much as a military one, and increasing numbers came to see its demise as a threat. The desire to challenge the capitulation of Australian to American culture creates a determined response including from the live performance artists in Australia.

Cultural activists created a new experimental dimension greatly lacking in Queensland and a challenge, if youthful, to the destruction of Australian culture through TV. and the political endeavours of the Queensland fundamentalists. In Queensland the influence of Catholicism as well as the predominance of the University and its eccentric cultural political location nationally and the adversaries' philistinism were all relevant.

It appears the cultural resistance was uniquely taken up in Queensland, which was at a distance from, the core of national cultural activities and advocacy of an Australian identity. In Brisbane a cultural radicalism with a theme of local cultural production and experimentation was more crucial in the absence of such venues. There were other reasons for this interest in culture, which were to do with the features of the Protest cohort in Brisbane, particularly its relationship to intellectual influences of radical Romanticism. This explanation appears at least a more directly connected one.

However in terms of general theory, a new dimension of cultural/material resources needs incorporation, one that looks at dimensions of material support, complexities and possibilities and opportunities derived from cultural/material infrastructure and the human relationships that enliven these. Inspirations for patterns of resistance derive from local architectural styles and town planning, and new social enclaves using older resources and new complexities rejected through the push for new standards of consumption are the result. Cauldrons of outsiders were established in these circumstances.

This represents a significant challenge to social movement theory, although Tarrow does account for types of material resource mobilisation. This sub-section recognises the resource of the inner-city and -suburbs facilitated a different construction of the public and private. It was this nexus that received mention in the counter-culture and, of course, feminist literature (Pearce/ Prentice *Split document* n.d).

Foco's Romanticism in its artistic tradition was undeniable. Post-totalitarian Romanticism intensified the radical Romantic tradition of critique of the industrial and authoritarian cultures. Therefore artistic forms that emphasise this implicit and explicit critique were those which formed the Foco agenda. Some of these were; the music of Afro-American and other suppressed cultures, avant-garde theatre — which while modern essentially draws on the Romantic in the approach in dramatic performance to theatre as dialogue with the audience, and free association poetry. The European films had Romantic influences. Romanticism and post-totalitarianism are central explanations.

The inner urban spaces provided possibilities and necessities. It is these categories which the thesis finds relevant to these material/cultural resources. These resources in particular need discussion in terms of their intrinsic influences and in terms of the interpretation of these. The possibilities and potentials, both for greater or lesser freedom and experimentation with social relations in the dimensions of the private and public, the presence of greater cultural complexity housed in and influenced by these types of resources, and a new cosmopolitanism are the subject of very little reflection in social movement theory, although feminist insights prove valuable in confirming their significance.

Yet the official new left account of the Foco events gains sustenance in the evidence of an associated drug culture, which started to infiltrate the movement practices. As well the growth of a simplistic revolutionary /non-revolutionary ideological disjuncture vindicates the view of the 'official' new left of such movements' rapid degeneration. Yet this fails to do justice to the experiment, rather, as it were, belittling it, with pertinent but too narrow hindsight.



## **CHAPTER 5**

# **THE ROMANTIC UNIVERSITY MOVEMENT**

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter deals with the Brisbane Protesters' opposition to the orientations to modernisation and intellectual production in post-war tertiary education. There is no doubt that University students were a central source of the Brisbane Protests in the Movements discussed so far. Yet this does not determine their intention to criticise the University by challenging in detail its educational cultures and methodologies. This occurred Department by Department as well as the broader and more typical analysis of universities' roles and structures. In fact, the analysis of the detailed Department- or School-based critiques is markedly critical to the understanding of the Brisbane Protesters because it further exemplifies, by the intensity and significance of this critique, the Protesters' specificity in the Australian circumstances.

One Movement, the University Reform Movement, (which also called itself the University Reform Group [U.R.G]) and a campaign about the issue of discipline provide evidence of the directions of interest of the Protesters analysed in this chapter. The most important was the University Reform Movement, which focused on an intellectual and cultural critique of the content of courses and the governance and purpose of the university, from the radical Romantic viewpoint. Evidence of the latter's centrality included its publication in 1970 of a book, *Up the Right Channels (U.R.C.)*, and its inclusion of other disputes — those regarding University discipline and the question of autonomy. Through analysis of these interests, the thesis demonstrates the rise of an alternative intellectual culture, of some significance of the explication of the Brisbane Protests — mostly because it was original in its eclecticism by pushing the boundaries of radical critique at a time when its narrowing was more common. The campaign about discipline involved distinctive activities, which the thesis separately analyses to indicate differences within the Protests.

The different perceptions of Protesters and adversaries about the meaning and purpose of general education and the requirements of human productivity conflicted. The dominant classes articulated concerns about industrial growth, national fragility and vulnerability, for which education must provide productive, intellectual and vocational solutions. At the national level at least, Menzies and many others had a grudging respect for the intellectual classes, demonstrated in Commonwealth tertiary education expenditures. Usually their class peers, these recipients garnered some respect for their capacities to improve the society. The Protesters articulated another view of the purpose of education in its

relationship to (and in being an example of) the necessity for human liberation through an autonomously motivated self-realisation. This was preparation for autonomous and creative work practices and human interactions. These, they also thought, in radical vein, suited all classes ('R.S.S.A. Manifesto on Self-Management of the University' 1970 in *U.R.C.* p.119-125). For them, a parallel quest to find the means for international and local justice must inform all production, while the dominant classes advocated a role for market forces, supplemented by the special responsibility that the national government had for skill formation.

The dispute at the University took two forms. One was about structure, the other about role. Both had only limited degrees of flexibility within internal practices and external pressures on the University. Yet the University's governing body — the Senate — represented complex influences of professional cultures and no simple adversary. Although role and external structure connect, the role was partially flexible given government reliance on the University Senate's authority. Yet the ultimately determining relationship of structural control by the government reflected the fact that the university was a legal entity under State government jurisdiction and in this regard was subject, in a much more immediate sense, to government intervention. However the disciplinary controls over students and the general internal structures of the university were, independently of these overarching controls, encased in historical practices which reflected its much older role as a medieval institution built on hierarchies which were pre-modern. Internal structures had limited flexibility as did course orientations within the broad structure of the moral or progressive intentions of professions. The leading activists of the Romantic university movement saw that role, including pedagogy, and structure needed changes, and that increasing concentration on disciplinary processes as pure reflections of external political structures was both too simplistic and too dangerous an understanding of the institution.

These differences within the Protesters and the perspectives of various other supporters, authorities and adversaries were tied to implicit and explicit understandings of University autonomy. The Federal modernisers wanted the University to accept its role in productivity; hence strong autonomy was more of an obstacle, while the employed University teaching community welcomed the national interest, and, if accepting of necessary changes to the ivory tower model of social and economic detachment, still regarded the autonomy issue as important within these necessary compromises. The Staff Association at the University of Queensland held this view, the thesis indicates, and



demonstrated their real commitment to its meaning. The University Reform Movement, the key constituent of the Romantic university movement, wanted greater autonomy and presumably greater social expenditure, but never at the cost of autonomy. For them, autonomy needed greater emphasis not less, as they saw happening under state and dominant class pressures. Furthermore, they asserted the need for a critical pedagogic method and new course orientations. This was an argument for cultural autonomy, which was their hallmark — they linked it to a concept of the truth, yet held the University's socially critical role to be its most important function. However other radicals saw autonomy as irrelevant, since the dominant classes had demonstrably breached it, and so universities now simply fulfilled a class and political function — as well they would under socialism.

These differing perspectives affected real perceptions about what people in universities should be doing. It confuses the University historian. While Thomis comments that the university served as a public watchdog over the State government and that Vice-Chancellor Cowen, “for all his problems with the radicals, did not neglect to express deep concern at the possible threat to fundamental civil liberties” over the emergency powers assumed by the government in 1971 (1985, p.329-333), yet he forgets the much wider and deeper Romantic university movement concerns that were close to the source of nearly all the watchdog activities. These Protest activities caused deep divisions between the Protesters and the Vice-Chancellor and, obviously enough, with the State government. A key difference was that the Vice-Chancellor, irrespective of a distinguished legal background, had to placate the Protesters' adversary in the State and Federal political sphere and this, he or his staff believed, included suppressing activities, in an illiberal fashion as this chapter relates. He admits to the pressure on him, as indicated subsequently. The threats of some students as reported to him by Hunt-Sharpe, and the Vietnam Protests on or near the campus, worsened his dilemma. For the Protesters, these governments were, for other reasons, implacable enemies.

The university's role in post-war modernisation increased this conflict between the government and market forces, and the University's detached and ivory-tower traditions, including those of autonomy and criticism. Greater investment, and the expectations of industry and government, especially in the applied sciences and social sciences, were anathema to these traditions. These disciplines, particularly the former, attracted most investment, but the Romantics appeared indifferent to this investment since it did not fulfil their perceptions of a desirable direction of social reconstruction; rather it was a material

one supervised by the dominant classes. Furthermore, as regards the social sciences, their epistemological assumptions of the capacity for objectification of human systems and attributes identified the point of Romantic cultural resistance at the heart of the university critique project.

The influence of a broad Western and intellectual Romanticism on a significant segment of the Protesters defined the intellectual roots of the Romantic university movement of the Brisbane Protests. Their perspective was not the by-product of the contemporaneous Marxist or Anarchist organisational sects, in any case under-represented locally. It was an outlook more clearly defined by reference to its radical intellectual and cultural Romanticism, of which orthodox Marxism, social democracy and Anarchism, were very minor aspects; although they played a much bigger role in activities discussed in other chapters. It was Western Marxism and the Romantic epistemology, with which it became associated, which best described the mainstays of Romantic university movement. These informed the central part of the Romantic university movement directions within radical Romantic post-totalitarianism. New criticisms of both the content and methods taught in courses, and of the structures of power within the university became focuses. These mainstays had no associations with claims as orthodox Marxism had, for scientific validity. Rather the movement created an alternative vision, and, in fact, an alternative model of production, as part of an associated scholarship. The scholastic production had a rich content of immediate social concerns. These directions appeared in outline in the People's Park Program and were indicated also in conference agendas. The Movement founded its methodology on commitment, involvement and experience — Romantic methodologies. Opposed to them were perceived to be the Enlightenment methodologies of observation and experiment on the empirical. Marcuse's critique of the scientific method (1966) was a standard and reliance on its reconstructed division of Enlightenment and Romanticism into on one hand as opposed to justice and change and on the other science as opposed to justice and change, left a, partially restricted, legacy on the University Reform Movement, clearly present in *U.R.C.* Yet, unlike this Movement, the campaign about discipline occasionally included violent incidents at the University, in response to questionable decisions about discipline.

Analytically connected to the explanations of new social movements, which emphasise new values and locations outside prevailing trade union and social democratic reform interests, the social movement theories of Melucci and Habermas appear the most relevant. As in the previous chapter, Tarrow's focus upon political processes proves too

narrow. Such a perspective, for instance, focuses upon the political issue about university autonomy, which certainly lay in the background in the positions of various movement members and was a major focus of the Staff Association and University Administration. However it does not do justice to the cultural dimension of the critique, which arose partly because the political routes to change were closed. Tarrow views the University as a resource in which pre-existing core groups espoused outlooks and political traditions found in University courses. Yet these new Romantic critiques were distinctively applied, and finally in the *U.R.C.* movement, the activists breached the dominant lines of political conflict in Australia at that time, so that their non-political dimension deserves greater exploration, as does the Movement's intention to culturally undermine the University which remained a legacy of this Movement largely untrammelled by political processes but rather retained in changes in, at least, newer Universities. Melucci is closer to understanding the Protesters' defiant ways of thinking. His perspective encourages the analytical insight that, within the University Reform Movement, was not only an alternative model of production and creation of 'wealth' but also one which implied the need for individuation required in the learning process and through Romantic epistemologies. In this case radical Romantic post-totalitarianism and Melucci's post-industrial movements are, in outlook, in this chapter, almost the same. Rome or New York and Brisbane however were dissimilar as economic types.

Habermas understands the twin influences of Romanticism and the Enlightenment on modernity, which university traditions embraced. There is much in his critique of modernisation that parallels the material in *U.R.C.* and yet informed by his analysis one can see that the weaknesses of the Movement reflected the loss of the Enlightenment component by the over-emphasis given to it by the Romantic — irrespective of the important critiques of technology and the over-blown pretensions of the scientific method that the Romantic university movement critically articulated. The 'official' new left view has analytical potential since it indicates the finding that some Protesters lost any interest in the intellectual critique and reverted to activities which made wider communication in the community impossible.

In *Legitimation Crisis*, written in 1973 Habermas's emphasis on the rationalisation process especially through the administrative system, the growth of technological or 'purposive-rational' thinking and the apparent loss of the need for ideological justification for modern capitalist society is counter-posed to the fact that cultural traditions are also

stripped of their private familial justifications and while lacking in radical perspectives hold out the possibility of change in favour of modernity.

Typically, Habermas does not nominate particular institutions as the site of conflict since his Parsonian-influenced systems theory is exceptionally broad in its analytical framing. The conflict at the level of the system and lifeworld is nevertheless inclusive of the cultural traditions, which are debated and taught at universities and which, where they are normative, represent a resistance to systemic ideologies such as commodity fetishism. Yet, the integrity of the systems of domination are also justified at universities through scientism. This means that universities are very strategically located on the boundaries of lifeworld and system teaching both systemic ideologies and yet also teaching, in other areas, the older normative justifications for society. These, which while far from satisfactory in that their bourgeois underpinnings deny the right of a participatory citizenship and communicative action orientations, may, stripped of dependence on religious motivation, still suggest the potential of bourgeois ideologies to transform into this utopian communicative action.

The remains of bourgeois ideologies (belief in science, post-auratic art, and universalistic value systems) form a normative framework that is dysfunctional.

Advanced capitalism creates "new" needs it cannot satisfy (1988,p.49).

As well as because of the systems theory approach, the thesis argues this failure to nominate universities directly as critical institutions systemically is the product of their less central role in European culture, which extends well past the boundaries of university life — in contradistinction to Australia.

Yet so are, for instance, family socialisation processes straddled across life-world and system. The major thrust of Habermas' understanding of the student movements of the '60s and '70s is the view that they represent a grand refusal against absorption (1988, p.129). They are the product of a contradiction within the socio-cultural system's role of producing conforming motivations of a private sort. Since bourgeois motivations relied on the now abandoned appeals to religious virtue and they are replaced only with commodity fetishism and possessive individualism, there may be a crisis in motivation. This is exacerbated by long periods in education. The separation between schooling and the occupational needs of society exists as education becomes a growing and differentiated system and this creates potentials for resistance to absorption of youthful potentials.

The systemic roots of this refusal of absorption lie firstly in the broader tensions between those whose lives are centrally determined in day-to-day activity by the 'productivist core' of society and those whose lives are not. Students are particularly disengaged from the 'productivist core' (1981) in longer term and higher educational studies, leaving open, their exposure to cultural traditions which, rather than private and strategic in orientation, reconstruct a motivation resting on the desire for a participatory society based on the utopian principles of communicative action. This second potential derives from the realisation of the residual potential in bourgeois ideologies discussed previously.

For the above reasons, the thesis once again benefits by a multifaceted approach in which Habermas reminds us rather of broader conflicts rather than more specific ones. It is his discussion of the efficacy of the residual power of bourgeois beliefs in science, art and universal morality as much as his observation that student life has distinctive features that is useful however whether his understanding of cultural traditions can be readily imported into Australian conditions is questionable.

As for the geo-political frame, the University's role in production created the 'mass university'. Its quest for industrial modernisation defined this upgraded role. At the Federal level this had nuances beyond utilitarianism, in residual beliefs by governments about the inherent benefits of education, while in Queensland, the adversary and the orientations of the dominant class were anti-intellectual and therefore an inordinate focus on University control motivated this adversary, while the Protesters were, to some extent 'pushed back behind its walls' by the oppressiveness of the public sphere dominated by the orientations the adversary represented.

This Movement's activities were unique to Queensland within the Australian context. Although many other university movements at the time may have or not have exhibited greater depth, they did not form into a specific movement for university reform. This provokes a response to the question implied in the analytic model as to why the University's influence loomed so centrally in the Brisbane Protests and how this manifested in particular ways.

The conclusion to this chapter focuses on the predominantly cultural critique of the University by the University Reform Movement — a key part of the Romantic university movement. This conflict, predicated on this challenge to the character and content of

productivity resting on technology and technological perspectives about humans, established with new vigour the insights of Romanticism as the Protesters' view. As well the conclusion to this chapter will indicate the particular value of understanding the role of radical post-totalitarian Romanticism as foundational to a critique within universities. These cultural dispositions had an appeal to the Brisbane Protesters who existed in specific and very culturally isolating and hostile conditions. The newer directions of a modernising society were most fragile in Brisbane, where their establishment was precarious. Ironically, the dominant role of the university Protesters reflects, in part, this reactionary Romantic society where only Federal initiatives underwrote intellectual, and therefore potentially intellectually articulate and widely intellectually universalised streams of cultural and political criticism.

This chapter divides into a number of discrete parts. Initially it examines the adversary to consider its characteristics as a potential reactive source of the Protesters' style and orientation. Subsequently a section on the university identifies its location within and yet also independence of the dominant orientations. The chapter then turns to the nature of the conflict over discipline before discussing the production of *Up the Right Channels*. This sequence reflects the differences in the Romantic university movement and the partial relationship of the rise of the University Reform Movement to the extremism emerging in the antiwar and anti-discipline Protests — at a time when the extremism of the adversary was taken for granted by all the Protesters.

#### Poetic or prosaic

One of the Brisbane Protesters, Ted Baldwin, Secretary of the Teachers' Advancement Association for State Education in Queensland, later its President, in a comment in the Protesters' journal *Impact*, asserted, without using the terminology, the critical relationship of Romanticism to education

[which now] degrades to ... mere training, imitation, rote learning and propaganda. I believe, along with the poet Browning, that ...[a] man's reach should exceed his grasp ... above all in education. (Baldwin 'The role of a teacher in a Democracy' *Impact* 1968, no. 2, p.7).

Dan O'Neill argued a similar connection, if about the nature of education and revolution, in an article in *Semper Floreat* called 'Regarding revolution', in which he described revolution as

the power to unleash their self liberative (sic) energies in their own spontaneously arising categories and ways of thinking and feeling ... thoroughly and constantly improving educational relationships, with no more roles like teachers and learners, but role-dissolving elements ... to break down outdated social divisions, e.g. intellectuals or students as against workers (September 21 1971, p.6).

In this view, the education process, which is interpreted within the Romantic discourse became the model of an alternative society, which O'Neill still called socialism. Romantic rationality underscored it.

## **2.0 ORIENTATIONS AND ADVERSARIES**

This section examines the character and influence of the adversaries. The intention to industrialise from the ground of modest, strongly primary, production to a higher point of a modern, technologically-adept economy was the strategic focus of the architects of the post-war political economy. The Federal government's intention to deliver such a modernising orientation was one face of the adversary. The more immediate orchestration of adversarial conflict was through the State government, and the pressure it brought to bear on the University authorities and its pervasive intimidation through policing. These divisions among the adversaries were the product of Federal and State orientations and responsibilities.

As the official University of Queensland historian, Malcolm Thomis notes regarding Queensland, that economic issues were long a prime concern in the frontier perspective, evident in this the least urbanised state. The State sought from the University the means of improvement, and [not] superfluous adornments such as the culture of a tiny southeastern minority thought fit to impose upon the rest. (Thomis 1985, p.5).

Thus, the fear of University ivory tower was deep-rooted. Furthermore, the adversary created an oppressive political climate. "Queensland governments had always shown an

incredible sensitivity to any suggestion of political criticism of students” (Thomis1985, pp.4, 5, 243).

However the Commonwealth recognised the need for more sophisticated systems of organization in governance, strategic development of resources and infrastructure, and even research for the purposes of national development. Universities attracted millions of dollars/pounds in the era as the Commonwealth took a leading role in this traditionally-State responsibility. According to Thomis

a draft program for 1967-69 envisaged a new building for Agriculture and entomology, to cost ... 710,000 pounds, as well as extensions to Veterinary Science and other buildings. (1985, p.273).

For the Queensland adversary, at the extreme edge of the Antipodean political world *sans doctrines*, the University was just full of troublesome public servants acting above their functional role yet respected as well for their potential to make technological advances but not social commentary, which was forbidden, as subsequently discussed.

### **3.0 THE UNIVERSITY**

This section analyses the complexity of the University as both a key focus of conflicting perspectives of all the protagonists and as having an independent position as articulated by its governing body — the Senate and its C.E.O., the Vice-Chancellor Zelman Cohen. The intense downturn in the early `60s during the long boom ushered in the appointment of the Vernon Committee enquiry into the economy including the role of higher education (1965). Vernon, like Martin (1964) before him viewed the longer-term future of University education as requiring expansion and more input from national governments. The Vernon clearly enunciated the economic role since was an inquiry into Australia’s economic futures. According to Bruce Macfarlane who, at the time, pointed to the revolutions in “automation, cybernetics and eugenics” and the consequent necessary unity of business and government regarding education as changing universities (Macfarlane in Gordon[ed.]1970). Vernon’s and Martin’s reports attested to the government agenda of realising human capital through tertiary education (Fitzgerald 1984, p.23) in the post-war environment.

It was easy enough to find evidence of the emerging ‘advanced industrial’ university. According to Thomis, in 1962 at the University of Queensland, the Physics Department



“landed a large contract with the American Air Force for space research” while other projects were the buying of an electron microscope planned in 1959; the purchase of a digital computer “courtesy of G.E.”; and in 1960 S.E.Q.E.B invested in lightning research and the Department of Agriculture focused on wheat research on the Darling Downs (Thomis 1985, pp.285-295). These were examples of the very real dimensions of the university’s external private and public sector orientations. On such matters, G.E. connected in the Protesters’ mind with the war and readily demonstrated for them, but not the university, a compromised autonomy and morality.

The fundamental contradiction of the public university was, on one level, no different from that between ideals of any trade and social and economic realities. Tertiary teaching has a long history of valuing truth and independence as its primary purpose, yet it was a financially accountable body. Therefore, it is not surprising that some, particularly in the Humanities, attempted to argue rationally their case, on these grounds, through the Romantic university movement. Industry and truth were Romantically counter-posed. This search for truth turned to the nature of society at a time when “the society” was investing very significant economic resources into the university. The Romantic critique mirrored those forces influenced by the dominant classes that were then transforming the University.

The University’s knowledge base was complex, creating a variety of potential criticisms, while the structures of the University and understandings about autonomy were often very differently understood. These appeared readily in the tensions between the post-totalitarian directions evident in the Vice-Chancellor’s statements and the critique of the university enunciated by the Romantic university movement, which included the view that scientific method applied to human behaviour was totalitarian and that the critical role of the University was its greatest responsibility. This perspective and that about the autonomy were the hallmarks of difference between radical Romantic post-totalitarianism and post-totalitarianism.

As for the Federal government, the human resources perspective evoked opposition, in some in the Staff Association, given the Romantic roots of the education philosophy as well as the Enlightenment emphasis on autonomy. There was a wider fraternity of teachers, intellectuals and those who distinguished material progress from subjective cultural and societal progress in significant ways, as Baldwin’s, statement indicated. Yet most outside the Universities thought such distinctions between the utilitarian and the

educational were luxuries especially in the Queensland context. The Queensland University, in particular, was caught in a web of conflicting intentions, orientations and interests, which the Protesters exacerbated by asserting their own.

#### **4.0 THE PROTESTERS**

The section begins with discussing the campaign about University discipline. The chapter then turns to the Protesters' movement concerned with cultures of understanding and teaching at the University. A subsection on differences considers various social locations, internal to the University as an explanation for differences in attitudes to reform of the University by those Protest actors who made up the Romantic University movement.

The campaign about discipline demonstrated best the University administration's lack of a spirit of tolerance, and its encrusting with very authoritarian traditions. The disciplinary process exposed a very raw nerve for Protesters and authorities alike, when Protesters engaged in campaigns often aimed at issues outside the University but inadvertently or deliberately involving it. The question of "bringing the University into disrepute" contained in the University disciplinary statutes was highly contentious as were other factors in this disciplinary process. This was a battle in part about modernisation and conformity to proper judicial standards, however in the political climate it appeared to resonate with wider implications about autonomy and oppression.

The second set of activities was the *U.R.C.* movement which, while embracing these other two concerns, fundamentally took the University at face-value as a place supposedly dedicated to truth. Epistemologies, course content, pedagogical styles, structures, hierarchies, and other educational characteristics of university learning became contentious. Included in these cultural conflicts were attempts to provide alternative learning venues and orientations including teach-ins — an alternative intellectual culture.

The final part of this section reflects on differences operating between the actors in the Protest movements. These differences reflect locations in vocational and epistemological frameworks as well as social or status positions including students, post-graduates, junior staff and senior staff.

#### **4.1 Discipline**

This sub-section articulates a dispute about how discipline should have operated at the university and under what circumstances. Questions of the status of students in the University's quasi-judicial processes, what relationship University discipline had to community law and what standards should apply to the disciplinary process and related investigations were components of this dispute. Where once University tradition catered for most of its internal authority relationships and typically left room for juvenile and high-spirited behaviour, mass student political action implied a different problem for authorities. Discipline handed out for Erotica Day and the restrictions on the departure of the South Vietnamese Ambassador were two tests of how the university responded to demands for new disciplinary processes by the students engaged in political actions. Yet, in both cases students had done something that was, according to the laws of the land, illegal. The students took advantage of their environment to make moral gestures. The University discipline issue was not separable from society in general and the expectations of those with political power, yet the university retained some residual powers once designed perhaps to maintain autonomy but through processes steeped in authoritarianism. These were no longer justifiable with the influence of post-totalitarianism.

The new protest mood that touched Australia in the early sixties made the concept *in loco parentis*, which meant that the University acted as if a parent in disciplinary matters, contentious. Student actions highlighted this anomaly, exacerbated as it was, by the willingness of political authorities to send those subject to *in loco parentis* a year later in their lives, to kill and die in wars. There were numerous challenges to University authority, especially over the period of the Vietnam Moratoriums 1970-71. In 1969 on June 12 students invaded a University Senate meeting. Confronted by a sit-in the Senators, showing benevolence not always repeated, allowed three students ten minutes each to present their case about the need for the University to focus on the major issues of the day (Thomis 1985, p.319). However the tempo increased. Erotica Day celebrations in 1969, led to an occupation of Senate rooms over subsequent disciplinary charges on the 8 September 1969. John Stanwell's alleged painting of the U.S. Consul's car on 15 April 1970 created another example for requisite disciplinary action. Especially about the Quang incident, authorities claimed students brought the university into disrepute. Another

occupation of the Senate to propose activities that engaged the university in discussions about poverty and imperialism (*Semper Floreat* vol.39, no. 8A) was then followed on 14 September 1970 by the removal of the *Peoples Park* tents from the Great Court; while on 22 September a group of students verbally harassed, at the University, an ex-Liberal Minister, the then Governor-General, inflaming tensions. On 8 September stones and bottles crashed and shattered against the glass doors of the administration building in protest about the severity of disciplinary procedures. On 18 October 1970, a group of students followed the Vice-Chancellor and his wife around the University, it was asserted by him, while hurling abuse including anti-Semitic comments, in protest against disciplinary action. According to Mr. Hunt-Sharpe, a well-known University employee and reporter of student activities to the Administration, at one of these protests one student remarked to another that someone should burn the Administration down. Such counter-provocation escalated the tension. Yet the presence of the Administration's spy Mr. Hunt-Sharpe was not the only explanation of these more hostile feelings generated on the campus itself. Students saw the University as complicit in the state of affairs that allowed the war and other injustices to continue.

Yet the Protests exposed an aspect of the University well-removed from its desired image. Information-collecting was one matter, but the lack of due process in disciplinary matters reflected reactionary Romantic influences typical of the Queensland public sphere. Ross Barber, a Law faculty staff member, constructed an indictment against these assumed improvements in "SOME QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS ON THE PROPOSED STATUTE". He complained of a situation where

senior officers of the university are granted the right to give "reasonable orders" which must be obeyed yet they have no distinctive identification ... need for an "upper limit" on the length of suspension. Further, the same group who imposed the penalties heard the appeals (in *U.R.C.* 1970, p.149).

The University administration seemed also to operate on liberalism sans doctrines — and often not on liberalism at all.

The phrase 'bringing the university into disrepute' was the legal terminology in the statutes to judge some behaviours as worthy of discipline. This phrase tended to make the criteria of good repute the social standards of some groups, particularly those with hegemonic

dominance. Ultimately the question of the role of the university in society was also at stake once that phrase received interpretation in controversial domains. It was difficult to ascertain its meaning objectively.

Animosity grew further when statutory codes produced hearings and fines and relied on the University's capacity to collect information against student activists. This led to an accusation of University "spying". The spying alone created student hostility, prompted greater defiance and further provoked student hostility. The 'spy' was the University Security Officer Mr Hunt-Sharpe. Mr Hunt-Sharpe, who later admitted to working previously in Army Intelligence, had begun work at a time that coincided with the beginning of the Civil Liberties Campaign in 1967. Certainly one of the senior administrators, Colonel Gehrman had an armed services background. The students believed Mr. Hunt-Sharpe worked with the Special Branch — the State Government's political police. At a time when the role of the defence forces was controversial, this demonstrated, it appeared, insensitivity and something more sinister. There was a sense that the University demonstrated no great allegiance to university traditions and beliefs.

Furthermore, it seemed to students that some other practices were simply totalitarian in inspiration. In a pamphlet *THIS MEANS WAR* a claim made was that the Student Union gave information about a Women's Liberation meeting to an M.H.R. This required the Minister to ring the Registrar, Dr. Rayner, who then rang the Student President David Luck. According to the pamphlet, Luck received a reminder that the Senate that night would consider Union fee rises. Luck capitulated the pamphlet opined (n.d). As far as the Protesters could ascertain, the university did not respect even the basic rules of democracy.

Erotica Day was a major public event of the sexual liberation movement of the Brisbane Protests. It celebrated breaking the law regarding censorship. In *J'ACCUSE* (1969). R.S.S.A. confronted the practice of the University of collecting information about students at the behest of the Assistant Registrar by the Security Officer Mr. Hunt-Sharpe and by university photographers during the Erotica display. The students subsequently met with the Acting Vice-Chancellor, where according to *J'ACCUSE* (1969), negatives of photographs taken by Mr Hunt-Sharpe were available. *J'ACCUSE* reported that Mr. Hunt-Sharpe stated that he did keep political files on students and in fact spent much of his time at political meetings, while, according to *J'ACCUSE*, the Vice-Chancellor said the security

officer was given no instructions on what to photograph. The University was moving from *in loco parentis* to political spy. However, *J'ACCUSE* demanded Hunt-Sharpe's dismissal. Post-totalitarianism meant truthfully admitting to invasive and liberty-denying practices.

The campus Moratorium Committee and other radicals constructed a tent in the Great Court focusing on the lead-up to the first Moratorium. The University Co-ordinating Committee (U.C.C.), now the name of the reinvigorated University Reform Group, noted the centrality of the Great Court as the symbolic issue in this conflict with the University. A protest against the removal of the tent, described as a movement from the forum to the Great Court of 200 students, included 1971 Union President David Luck, General Vice-President Bruce Dixon and St. Lucia Vice-President John Wilkinson (U.C.C. NEWSLETTER- No.3 n.d.).

Yet evidence exists of compromise by the Senate. The U.C.C. newsletter noted the Student Union's Executive's Protest in "defiance of the Vice-Chancellor and ...[the]... trite reasons for 'forbidding any erection whatsoever' (U.C.C. NEWSLETTER- No.3.n.d). The students under threat shifted to a new location, which became the *People's Park* but the issue as to the function of the University forced the choice of an image of good order and control over Protesters' rights, and over liberality. Still, this was not the total oppression of the streets.

In an article in *The Courier-Mail* (21 September 1969), Vice-Chancellor Cowen claimed an intention to call for a ballot of the whole University and implored the great middle to vote. Thomis claims this ballot occurred (1985, p.321) but it was not, as far as thesis research indicates, of the whole of the university but only presumably of the staff and even then staff on a particular level. Nevertheless, the University indicated again its capacity to offer the middle ground, on occasions.

At the height of the crisis, Zelman Cowen the Vice-Chancellor with a Humanities and Law background offered his perspective, to the Protesters' movement for democratisation. On the twenty-fifth of June 1969, he spoke at a Senate-sponsored "large scale seminar on the nature and role of the University". According to Thomis, 4000 staff and students attended. The subjects discussed were structurally orientated, with suggestions [that]

faculty boards include students, departmental committees [have]  
student representation, ... [and] the disappearance of permanent

heads of departments and reconstitution of the Professorial Board.  
(1985, p.31).

The Senate acceded to these (Thomis 1985, p.318). It tried to accommodate the new demands partly because it too — the Vice-Chancellor an example — had affinity with post-totalitarianism. Yet because of structural realities his greatest allegiance had to be to those above him, who had political authority.

The incident with South Vietnamese Ambassador Quang caused the most controversy in terms of disciplinary outcomes. The participants in the Quang incident obstructed both Quang and Hunt-Sharpe, who came to release Quang. Called by conservative students, police arrived and one had an arm broken. The result of this “Quang incident” was a Senate investigation. Subsequent to the Senate investigations, Professor Davies chaired a formal enquiry (Thomis 1985, p.321). This committee of enquiry involved three students and three staff indicating the effect of pressure from the Student Union regarding proper representation in such matters. Because of the disciplinary committee’s deliberations, two students were suspended for six months. Those disciplined, the University deemed, caused the University’s reputation to suffer. It was then that students in protest against this decision, threw rocks against the glass of the administration building, actions both dangerous and threatening to staff inside (Davies Committee 1971).

Zelman Cowen, in his report the QUANG INCIDENT AND UNIVERSITY DISCIPLINE, asserted his opposition to the war and his hostility to the way student matters appeared in the press. He asserted the right of protest. Yet, the University discipline clauses did not indicate this liberality. Professor Cowen noted that one of the students under investigation also recognised the capacity of the incidents to do damage to their own anti-war cause, but that was because the press might distort it and bring disrepute on the radical movement. Cowen’s argument was that that which brings disrepute to the radicals might also bring disrepute to the University since the radicals were part of the University. This was the logic of a man who was under immense strain. Cowen also noted the extraordinary pressure put on him by outside forces. The campus, he implied, was under threat of closure, yet his otherwise inexplicable logic added to the dissatisfaction. The University, he implied, was at the mercy of (manipulated) public opinion.

However it is also the logic of a conservative with post-totalitarian credentials. His position on the Anti-Apartheid demonstrations underlines his preference for civility over morality which distinguishes his position very clearly from the radical Romantics. The Queensland

Government's State of Emergency declared in 1971 at the time of the Springbok demonstrations indicated these differences. The strike meeting asked of the Vice-Chancellor that he reply to the concerns of the meeting about the strike and the State of Emergency. The request caused the Vice-Chancellor great concern since it gave a deadline for him to reply which he took as an "ultimatum" (Vice-Chancellor's Statement (29/9/71). However Cowan notes that he had approached the Premier and Deputy Premier about his concerns. He expressed his concern for those hospitalised students and his abhorrence of Apartheid but saw the strike as part of a plan "to bring down this university" (several lectures had been interrupted by questions about racism) and insisted that "civility is a great virtue". This is a very clear statement of conflicting attitudes in the University.

In fact, what had happened was that the students had broken the law in restraining Quang or displaying erotica and should have faced those penalties given by the civil courts. The act of moral absolutism by restraining Quang needed tempering with their willingness to be punished for denying the rights of others, since rights were also an important belief. This willingness was not present or they would have repeated the activities off-campus. Yet neither was it explained how obstructing temporarily a military dictator's ambassador simply brought the University into disrepute. The University needed to say any illegal act deserves this condemnation, which was completely abrogating moral responsibility, or simply suggest the police handle the matter since they agreed with the students' sentiments about the war, but not their methods of denying another's liberty. The students lacked political sophistication and the ability to discriminate between principles and locations of their application. In Australia liberty also, was a value to uphold without having to face the complication of how to act in its absence in a military dictatorship. They were not apt to distinguish a range of possible scenarios. Rather their morality was absolutist for all times and places and, in such examples as this one, flawed. The University authorities could not cope with the rapid changes, which invoked a loss of autonomy of the ivory tower and the compatible concept of the University as a sanctuary.

In reviewing the conflicts, the Protesters stepped over the line of what their own ideologies purported to endorse in previous movements about liberty. In fact, they clearly in the Quang incident traded on their privileges as did those who purported to have made threats or thrown rocks. Those who did so often failed to balance these activities with ones which defended the University's special cultural privileges. Radical Romantic post-totalitarianism, which included respect for liberalism, now, it seems, ebbed in favour of strategic outlooks and by a loss of more complex perspectives. Instead, defiance of authority overwhelmed



their intentions much as most, but not all, of these desires were both justifiable and yet illegal in their practice.

In the Protesters' camp, some foresaw reprisals of a dire kind by the Queensland government, looming, as implied by Cowen, not far away. They shared the Vice – Chancellor's fears. The disciplinary and related events happened in a crisis, which caused other sections of the Romantic university movement to begin discussions about another sort of University, yet one within the long cultural traditions of the University. These traditions were those of pedagogy and critique. This group stood in between those who had lost the complexity of the Protesters' radical Romantic post-totalitarian inheritance and the University's representatives, whose incapacity to modernise and liberalise in the face of political pressures weakened their general authority.

The anti-discipline campaign responded to the University's intention to restrict activities on campus which were dangerous or illegal by processes that were totalitarian, inept and legally suspect, if in other respects, protective of their own authority over that of the State. Their regulations were so ineptly constructed as to create the sense that the authorities had no greater sense of democracy than the State government: nor was spying on students evidence of adequate outlooks in a post-totalitarian era. Students and staff needed great maturity to decide that rather than to recede to the view that little was worth preserving in the university tradition instead they should have declared that this situation was an aberration in a longer and worthier tradition. It was they that took up the mantle of the university tradition in *U.R.C.* when confrontation had cost students suspension and purported threats and real denials of liberties had provided grounds for state intervention, which the University authorities felt powerless to prevent. Nevertheless the University authorities had tinged their illiberality with some openness in relocating the Peoples Park, discussing some of the issues, and articulating dismay about the State of Emergency as discussed in the subsequent chapter, and by accepting some reforms. The University was, rather than a place of light, liberty and learning as it proclaimed, a semi-open authority, caught between two extremes and in its own bureaucratic processes, inadequate to preserve the original traditions of University autonomy and enlightenment. Truth and organization were not the same thing, nor justice and political protests and protesters. Both now faced the new claims to rationality of the University Reform Group.

#### **4. 2 The University Reform Movement and the Rise of an Alternative Intellectual Culture**

This sub-section provides an important insight into the character of the Romantic university movement through describing the University Reform Movement. While the other concerns of the Protesters had not really touched the view of an alternative university, the University Reform Group did just that — it argued for the Romantic university. Protesters with strong connection to the University had a key initiating role in many of the Brisbane Protests. They sustained these movements. However, furthermore, some especially staff and post-graduate students, connected their professional interest in scholarship with their social concerns. These concerns, they held, must encompass the issues of directions of universities, their funding priorities and management, the nature of courses, and their structures. They went to the heart of criticising the human resources model of the university, linked as it was to stimulating progress in a restricted sense, economic development and applied technologies. These Protesters created *Up the Right Channels*, the book incorporating their claims about the limitations of the university and the ideals of an hypothesised Romantic other. It embraced, intellectually, the gamut, from the most expressive to the most intellectual, in articulating the Romantic concept of the liberation of the full human consciousness, where the economic and the technological must conform to this other more central priority.

While *U.R.C.* was a key document of a cultural movement. further evidence of intellectual culture operating in *The People's Park* program, the writings of Dan O'Neill, the most articulate of the Protesters, and the regard certain overseas writers had in the University Reform Group expand this picture of an emerging intellectual culture. The standard of radical student journalism was another dimension of this. While this journalism is not analysed in this thesis, the continuity of having successive radical editors, men and women, over this period of the Protests, added considerably to the potential of discussion on the campus. It also exemplified the intellectual capacities of the broader movement and the intellectual orientation managed by it.

These activities invigorated the open inclusive style of protests, which characterised the Civil Liberties, some of the Anti-War, Foco and the subsequently-discussed gender/identity and race movements. In this vein, rather than the increasingly more ideologically pure and

simplified approaches emerging through the anti-war movement and with the formation of Marxist and Libertarian sects, the University Co-ordinating Committee (U.C.C.) formed to construct a critique of the University.

There were precursors to this formation of the U.C.C. and University Reform Movement. The overseas precursors to this particular campaign of the Protesters called themselves Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.) and represented important early stirrings amongst not only white Americans but also many Afro-Americans, about new post-totalitarian concerns. Related to S.D.S. was the Free Speech Movement, which emerged in American Universities partly as a reaction to the dangerous conservatism that pervaded outside society; a lesson soon shared, if in less extreme form, by the Brisbane Protesters. These American influences registered early in the Brisbane Protesters, although other intellectual influences derived from Sydney in the form of the Free Uni Movement. Those drawn to these concerns, especially the latter, first formed the University Reform Group (U.R.G.) who started the Free University and finally the New Student Movement; all by 1967.

Paraphrased by Dan O'Neill, Mario Savio, the leader of the U.S.A.'s S.D.S., argued

The "futures" and "careers" for which Australian students now prepare are...intellectual and moral wastelands ...[in a] chrome-painted consumer paradise. (*Rise of the Radical Movement Semper Floreat* 17 March 1969, p.12).

Meetings in Brisbane in the mid-`sixties called for the Free Uni and for University reform. It was one of the earliest protest actions in Brisbane. The initial University Reform Group took up the orientation of criticism of the University more explicitly, through the idea of the Free Uni. A pamphlet titled *PROPOSALS FOR PROSPECTUS OF THE FREE UNIVERSITY*, circulated in the Summer of 1966-7<sup>35</sup> asserted firstly, opposition to the idea of education as human capital, and secondly, the need for cooperative learning oriented to contemporary problems including "human ecology" and "[p]opulation control", "new guinea studies"[sic] and "creative writing". A free university must be, they argued

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<sup>35</sup> Given that it was U.R.G. which initiated the New Student Movement ( N.S.M.), while it remains difficult to determine the exact date of U.R.G.'s first meetings, it must have been late 1966 or early 1967, because of the role N.S.M played in the lead up to the civil liberties march.

non-political however free uni must remain academic, [with] a high standard... [a]nd create work of depth ... [w]ith no degrees or (sic) diplomas. (n.d.)

The radical Romantic opposition to assessment grading appeared along with a commitment to scholarship. These implied criticisms of the relevance of University courses and their assessments. Against the adversary's direction of human resource skilling, a different concept of the University emerged: one free of coercion and competition, and relevant to social problems, rather than economic, vocational and technological.

N.S.M. represented an important part of the early Romantic university movement. It was a distinctive formation, hybrid and non-ideological, but informed by a diffuse post-war liberality. University reform through N.S.M was on the agenda in 1967 before and also together with, the more spectacular Protests about civil liberties, conscription and Vietnam. In an archive containing early information about the Protests in Brisbane, there was an argument for greater student representation by N.S.M. N.S.M. aimed "to put the teeth back in democracy" have "a communal vision" and "student representation on departmental committees". (*New Student Movement (n.d)*). N.S.M. recorded the desire for "[t]he permanent dialogue of staff and students ...[while noting that] ... the role of the Head of Philosophy is rotated". However N.S.M. was very much secondary to S.D.A. in the action-orientated protests of the later 1960s, although they united with S.D.A. on some related concerns, including Brian Laver's campaign for the Student Union Presidency in 1967. However N.S.M. was a different cohort than that of S.D.A. if initially inclusive of S.D.A.

N.S.M. was the product of amalgamation of the University Reform Group, S.D.A., The Newman Society, S.C.M. (Student Christian Movement), Anglician (sic) Society, the Labor Club, the Jazz group and other student groupings". The leaflet self-described N.S.M as "informational ... provocative ... co-ordinative." (*New Student Movement*). This was a very open style of organization yet imbued with the spirit of rebellion, which underwrote this Romantic psychology of the Protests in general.

A period of time elapsed until these concerns were re-ignited in 1970. The explanation of this helps characterise the Protests more clearly. While dramatic events such as the war and civil liberties pressed on the minds of the Protesters, as the thesis has discussed. some of the tensions between N.S.M.'s orientation to university reform and the more radical political exponents of change remained, as O'Neill notes regarding the civil liberties

campaign dealt with in Chapter 2. In Brisbane, this broader more cultural perspective remained within the mainstream of campus protest, yet the conflict between some Protesters and the authorities was now more hostile, violent and less able to gain support than at earlier times, as for example with the civil liberties march. The campus and the community were polarising at the edges with the middle leaning slowly more to the anti-war outlook without generally endorsing the Protests, particularly in format. The new University Reform Movement responded to these changes.

However the Protesters' intellectual development, while moving very much in the direction of understanding post-war history, including U.S. imperialism, also reflected the influence of educational and other theory, some of which is discussed subsequently. Now-familiar names appear and evidence of reliance on external, especially Western Marxist, radical Romantic post-totalitarianism material was plentiful. Herbert Marcuse, Paul Goodman, A.S. Neill, and C. Wright Mills received mention as *U.R.C.* exemplifies (1970). It was also the case, that Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* 1962 was read by the more intellectually aware suggesting that Romantic perspectives rightly belonged in the heart of the scientific project about which edges of Romantic philosophic debate revolved .

*U.R.C.* was rich in cultural influences. The contributions, some of modest intellectual quality, some with more expressive material of the Protests varied in many respects. As regards the more expressive, these were of more limited quality intellectually, rather they informed the reader of a disposition deliberately presented as anti-bourgeois, male working class, rebellious and with contemporary disdain for the bureaucratic. *U.R.C.* had the advantage of *The Australian* cartoonist, Bruce Petty's, contempt of the "right channels" pictured as resulting in loss of meaning and reason and typical of administration and bureaucracy. His cartoons regularly appeared throughout *U.R.C.* by his permission. This was really a concentrated effort to draw together a wide cross-section of people with strong interests in the academic and intellectual aspects of protest rather than the confrontational.

*U.R.C.* began with an open letter about

the need to live dangerously [.R] evolution has become an internal affair' an emotional-psychological revolt ... Throw ourselves into the accident of it all (Dingo Davies [AGE 3 ½] *U.R.C.* 1970, p.5).

This evoked the typical Romantic view of personal resistance and the personal as the political. “The need to live dangerously” recalled the existential respect for “dirty hands”. *U.R.C.* had the qualities of anti-bourgeois sentiment — it was against ‘normalcy’.

Additionally, an Australian flavour ensured many Ned Kelly cartoons, references and pictures, ribald and disinhibited expressions, giving it an entirely distinctive character, which did not therefore compromise its expressiveness to appease academic culture. It expressed a personal, cultural, intellectual and political orientation that summed up a great deal of the mainstream Protesters’ dispositions.

The title *Up the Right Channels* was a joke referring to the blockage, as social theorists now call it, (Pakulski 1991) in institutional structure, to the changes envisaged by the Protesters. The “right channels” did not exist so “up” them, or an ironical construction of the phrase applied; the book employed the vernacular again on page one with two fingers and the proclamation “wop it up yarse (sic)”(1970). In this case its flavour was very stereotypically masculine in its reference to penetration of the body and used reference to body functions as vehicles for insult. A quotation from Antonio Gramsci, the Italian Marxist of the inter-war period and a bridge between the old and new left, followed. This was a unique attempt at cultural heterogeneity.

*Up the Right Channels* was a 239 page book, which had an introductory section followed by one that took up half the publication consisting of critiques of departments of the University and its overall direction. Part three was called Rhubarb (with sarcastic disdain for theory, which they knew was of little broad interest). It was nevertheless theoretical. *U.R.C.’s* intellectual critique cannot always be argued as unique. Others in Western Universities presented the arguments for interdisciplinary, more democratic, less utilitarian and certainly more Romantically inspired intellectual cultures; all associated with attacks on the social science methodology. The following complaint typified its themes. The University

prepared intellectually trained “moral eunuchs” for professions that served the interests of an unjust, unequal and illiberal status quo ...while equality is no longer an ideal (1970, p.120).

Nearly fifty University departments, in articles of varying depth became subjects of criticism. They represented opinions of critical students, and, though less so, of staff. The Romantic theme was so strong that its common roots with the elitist rightwing

Romanticism surfaced. *U.R.C.* reprinted an article by Jack Lindsay in the University Union's cultural magazine of 1921, *Galmahra*, called "The Academic Mind". Lindsay argued that the purpose of the University was for the student to "discover himself" (1970, p.10). As Romanticism traditionally had, he stressed the importance of youth who "must always be right for it is the vitality of the blood", "old age is the only crime", and "the inadequacy of the cold analytical understanding which is subservient to Beauty and Passion". The article ended with a quotation from Nietzsche. A more Romantically orientated outlook is inconceivable, if not more radical sentiments.

There was a broad concern with the question of autonomy. The reconstruction of its history revealed its contentious position in the conflict over the university. In *U.R.C.* the Protesters questioned the connections between business and the University. The presence of the Managing Director of Mt. Isa Mines on the Senate proved their case (Rowlands 1970, p.108). There was no trade unionist (Thomis 1985, p.31). Given the contentions about epistemology and power, such disputes echoed within the complex dimensions; cultural, economic, political and administrative within the University. In Queensland, the adversary was noticeably bold. For them the tradition of university autonomy (Thomis 1985, p.224, p.329) was as meaningless as the foundational separation of powers was (Coaldrake 1989). Precursors had jealously guarded autonomy as best they could. *Up the Right Channel's* contributor Richard Fotheringham instanced interventions by Labor in 1941 to gain government control of the University Senate. While the gag on political comment by academics remained from 1910 to 1944 according to Fotheringham (pp.106-7), it was in 1957 that the Government gained control of staff promotion, engagement and dismissal. 2,500 people met at the City Hall in 1957 to protest about this. This adversarial intention, and resistance to it, helped split the A.L.P. according to Fotheringham, while Thomis describes this account as a piece of University wishful thinking (Thomis 1985, p.239, fn 8).

Post-totalitarian sentiments were present in changes, claims and counter claims in the war and post-war period. The 1944 change regarding political comment suggests the influence of realisations about Hitler's government. Nicklin, who proved very unsympathetic later to claims for civil liberties, saw in the Labor government's proposal in 1957, a commonality with "Fascist and Iron Curtain ideas" (Thomis 1985, p.239). Yet, with Nicklin as Premier in 1965, a leaflet distributed by the Staff Association indicated opposition to the constitution of the membership of the Senate. The tension appeared in the Staff Association's vote of no confidence in a new *University Act*, and further the leaflet

complained of the unnecessary representation of the Church (*Staff Association Leaflet*). In response in *Hansard* in 1965, the Minister of Education stated staff lacked detachment and objectivity (p.1860). The Staff Association's concerns reflect not only the changed *Act* but also the presence of a consciously articulated liberal outlook. While the Staff Association successfully campaigned to have seven staff members on the Senate, Thomis points out that

[t]he government majority had gone but the financial control remained and *Semper* reported in July 1966 what it called the growing reduction of university independence in an era. (Thomis 1985, p.243)

Yet the University maintained what the Protesters called the myth of autonomy (Rowlands in *U.R.C.* 1970, p.109). Dan O'Neill, a key radical staff member asked, "[s]hould the university be conceived of as a stretch of private property or as a great public institution of a modern democracy?" ('STATUTE No. 43 – TWO CRITICISMS' *U.R.C.* 1971 p.145). Graham Rowlands concurred with a contributor to *The Australian Universities Review* of 1969 (vol.12, no. 2), who saw the power of funding as the control mechanism ( *U.R.C.* 1970, p.109).

The Labor Party, under the Catholic fundamentalist Gair, was more a threat than other Conservatives in Australia at the time. The relationship between society and University appeared peculiar in Queensland. The University was neither respected, nor clearly associated with a hegemonic political force, nor critical to an advanced economy beyond its vocational training role. The thesis suggests it was more vulnerable to closure than many other Western universities. So like the nature of democracy, the related concern of the autonomy of the University was particularly real in Queensland.

In turning to the cultural critique which was the main concern of *U.R.C.*, the accusation against the Humanities was that they engaged in trivia (anon. 1970, p.17) rather than contemporary problems. *U.R.C.* emphasised the need for engaged and 'dirty hands' as active dispositions, yet these Romantic themes were most in evidence in its critiques of social sciences. The contemporary contributors in the *R.S.S.A Manifesto on Self Management* in *U.R.C.* argued that the University produced technicians "of consumption and consent". The Social Sciences would not deal with the "non-quantifiable ... love". This anti-scientific direction underscored attempts to demystify the scientific methodologies of "operationalism, behaviourism, value-free scientific method, objectivity, descriptivism and systems analysis" (1970, p.123). These, the writers complained, gave the illusion of



lacking bias, while removing critical scholarship, which often derives from the immeasurable — the moral, or from hope. The current academics were “divorced from passion and morality” (anon. 1970, p.17).

Therefore, *U.R.C.* continued, Economics studied only

thing-like’ social reality ... (2) they split social reality into economic, political, social, historical, cultural, geographical segments...(4) they separate science very rigidly from [the] moral (anon.1970, p.17)

In “Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship”, John Wilkinson raised similar concerns about value-free approaches in History (1970, p.68). Greg Howard (1970, p.92) engaged the Romantic themes of creativity regarding music and the problem of its teaching. In Anthropology and Sociology Narelle Murr criticised the dominance of structural-functionalism which restricted study and criticism (1970, p.19).

*U.R.C.* included the views of the Classicist R. Stavely (1970, p.208) whose intellectual allegiances were also opposed to “value-free” social science. His perspective, in fact, connected to Romanticism as it is reflected in the attention to the moral and the philosophical route to truth rather than the scientific. These moral concerns were common meeting points of the two traditions that the Protesters shared despite the contrary implications about Romanticism’s rebellious morality and the Classicist’s acceptance of rules and laws. Both challenged the logical positivist view, then current, that morality was arbitrary, and both replaced it with the view that morality was absolute.

It is important to note the capacity of *U.R.C.* to transgress the divisions based on disciplinary cultures present in the University. Concerning the more directly professional courses, the question of professional responsibility predominated. This was particularly important for engineers (Renew 1970, p. 45; Job 1970, p. 49). Alan Chenoweth’s critique of Agriculture was also interesting. He asks

where is the training in wildlife ecology, forest ecology and natural grasslands ecology? [D]eath of the natural flora and, can be described as pollution of the environment. (1970, p.27).

Nevertheless the thesis notes that the majority of articles were from those in the Humanities and Social Sciences, and very few from those with more established vocational paths.

All these criticisms suggested the desire to loosen the grip of the state and economy on the post-war University and implied another model of democracy, where institutions and industries make their own agenda at the behest of those involved in them. Above all the methodology relied on the Romantic response to industrialism as system and thinking.

However, while this critique, especially of the University, occurred there was a considerable amount of intellectual discussion at the University that characterised the Protest movement beyond just this critique of the University as a provider of human resources and technologies. These Protester orientations aimed at the society more broadly. The People's Park program and Dan O'Neill's reflections in an interview, were two particular examples included to characterise the thinking about society.

Part of the anti-war activities of the Brisbane Protesters was to organise two successive "Peoples Parks". These are elements of the preparation for the Vietnam Moratoriums. The "*PEOPLES PARK PROGRAM*" (1970), however, has a broad range of concerns reaching far beyond the normal concerns of war atrocities, injustice and American strategies for global dominance. The program discussed was a week long.

In the week's discussions, Monday was set aside for the subject of Conscription including its psychological aspect as reflected in the title "Obedience and Aggression". University psychologist John Damm delivered this talk. The psychological theme continued with the Newman society member and medical student, later psychiatrist, Frank Varghese's discussion — "Violence and the psychopathology of capitalism and imperialism". New Left Club representative John Wilkinson led another discussion on the religious existentialist, Martin Buber — an important central European 20<sup>th</sup> century Romantic

On Wednesday evening the discussion of drugs included Dr. Murray Williams, and medical student and anti-war Protester, Gwyn Bentley. Organisers aware of the growing use of drugs on campus. Thursday's talk concerned Women's Liberation. It included a speaker from the Humanist Society on Abortion, and Merle Thornton whose concern was women's rights. The recognition of the women's movement indicated how important it had become on campus at this time.

"The Peoples Park" agenda was perhaps the first place where the student Brisbane Protesters specifically publicly discussed the degradation of nature, with talks listed "ON THE QUESTION OF ECOLOGY AND POLLUTION". Here, none other better to

emphasise the conservation concept's ongoing Romantic links, than the famous Queensland poet and conservationist Judith Wright, who spoke<sup>36</sup>. To balance this poetic dimension, was a Zoologist Peter Dwyer's contribution. (PEOPLES PARK PROGRAM No.1, 1970)

The thesis now reviews some of the intellectual influences on the Movement gleaned from references made to authors in the general writings including *U.R.C.* Brisbane writings in *U.R.C.* contained reference to the "Arena thesis", in fact Geoff Sharp, one of its editors has an article 'In Defence of Nothing' in *U.R.C.* close to the introduction (1970). This Melbourne-based and educationally-founded view of socialism as free discourse claimed that truth and power are mutually exclusive. The Western Marxist concern with culture and intellectual understandings removed from orthodox Marxism existed in *New Left Review*. More libertarian themes typical of the Brisbane Protests appeared in the series called *Solidarity*<sup>37</sup>. In his talk for the Left Action Conference, which was an important attempt by the established old left to unite disparate socialist-orientated groups, O'Neill rejected Marxist-Leninism. Instead, he argued in 'Strategy for Left Action' for

the project of de-mystifying people's daily social thinking and feeling. [Deep change required that] we must confront the irrationality implicit in the categories of moral, social, and political discussion. (*U.R.C.* 1970, pp.112-113).

O'Neill drew upon the imagery of the cathartic and educational relationships as the model of the new society. There is a hint of the Western Marxist interest in Freud in O'Neill's comments. Eclecticism was evident.

The Brisbane Protestors assumed the task of self-education. Conferences on subjects ranging from peace to socialism, from Anarchism to imperialism, feminism to Indigenous issues appeared over the period. By 1967 S.D.A. proposed a conference for an alliance with minorities: Trade Unions, nurses, Aboriginal groups became focuses (Radicalism in

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<sup>36</sup> Wright's thinking can be found in Wright J, 'Conservation as a Concept' in *Quadrant* (Jan-Feb 1968, p.29-33).

<sup>37</sup> *Solidarity* was a post-war magazine with strong Anarchist influences frequently reproduced by the Protesters. In "As We See It" according to *Solidarity* (n.d.) "socialism ... means equality, real freedom, reciprocal recognition and radical transformation of all human relations". The concern was with the flourishing of the human spirit without political dictatorships of party and other surrogates.

Queensland — A CONFERENCE n.d.). There were several anti-war conferences including a national one in January-February 1969 (1969 Conference n.d.). This included talks on Imperialism, Alienation and Powerlessness and Self-management of the University.

The New Left Group hosted a conference indicative of the intellectual roots of the new left in its broadest sense. In a conference headed “What is Marxian Theory?” there were talks on: the intellectual and philosophic aspects of Marx; Determinism and Humanism in Marx; Marxism and Anarchism; Existentialism; Literary Criticism and Marxism; and Marxism and Christianity, all of which suggested the broadness, eclecticism and openness of the Brisbane Protesters. This was a distinctive intellectual characteristic of the Brisbane Protesters inclusive of a societal overview dominated by Western Marxism.

To conclude this section on the intellectual characteristics of the Brisbane Protesters’ critique of the University and society, the thesis found evidence of the influence initially of radical liberalism evident in the concerns for truth, irrespective of power. Yet more particularly and tangentially to this first concern, the Romantic university movement took from Romanticism the related emphasis on the interior world of conscience, and the socially- engaged rather than disengaged view attached to the relevance of “objectivity”. It shunned the belief that human behaviour could be understood mechanistically. It stressed the influence of culture as a means of transmitting, ordering and resisting human activities and social processes. It therefore conflicted with economic or other determinisms. Romanticism was also personal defiance towards cultural norms and that perspective was liberally sprinkled through all activities and publications. This cultural confrontation relied on intellectual and reflective activities rather than physically confrontational ones. It took the University on its own terms. This proved successful in working tangentially rather than in full collision with authorities when imbalances of power rapidly determined outcomes.

Western Marxism was intellectually sophisticated and Romanticism was part of the Western intellectual tradition, whereas orthodox Marxism was not. This new culture of opposition to industrialism reinvigorated by post-totalitarian concerns informed most of the Up the Right Channels critique. It linked through Heidegger, Husserl, Western and Existential Marxism, to an intellectual tradition, which defines the influences on the Brisbane Protesters. More political and less intellectual expressions appeared in the Protesters’ radical communitarian self-management orientations and the intellectual expressions were even less so in Marxist-Leninism, which focused on political process.

To achieve this direction in a generally anti-intellectual climate reflected the special character and circumstances of the Brisbane Protests as the chapter conclusion indicates. The eclectic and expressive character of U.R.C. encapsulated the Brisbane Protests as provocative anti-bourgeois, male-orientated and anti-authoritarian and full of Romantic defiance. This signature was never so clearly presented as in U.R.C. and yet for all that it was not anti-intellectual. It was a distinctive mixture that escaped pre-existing motifs of resistance and standardised phrases. It was not without its limitations but it is fittingly represented in U.R.C. and the expansive programs of education and awareness, in which Protesters imagined a community of scholars just at the moment when scholars faced harnessing to national development like never before.

The students and radical staff defined a Romantic university. The State adversary threatened. Some staff realised this and attempted to reorientate the movement away from violence and University closure. This characterised the understanding of the University Reform Group as the central driving force of the Romantic university movement.

#### ***4.3 Difference and Competition***

This sub-section introduces another element into the understanding of the Romantic university movement, which developed a set of differences centred around the significance of culture to social transformation and the relevance of intellectual life to this change. Furthermore the thesis indicates a particular social location associated with these differences. This suggests that those whose status in the vocational structures and pathways at the University was lower were more prone to anti-intellectual allegiances.

As the conflicts intensified on campus, there was a deliberate intention, by those who saw the intellectual critique as being most of what they could realistically do in very oppressive circumstances, to reroute the direct confrontation with University authorities and the state. This group, turning to critique, strongly asserted cultural criticism as central to the route to significant social transformations. While they wished for broader change, they focused on its unlikely immediate fruition and the more likely threat of the adversary. Those who showed little interest in that direction can be divided into two sub-groups. One of these believed outside agencies could transform society, if only appropriate and disciplined appeals were made. For that sub-group, culture was rather an obscuration and they

considered the world from a non-campus and more economic and class, if intellectually compromised, perspective. The other sub-group of the two simply needed to express disdain and frustration at almost any cost. Their rhetoric was political but its expression was undisciplined and with very limited intellectual sophistication and perhaps they entertained the view that resistant expression would spread and shared with the other group the idea that the University was another capitalist or authoritarian institution. It is this latter sub-group and the first group which largely concern this section.

It was the staff and post-graduate students, as well as many other students, for whom confrontation began to evoke hostility and opposition. Increasingly radical staff in particular, realised the danger of the confrontations with University authorities. The initial formation of the Queensland University Co-ordinating Committee (U.C.C.) which led to the publication of *Up the Right Channels* began with the initial leaflet of the University Co-ordinating Committee (U.C.C.) published in 1970 at the height of the Vietnam fracas with Quang and the C.M.F. raid. The leaflet intended to challenge the notion of this sort of activism or at least expand on it.

In the leaflet headed "call for a meeting of activists" O'Neill argued that

the confrontational model of social change despite its significance in addressing power did not give adequate strategy or means of inducing discussion about important issues. It failed to nurture change, engage consciousness and in fact in the end through the neglect of these matters failed to unnerve authority figures (U.R.C.1970, p.8).

This was an important set of distinctions. In the same vein, the introduction to *U.R.C.* concluded "power will only be built by a new movement which becomes in thought, word, and deed, the university within the university" (anon. 1970, p.9.)

The U.C.C. adopted highly inclusive language except as regards the more confrontational group called in their literature "the politicals" (*U.R.C.* 1970, p.8). Fear of the extremes of left and right prompted the initiation of the U.C.C. aimed at construction of a new concept of a University. Many of the broad statements of the U.C.C. read as directly answering the dominant preoccupations of some radical Protesters. O'Neill representing the U.C.C. talked about a growing attitude which "begins to run the danger of losing itself in a merely declaratory, sloganising (sic) crusade with misplaced confrontations" (*U.R.C.* 1970, p.8)

as did Jim Cleary, a post-graduate student ('Lecturing on Navigation while the Ship Goes Down' *U.R.C.* 1970, p.134). U.C.C. encouraged inclusiveness and intellectual critique as an alternative to action, founded simply on defiance.

O'Neill suggested an alliance that moved right outside the Cold War camps by including the Liberal and Democratic Club (off-shoot of the ultra-Conservative D.L.P.) and "a whole range of activities from sit-ins to submissions" (*U.R.C.* 1970, p.9). The suggestion of an alliance with the very conservative groups, many ideological radicals would never have countenanced. The U.C.C. was very much still connected in perspective with the broad radical protest movement but wished to accomplish these tasks without closure of the University and the possibility of bloodshed. One of their staff number described his intentions as fostering "an alternative to Kent State" (Malinas in O'Neill (*et al*, eds.)1970, p.8).

Those with human-, rather than technically-, oriented courses interests created the bulk of protests. The acceptance of vocational training in any field relied on a degree of acceptance that the "politicals" (sic) may not have countenanced. They rather wanted a political conflict, which assumed society was an economic/political reality alone, rather than a cultural one as well. No university staff indulged this, it seemed. The "politicals" (sic) tended to be students. They may, as well, have had poor vocational motivation. It is certainly easy to assume that the highly political were students in the Arts faculties where such knowledge was pertinent at the very fringes — if barely at the scholastic level, as political insurrection was problematic as a means to change since the Stalin revelations. The movement of Western left-wing academics to journals like *New Left Review*, which privileged culture and intellectual capacity over political ideology and insurrection emphasised this. Therefore, very schematically the thesis asserts, the "politicals" (sic) were those who, in oppressive conditions, advocated immediate confrontation and perhaps saw no secondary roads to justice like professional competence and changing practices or gradual reform. Of course, this assumed that they would not have asserted both or all paths. Unfortunately, only surveys can vindicate this speculation. However there were deep differences evident in the directions within the Romantic university movement, which the thesis points to without determining their social location with great satisfaction.

## **5.0 OUTCOMES**

Whitlam's increased education expenditure and abolition of University fees reflected recognition of the need for equity in terms of accessibility for students, as the University widely became a potential guarantee of well-paid vocational training opportunities. The formation of Griffith University soon after these events, with its interdisciplinary approaches, its interest in ecology and a problem-centred rather than vocation-centred or disciplinary-centred, structure, reflected the influences or effects of these Protests. However the longer view of these events suggests there were no effects on structures and social roles, although a generation of students, some of whom became staff, changed their own perceptions. The university has had to dance to the tune of economic rationalism rather than to the tune of post-war industrialism and the former, in fact, was far more invasive but still the successor to industrialism.

## **6.0 CONCLUSION**

The chapter analysed the Romantic university movement in the Brisbane Protests. It indicated a specific orientation in Australian terms and the influence of an eclectic radical tradition of this particular variation of post-totalitarian Romanticism. As well the thesis analysed the underlying debate about autonomy in the various positions adopted by the protagonists. However the matter of discipline, in particular revealed that this concern was of only partial determining weight or needed broader understanding to do justice to its centrality. Necessarily there was a much greater investment by Protesters in activities related to the cultural role of the university, which implied a different debate about autonomy — cultural autonomy. This was where the specificity of the Protesters in the Australian circumstances was most obvious in their Romantic university movement. Both matters posed the problem of the ivory tower in late industrialism — its claims to difference and autonomy were no longer sustainable. It was that transition that fed into the conflict about forms of autonomy, the role of the university and discipline.

The University Reform Movement deliberately sidestepped the political confrontations developing on campus, in favour of the related issue of the pedagogy, epistemology and content of courses, which remained the University's core business. The chapter analysed this Romantic university movement, which was distinctive in Brisbane. Its eclecticism suggested its intellectually enriched nature, as did its inclusiveness of groups. This type of movement was a pattern in the Brisbane Protests and connected to the orchestration of



broad-based movements without firm ideological structures. Its eclecticism meant it represented the broad strands in the mainstream of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism rather than the ideological sects, who were powerful in the Western world at the time, if intellectually on the radical Romantic post- totalitarian fringes.

The thesis concludes that Tarrow's perspective does not deeply enrich the understanding of the Romantic university movement. It was not a movement which centrally engaged the political process although fear of this process was a determining factor. Tarrow provides little insight in this regard except to analyse the University as a resource, which is inadequate unless he includes its capacity to construct new explanatory models of society and universities.

Where political processes appeared central were in threats to autonomy. The University Reform Group's presence, in part, affirmed the view that political processes could not determine social movements' engagements, if these matters are not subject to sufficient transparency to permit these becoming issues. However, more critically, for social movements to directly confront these structural matters potentially created reactions, which may be inimical to their survival. Yet the Movement had longer roots in the history of the Protests and was not just the product of reaction to the threats of the adversary.

There was no doubt that the anti-intellectualism of the adversary intensified the conflicts and the necessity for the Vice-Chancellor to explain his actions in the illogical form he did, since the hidden but obvious agenda was to placate this adversary. This role of the adversary and the effect it had on the University Senate intensified rather than created the disputes in which the Protesters asserted their own outlooks as those of a university. Tarrow's understanding of the specificity of the adversary proves useful in this respect and the presence of a political process waiting in the wings was critical to responses of some of the Protesters, however he has less relevance in understanding the formation of the cultural interests of the Protesters, as the product of a new agenda for the circumstances of the post-war university.

Melucci's analysis is much closer to explaining the subjects of the chapter. The conflict of codes explains that logical positivism, while modified to searches for empirical forms of verification in the social sciences, initiated the dominant scientific methodology and met countervailing views held by the Protesters and in the 20<sup>th</sup> century history of Romanticism. There was conflict of codes between scientific methodologies and Romantic ones which

Melucci ignores when he talks about the new left which in Italy moved to Marxism–Leninism. Yet Melucci’s post-industrialist movements share exactly those characteristics of the concerns of the University Reform Group in challenging codes of knowledge — the Italian new left notwithstanding.

Habermas and Cohen identify new locations of conflict and intersections of disagreement. These Protesters demonstrated this in their concern for the University. Those with attachment to beliefs about rationality and the role of the university prove the most consistently concerned with challenging the University. Habermas’s analysis pertains to the rationalities involved in conflicts and implies that failure to reach certain standards of rationality may have consequences. Furthermore the relevance of Habermas’s proposition of imbalance of inquiry weighted to less complicated domains of science and technology and the subversion of the epistemological requirements of human self- and social -inquiry, which were reliant on interpretative and hermeneutic discourses, rings true as a description of the opposition articulated by the intellectual orientations of the Romantic University movement. Often however, only Habermas’ appreciation of the relevance of Romanticism to the full expression of modernity has a rapport with the Protesters’ orientations, rather than the broader understanding of modernity formulated by Habermas. Romanticism underpins a desire for expression, subjectivity and rationality, which somewhat chaotically mixed in the Protesters’ critique. However it was compatible with science and such observer-object rationalities.

Feminism proves useful in characterising the tendency of historical events to be expressed in masculine terms as with the imagery of *Up the Right Channels*. Marxism explains only the broadest picture of social structures. Once again, radical Romantic post-totalitarianism proves important as an historical influence and is the primary means of characterising the outlook of the Protesters, even if the Ehrenreichs’ understanding sheds some light on the conflict which was nevertheless, much more widely referenced to various understandings and international movements than even their very broadened understanding of the ideologies of fractions of classes, encompasses.

Once again radical Romantic post-totalitarianism provides a conceptual architecture from which to understand the Protests, while their specific interpretation, the thesis explains in terms of the particular features of local political and cultural topography. Some student actions vindicated the ‘official’ new left perspective by exhibiting indifference to the process of defence and extension of universal rights, as in cases of personal harassment. They

conceptually reduced the University to a bourgeois institution and so no different from any other, or simply expressed their own frustrations irrespective of the consequences and consideration of the complexity of exercising rights and accepting duties. This does conjure elements of the Brisbane Protests, but a very limited group and certainly not the mainstream.

When the thesis analyses the Queensland situation, the critical focus on the University derives from, the outlooks of the Protesters, ambient influences and peculiarities of their political and cultural environment, not from post-industrial society. The post-war University's pre-eminence in the strategy of the nation builders created in Queensland a situation where the local adversary held the view that prodigiously large grants of money deserved in return not dedication and commitment but conformity, subservience and immediately quantifiable results. The University in the eyes of this adversary should be just like any other public sector organization (where opinions are not publicly expressed). In fact the university was almost the only conduit of new radical ideas and critical thinking and so an institution that focused new demands. The relationship between society and University appeared peculiar in Queensland, with the University neither respected nor clearly associated with a hegemonic political force beyond its vocational training role. It was more vulnerable than many Western Universities. This made criticism of it by the Brisbane Protesters more potent yet more respectful of its original claims to foster the truth.

## **CHAPTER 6**

# **THE ANTI-RACISM MOVEMENTS and WOMEN'S MOVEMENT**

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the anti-racism movements<sup>36</sup> and the Women's Movement. These movements are of great significance historically in the post-war era, especially in societies like Australia's — democratic, post-colonial, affluent and modernising. However the variability in their separate social characteristics, and in the outcomes they achieved, qualifies attempts to see similarities in these two movements, as does reference to their different numerical sizes. Yet both movements addressed the deepest stratifications existing in the society.

By the `fifties, class conflict was defined by the clash between employers and employees, and in the workers' case initiated by organizations of those in paid work in industrial, rural and white-collar occupations. The union movement had made considerable ground in defence of basic rights and freedoms as well as in material gains but had moulded their class aspirations to conventional conflicts within ever-widening occupational categories. While equality and autonomy in the workplace were no closer to realisation for workers, the gender and racial stratifications froze people out of the paid labour force or offered substandard conditions that no Anglo-Celt male worker accepted. In part, this was why gender and race stratifications were so much deeper as social divisions, although this was a time when female participation in the workplace was, after the decline immediately after the war, beginning to rise again.

The parameters of exploitation of these lower stratifications were complex and various. Women held esteemed positions domestically in post-war societies like Australia, but, at the same time, this location was one characterised by assumed inherent vulnerability and sensitivity, which underlined their strangely ambivalent position; they were both idealised as nurturers and preyed upon as victims. The chapter argues that the Women's Movement, while centrally about resistance to the suburban identity, also expanded

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<sup>36</sup> According to the terminology rules of the thesis the "anti-racism movements" is an analytical term while the Brisbane Protesters were part of the Anti-Racism Movement, which was mostly urban in association as were the Protesters. Yet an exception to this terminology rule is made for the acronym I.A.I.M. which is also an analytical term but not one used by the Protesters. However the 'Indigenous autonomous identities movements' is written like this.

beyond these issues of personal identity and sexuality into workforce rights. The Indigenous held a very different location. Not unsurprisingly, the 'enlightened' Captain Cook described this 'other' as unworthy. Because their traditional cultural perspectives were anti-development, which was contrary to the dominant ideology of all the powerful economic and political forces in Australia, and almost all of the population, their fate was initially sealed. The Indigenous outlook antagonised the Western invaders from the beginning. Settlers and farmers practised physical or cultural genocide. Yet in the North of Australia, the cattle industry required their labour (Reynolds 1981). Here small ambiguities in their status, especially their presence in the pastoral industry emerged, as they did in their presence in the diving industries (Osborne 1997). There seemed a north/south divide in Australia as the key advocate historically, of the Indigenous, the Communist Party of Australia, asserted in *Full Human rights for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders* (1967).

Central to the similarities and differences of Indigenous' and women's movements was the fact that theirs were culturally-mediated stratifications. Cultural stereotypes encrusted these stratifications. These stereotypes demonstrated their unworthy characteristics either in the former's (the Indigenous's) case as human beings or in the latter's as regards suitability for high public office or management of private industry. Yet at the same time these oppressed had long-standing cultures of their own; both with depths of tradition and existence outside of, and prior to industrialism. This gave both groups distinctive bonding in contradistinction to, rather than just in opposition to, this industrialism. It existed in counter models to the roles prescribed by the urban nuclear family ideal and distinct from the hegemonic version of development as that of the domination over the natural world, and of human relationships as profoundly mediated by markets.

Both movements addressed the industrial work-force patterns within this discrimination, which necessarily combined with addressing the cultural exclusion of women and their traditional work, in particular, from the concept of contributing to a "work-force", due to the domestic nature of their work. The cultural exclusion of the Indigenous from this industrial work-force was a much more obscured and destructive, if also, a more necessary one given their possible obstruction of industrialism. Industrialism's subsidiary demand for food and mineral extraction, for which Australia had a global role as well as a national need, meant because their attachment to land, their almost total exclusion from rather than stratified inclusion in the society. Racism created much more comprehensive and deeper exclusions at the base of which was the Indigenous' lack of commitment to materialism. Women's contribution to consumption and populating saved them from an excluded fate

Despite the peace movement's more episodic but still long history, and the labour movement's resistances, the struggle for Aboriginal and women's rights was the concern of historically re-occurring, small cohorts of concerned activists often excluded from the peace and labour movements and from mainstream organizations and institutional arrangements that disadvantaged their cause. The evidence that basic Australia stratification underlined their problems appeared in these characteristics of their conflicts. In the Brisbane Protests all the complex facets of these stratifications were challenged making them worthy of reflection through the analytical model.

Both movements required cultural critiques beyond the quantitative and, in many respects, demonstrate the Western framework's dependence on the Romantic, but they also readily referred to incontrovertible data demonstrating measurable discrimination. Simone de Beauvoir, whose work lies within the European existential tradition, used observable data of psychology and sociology, which were not the standard fare of those influences noted already as important on the Brisbane Protests. As opposed in methodology to the works of Marcuse or Fromm or *New Left Review*, observer-based and quantitative methods also proved useful to anthropologists like C.D. Rowley (1970) who readily found proof of discrimination in empirical data about Indigenous lives and employment.

The thesis analyses the anti-racism movements in terms of two categories. Firstly there was the Indigenous autonomous identities movement (I.A.I.M.)<sup>37</sup> which, in several distinct perspectives, articulated the desire for both new identities and traditional ones. This first category of campaigns and movements had features of Indigenous leadership with secondary non-Indigenous support. Secondly, while the Indigenous also expressed their identity in other Movements mentioned in this thesis, and particularly in the non-Indigenous-dominated anti-Apartheid Movement and various on-campus seminars on racism leading to actions, these Movements and campaigns were not just Indigenous identity movements, even where their focus was racism. The Anti-Racism Movement of the Brisbane Protests consists mainly of urban Aborigines and Islanders in I.A.I.M, non-Indigenous and Indigenous Anti-Apartheid Protesters, the Act Confrontation Movement and education campaigns about racism on the University campus led by Abschol and others with strong non-Indigenous influences. The major absence in this Anti-Racism

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<sup>37</sup> terminology see Movements

Movement of the Brisbane Protests was the movement of traditional Aboriginal identities. However Kath Walker, (Oodgeroo Noonuccal), whose people lived on the islands of Moreton Bay, retained a presence in the Brisbane Protests. She was also a member of the Communist Party of Australia, which is also an important part of this Anti-Racism Movement of the Brisbane Protests.

The thesis emphasises the complex character of the I.A.I.M since the distinction 'Indigenous /non-Indigenous' is widely used. The Torres Strait Islanders are ethnographically different from nearly all Aboriginal groups. Not only were Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders different but also many of both of these, living in their mostly traditional societies, differed from their urban cohorts. All these differences were reflected in the construction of resistant identities in these stratifications. While the non-Indigenous had many differences noted in previous campaigns, these flowed into differences between them and the Indigenous. Differences between feminist and Indigenous, libertarians and Indigenous, Marxist-Leninists and Indigenous emerged through the Indigenous asserting cultural specificity. However some Indigenous relied on the concept of 'blackness' which was held to be analytical more than descriptive. These varieties of perspectives create a picture of difference, which the thesis does not reduce to uniformity, despite finding common threads in all these emerging identities. It is the link through Romanticism particularly radical Romantic post-totalitarianism and in opposition to the colonisation of the Indigenous, as well as the local contexts and shared activities, that drew these groups together. If this conceptual unity must allow for the reality of considerable differences within the Anti-Racism Movement, this is more correct of the inclusion of the Women's Movement in the conceptual framework of "the Brisbane Protests".

The women of the Brisbane Protests began to see male Protesters as oppressors. Yet there is evidence of significant unity and of shared thematic elements in the campaigns described in the other chapters. The thesis intends to neither ignore the real differences nor pretend that the unity about identity and gender issues in particular, felt by men and women, was, at best, episodic. Nevertheless most women and men of the Protests, the thesis asserts, chose to retain heterosexual relationships despite escalating challenges to patriarchal power, and with gay and lesbian alternatives slowly growing. It was in the recognition, in part, of the problems of these on-going heterosexual attractions and yet the intractability of achieving equality or satisfaction within them, that Women's Liberation, which professed equality, slowly transformed to feminism professing gender difference



and articulating the need for a feminine society — one in which these differences were accepted and opportunities for woman living these differences were unrestricted.

The analytic model's first frame applies general theory. Feminism rests on the historical centrality of women in conflict with patriarchy. The evident role of women in public and private activities and the contestation of the existing boundaries between public and private demonstrate feminism's applicability to the Brisbane Protests. The outcome of a broad and pervasive Women's Movement, lasting many years after the period of the thesis's focus, demonstrates that feminism as a theory of stratification has broad applicability and important insights into the Brisbane Protests. However it is the focus of feminism on issues of sexuality relationships and the "private" domain that proves so invaluable to the analysis.

The new women's movement focused initially on the concerns of sexuality and health yet had features of psychological support or solidarity that gave it certain qualitative characteristics. They did not attempt mass-mobilisations, in the main, yet these later became features just beyond the timeframe under discussion in this thesis. According to most feminists, the generation with which we associate women's liberation took up the issues of second wave feminism in Queensland as elsewhere. The first wave, as Verity Burgmann notes, concerned political and legal rights. To the second, issues of gender, sexuality and identity were crucial. These categories prove problematic in the case of the Brisbane Protests (2003). The thesis demonstrates that women formed alliances especially across class, ideological and other barriers, in actions around the contemporaneous working women's movement about equal pay. The various aspects of the women's movement, the thesis develops through explication of several campaigns, which reveal a complex interweaving of issues. The women, or parts of their movement, were equally concerned with values, economic rights, health, and pleasure and reproduction issues. This breadth, the thesis suggests, represents characteristics of contemporaneous anti-stratification movements, yet theorists dispute these meanings.

Tarrow's perspective that inequality continues to drive movements for change in liberal societies appears vindicated. However the cultural characteristics of the stratifications analysed in this chapter are more amenable to the insights of Melucci rather than Tarrow, while Habermas' interest in the new sources of conflict, outside the labour force, validates his applicability. This is despite the tension his model of modernity creates with those who assert a particular, rather than just a universal identity, as essential to their liberation.

Marxism proves useful in the broad overview of the characteristics of stratification of national and sub-national groupings, within a global architecture of political economies and their interrelationships. Racism in Australia and the treatment of the Indigenous fitted a pattern of colonisation and post-colonial societies, while certain industries determined stratifications for the Indigenous in profound ways. The counter-hegemony of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism created new possibilities for resistance exemplified by international precursors to both these movements. The 'official' new left view has limited application the further it gets away from youthful male behaviours and while the Indigenous young males also engaged in some of its signature shallowness, described previously, these were relatively insignificant behaviours in terms of characterisation in this chapter. However there does appear a repeated pattern of ideological solidification as suggested by the 'official' new left critique. The specificity of Australian and Queensland contexts were essential ingredients in the conflict, since, in the latter case, its reactionary Romanticism baulks even at the political and cultural modernisation process of inclusion of cultural outsiders in liberal democratic terms.

## **2.0 THE ANTI-RACISM MOVEMENT**

The Indigenous autonomous identity movement (I.A.I.M.) is the first focus in the chapter, followed by a focus on the anti-Springbok actions. In the I.A.I.M., the conflict over the Acts controlling the Indigenous predominates. This conflict reflected growing expressions of Indigenous autonomy, which began with cultural resistances of traditional Indigenous, and had a long history, yet which altered in character in the youthful urban movements in the Brisbane Protests. The Act Confrontation Movement relied almost entirely on the Indigenous within I.A.I.M. However the Indigenous also formed the Black Panthers and Tribal Council as part of I.A.I.M. The second focus of this analysis of the Anti- Racism Movement is the analysis of the anti-Springbok campaign, which was much less directly connected to I.A.I.M but strongly connected to the largely non-Indigenous university radicals, including their education projects, but still with a significant contribution from the Indigenous. If measured in terms of size of the respective communities, the Indigenous commitment reflected extraordinary community involvement.

While the precursors to the Indigenous movement for autonomous identities partially relied on the dramatic stand of the central Australian Gurindji, the typical profile of the Anti-Racism Movement reveals a unity, spatially and/or socially, in the inner Brisbane area with only the exceptions of urban-based Indigenous in orientating campaigns to those in rural

locations. The foundations of this profile were in shared inner-suburban locations. As previous chapters attested, the young University activists mixed with those forced into and/or forming cultural enclaves in inner-suburban locations. Those with less choice about where they lived included the Indigenous. Important also, if less numerically significant, University attendance in the Indigenous group intensified the significance of Abschol, the scholarship administrator for the Indigenous. This group of mainly Caucasians was important as their presence and conference agendas proved a natural platform for the mixing of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Protesters, the thesis shows. The Communist Party's interest in the causes of workers, including Aborigines, meant there was potential for interactions through such formations as the Anti-War Movement.

The Indigenous there, urbanised and separated from their traditional cultures, occupied a cultural twilight zone between two worlds; for the Caucasian youth, particularly students, this was a world free of the associations of pressures of authority and conformity, including the familial. The similarities at this point are location and absence of structures, tribal or familial, yet, in fact, the Indigenous often used an extended family terminology, and the two cultures rarely found rapport in broad outlook. Yet, even if only rarely, this mutual accommodation evolved in the Brisbane Protests. These interactions deepened through the Protests, as evidenced in this chapter by the two campaigns and their alliances with the Anti-Racism Movement. The Anti-Racism Movement was a broad, particularly political, unity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous. Here the mutuality of resistant groups and the high profile of precursors established a sense of a commonality, however naïve (in the case of the non-Indigenous), between the various Protesters. This was its most significant achievement culturally and challenged the power of stratifying dominant cultures.

A concern with "the Act" (as it was referred to by Indigenous Protesters) was fundamental to the Indigenous. The Act Confrontation Movement existed over a very short-term campaign in 1971 within Brisbane Protests but the resistance and hostility to the Act took other forms and fitted a two hundred year old history of resistance. For the Indigenous, I.A.I.M. began with white settlement (Reynolds 1981) however, for some Caucasians, this is a specific campaign, implying that this particular Caucasian participation defined a relatively limited commitment or campaign against an injustice. The anti-Apartheid activities were also short-term in Brisbane, with this sharp focus on racism again tangential in nature to the Indigenous' own conflicts. Yet this campaign also fits the broader picture of belonging to the Anti-Racism Movement.

This Movement was aptly named not so much because of the unified characteristics of deep bonding across the Indigenous and non-Indigenous Movements, since the thesis shows the former's internal bonding was far deeper, but in the formation of politically significant bonds of a political nature between non-Indigenous and Indigenous. These represented a triumph for Caucasians in the breaking their cultural prejudices and in tolerance for the Indigenous in working with "their oppressors". All these activities at the time reflected the capacity non-Indigenous Protesters had, to break with racism, much as this pales beside the remnant traditional cultural depth of the Indigenous and their growing attempts to restructure this in urban locations. Even in the face of the slow penetration of post-totalitarianism into all classes, few Indigenous/non-Indigenous political movements developed, because these cultural barriers retained their sense of impenetrability in practice despite the rare but growing presence of those individuals who crossed these barriers personally in various ways. In the Anti-Racism Movement recognition of the need of autonomous liberation from racist stratification was not suppressed as an insight and leadership handed to non-Indigenous to help the 'poor native', as in most other examples of combined actions. The I.A.I.M. were distinctive in the era.

### ***2.1 Racism: Orientations and the Adversaries***

This section analyses the special characteristics of the Anti-Racism Movement's adversaries. Race was so ingrained in Australian culture that the thesis might assert that this adversary was all those Western settlers and invaders other than a few anthropologists, a few notable writers and no doubt a considerable number of Caucasian humanitarians. This provoking comment on one hand does not take account of the extent to which many Australians moved to a weak post-totalitarianism and expressed their concerns in the 1967 Referendum on Government responsibilities to Aborigines nor on the other hand, of the particular vindictiveness of reactionary vested interests in Queensland and members of, successive Queensland governments, who listened to them. Advocates of vested interests in land and minerals drove the Queensland government adversary to a vicious racism, for which they legislated, policed and administered.

Underlying these intentions were economic changes, which were identified by one of the protagonists. A Communist Party publication described Northern Australia in terms of

[r]evolutions in transportation and communication, the rapid and expansive growth of the mining industry and military developments with the development of rocket ranges and military bases. (1967, p.14).

There was no room for traditional Aboriginal claims or cultures, whether they were drawn through human rights into the market economy or oppressed by the State government. All these changes required the Indigenous, who in the North had held onto their traditions, to forgo them. The Referendum provided hope that this would be done 'humanely'.

The international adversary was the Apartheid regime. The thesis does not describe South Africa in any detail, except to say that its Christian-based racial domination manifested in violent suppression of its native population in this system called Apartheid, which separated the races physically. Yet Western multi-nationals exploited African labour and benefited from South Africa's reactionary anti-unionist and anti-Communist domination, in making large profits. Irrespective of whether it typified post war neo-imperialism South Africa typified the violent colonial dislocation of the Indigenous, with disastrous social, economic and cultural consequences for them. This adversary was the antithesis of post-totalitarian expectations and is one of this antithesis's most potent symbols.

Yet it is noted that those with interests in Northern Australia had a special interest in dominating labour through racial relationships. According to Abschol, the independent organization providing scholarships and other assistance of an educational nature to the Indigenous,

"[e]ver since the white man came to this country, the Aboriginal has been dispossessed of his lands by pastoralists, mining interests and successive Australian governments ... Since 1959 more than 2 million acres of "Reserve" land have been taken from them." (*land rights vigil* n.d.) .

Joe McGinness, an Aboriginal leader referred to the early sixties as a time when mining began affecting Queensland Aborigines (McGinness in Attwood & Markus 1999, p193), as did the activist Lilla Watson (Scutt 1987). In the past, trade unions and churches were adversaries and almost nobody, but the Indigenous themselves, offered the view of respect for, and return to, traditional life styles. Yet despite the role of these other groups, the thesis suggests, in Queensland, the special role of the dominant classes as adversary. Legislation demonstrated the adversary's character.

"The Act" as Aboriginal Protesters called it in their publications, underwent various modifications. The *Control of Opium and other Offences Act*, which Attwood and Markus describe as "cast[ing] Aborigines as a primitive childlike race" (1999, p.8) was replaced by

the *Aboriginal Preservation and Protection Act* and *Torres Strait Islands Act* 1939-40. The new Acts set up highly paternalistic protection in non-urban areas, run by Protection Boards who controlled wages stolen from Aborigines. There was a transition from colonialism and 'protection' to assimilation, thereby suggesting, relatively little, but still some, change.

The 1965 *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Affairs Act* created in the consequences of its applications, on-going domination. In a period otherwise described as one of self-determination Queensland's Act remained Draconian (<http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/special/rsjproject/rsjlibrary/arccrp/dp4.html#> Discussion paper 4). In Queensland, the Indigenous would live "like Australians", meaning, of course, Anglo-Celts, and this oppression continued into the 'fifties and 'sixties.

Kath Walker, a significant historical figure in the Aboriginal movement, who symbolically changed her name to Oodgeroo Noonuccal, argued that the Queensland Acts (the *Aboriginal Preservation and Protection Act* and the *Torres Strait Islands Act*) were the worst of all the states (Attwood & Markus 1999, p.190). According to the Federal Council of Aboriginal Associations (F.C.A.A.) statements of 1962, only Queensland and W.A. denied their Aborigines the right to vote, marry freely, control their own children, move freely, own property freely, receive award wages and drink alcohol (Attwood & Markus 1999, p.184). Even the Northern Territory gave the Indigenous the right to vote, although still denying these other rights. The Queensland Government's attitude created heated clashes.

The central adversaries at the political level were both the Country/National and Liberal Parties but particularly the Queensland Coalition dominated at first by National /Liberal governments and later just the Nationals. As to the Federal Coalition Government, it also responded to the major economic stakeholders. Yet the referendum of 1967, initiated by the Liberal-Country Party Federal government, represented significant evidence that Aborigines had some levels of support at the Federal level. Local state-based vested interests attempted to influence the Federal domain less successfully.

While elsewhere in Australia reform of Aboriginal rights occurred after the 1967 referendum, and laws that discriminated were abandoned, this was not so in Queensland ([www.dreamtime.net.au/indigenous/timeline3.cfm](http://www.dreamtime.net.au/indigenous/timeline3.cfm)). In Queensland, the dominant outlook

was less open to such ideas, for the status quo protected vested interests in labour and mineral exploitation. This required in their view, the more deliberate and authoritative management of the Indigenous.

Alex MacDonald, Vice-President of the Q.T.L.C., cited Queensland graziers as deliberately wanting to obstruct equal pay thereby adding to the slowness of equity-oriented deliberations of the Arbitration Commission. "There should be only one set of industrial conditions and no power to make lower conditions for any other section of the people" (*Notes on Seminar held by I.W.D. on Aboriginal Rights* n.d.). The dominant culture's power-brokers in these industries and allied ones like agriculture had no reason to identify with the urban concerns about anti-Apartheid either, as equity in racial relations was abhorrent. The adversary had a vested interest in racism and this mostly explains its repressive attitudes and perhaps its broader associations with many illiberal causes.

### **3.0 THE PROTESTERS: PRECURSORS; SUPPORTERS AND ALLIES**

In this section, the thesis looks at those who were precursors to, or participated in, the Anti-Racism Movement. As well, it deals with supporters, institutions and organizations. These organizations and institutions reflected more deeply embedded outlooks and dominant hegemonies due to completion of day-to-day concerns for their functional roles. Yet they made contributions to the Movement if not necessarily, as Movement allies. The Indigenous allies produced a specific Movement, as well as participating in the broader Anti-Racism Movement.

Generally, the Anti-Racism Movement's initial precursors were the Indigenous. These consisted of members of many organizations that white authorities, at that point, often controlled. A new wave of united Caucasian and Indigenous protests about racism with a rural and small country-town focus reflected changes that are more significant in terms of intolerance to racism. However international precursors proved important too, including the United Nations, which gave some voice to anti-colonialism and reflected the emergence of a third-world consciousness of non-aligned countries. Gandhi, and particularly Martin Luther King, who both led internationally renowned movements for racial justice and anti-colonialism, were more direct precursors. At the same time as King began to lead protests in the Southern United States of America, the international anti-Apartheid movement emerged, also underwriting anti-colonial sentiment. The precursors signified new sources

of Protest outside the labour conflicts, if inclusive of these at times. These groups heralded a new post-war political agenda influential on those who became allies.

As to the supporters, the Australian labour movement and the churches, both of whom had, at times, played roles in the oppression of the Indigenous, became institutional supporters. Additional support came from the constitutional process, when the Referendum on government responsibilities for the Indigenous created a potentially beneficial process in Federal rather than State hands.

Slowly an Indigenous movement for autonomous identities appeared as new, importantly urban, identities formed. Rural Aborigines also initiated protests, as did the other aspect of the Anti-Racism Movement an international movement in opposition to Apartheid. The Indigenous allies emerged within a broader alliance in the period, formed around the new issues of the `sixties, with land rights and industrial conflicts, as well as the Referendum, initiating early Indigenous alliances prior to the first Brisbane anti-racism Protests. Non-Indigenous such as the Communist Party of Australia also had a doctrinal hatred of racism. They were historically the most important allies of the Indigenous. Trade Unionism provided considerable support.

It was in July 1967 that Eddie Mabo, a Torres Strait Islander living in Townsville, suggested to Fred Thompson of the Townsville Trades and Labor Council, a conference in the light of a referendum on the status of the Aborigine in the Australian community. (*Proceedings of the Inter-Racial Seminar* December 1967).

The connection of the old left to these conflicts created a problem in seeing post-totalitarian considerations of race as the concerns of a post-war-born generation of middle class students. Eddie Mabo's participation in the old left organizations demonstrated the point. Yet we know of him now, not through the determinations of politics and political processes as much as through the legal system in reference to a fundamental cultural issue. Race, it seemed, had an independent trajectory in society outside democratic political processes, if finally after 200 years, those aggrieved accessed the legal system in a modestly significant manner. This was no fluid political process but a judicial one, if such is still within the broad understanding of democratic processes.



The non-Indigenous allies, including students, joined *en masse* the Brisbane Protests by the 1970's, while Indigenous Protests heightened with the review of *The Aboriginal Preservation and Protection Act* and *The Torres Strait Islands Act* in 1965, and again in 1971, with the review of the *Aboriginal Affairs Act*. The short surge of protest over Apartheid was a high point of mass involvement in the campaigns discussed in this chapter.

The section draws attention to a cycle of solidification, which intensified as allied Movement identities responded to new understandings of the adversaries, and differences grew between Protest groups as well as differences between some of them and supporters. The problem of such strong identity formation in terms of creating unified approaches characterises the Brisbane Protests, including the Anti-Racism Movement.

In a nation in which assimilation slowly turned to integration with little significant change, the I.A.I.M. proved to be proponents of much more significant change. They reflected the awareness that racism was anathema to civilised society, whereas in Australia it was still evidence of this civilisation to the non-Indigenous.

### **3.1 Precursors**

This subsection discusses the role of striking pastoral workers, and the Land Rights movement, Charles Perkins and the Freedom Rides, the Gandhi example, and Martin Luther King as precursor influences. These all contributed to a changing consciousness, which was more sympathetic to the anti-racism movements. At the same time the distant nature of their influences, and their apparently small impact in terms of active public endorsement in the population in general, served to outline the absence of a local public sphere in Queensland dealing with the race issue. Rather the public sphere was characterised by just this racism.

By the late 'thirties and early 'forties, the Australian Indigenous showed new signs of mostly rural labour (pastoral worker) resistance. These reflected the involvement of unionists in Northern Australia as part of troop and labour movements. Rowley, an anthropologist and Indigenous advocate, notes that

in the Kimberlies the Aboriginal wage was six dollars per week. Of part Aborigines one in four was a member of a union ... 8% owned or were paying for some item of real estate 40% out of

the work force, 46% in unskilled work ... None had a managerial position; less than 1% were foremen (sic), or in clerical work.

(Rowley in C.P.A. 1967, p.5).

Similar conditions existed in Queensland. The post-war period saw escalating struggles for the industrial rights of Aboriginal pastoral workers in Northern Australia with extraordinary strikes lasting long periods.

The landmark of this activity in the period under discussion was that of the Gurindji's resistance. A Central Australian tribe who worked in the pastoral industry, the extent and trajectory of their strike indicated changing attitudes by rural Aborigines, which appeared to accelerate the urban Protests. This was much more than labour resistance. Their demand for land initiated a struggle for cultural identity and autonomy as well as political and economic rights. It was a bold and determined resistance lasting five years. While the Communist Party recognised the unionist involvement in particular with the Gurindji (*Full Human Rights for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders* 1967 p13), Bennet notes another direction of protest: the Indigenous began to use the legal system (Bennet 1989 14). The Gurindji case went to the High Court — the eventual source of significant legal reform for the Indigenous. They also circulated their case in Universities where they found a more sympathetic audience. Their militancy, and cultural, legal and political directions symbolised a tidal change in the Anti-Racism Movement precursors.

While this land rights movement was an immediate impetus for the I.A.I.M. it differed from urban realities, as did a much more economically significant battle for the dominant classes — the Indigenous challenge to mining operations. With the mining industry in full flight, driven by post-war requirements for raw materials as the centrepiece of Australia's non-primary exports, the Mapoon and Weipa protests in Queensland of the early `sixties resisted the incursions of miners onto traditional lands. Aborigines suffered forced relocation, which received international attention.

Not surprisingly, changing urban orientations provided much more accessible precursors for those in the cities. The Freedom Rides, led by one of the most significant leaders of the time, Charles Perkins, began in the city and went to the country towns of N.S.W. White students played a role exemplifying the growing groundswell of anti-racist sentiment. (Attwood & Markus 1999, pp. 215-216). They met great hostility (Bennett 1999, p.21; Hemming 1994 p.22; Gilbert 1973 pp.31-32; Colin Bourke et al. 1994). It was these

Freedom Rides that marked a significant new post-war shift, especially in their social movement style and urban associations.

At the same time Aboriginal organizations were changing. Attwood and Markus see marked changes in the 'sixties when integration not assimilation became Governments policies, although these deeply-embedded ideas changed almost imperceptibly. However changes appeared in Aboriginal organizations more clearly. The Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines (F.C.A.A.) formed in February 1958. Attwood and Markus describe it as leftist (1999, p.19). F.C.A.A.T.S.I. now included the Torres Strait Islanders in an umbrella group (Bennett 1989, p.9) for many State-based Aboriginal groups including One People of Australia League (OPAL) in Queensland, and showed evidence of a more co-ordinated and Indigenous-determined orientation.

The international precursor of most influence was Mahatma Gandhi, whose movement awakened a cultural dimension, which was critical to anti-colonialism. The urban forms of non-violent Western post-war protests derived from Gandhi. Gandhi, who knew well the writings of the Romantic-influenced William Morris and others (S.B.S. 4 July 2004), remained an important influence, partly through his impact on Martin Luther King. However the politically and culturally orientated African National Congress also symbolised the new waves of anti-colonialism, which indicted Western racism as exemplified in Apartheid in South Africa.

The use of the term Freedom Rides by the precursors led by Perkins indicated that their real and desired association were with Martin Luther King. Just as National Geographic in 2003 connected King to the land rights claim of Hawaiians, the 1965 Freedom Rides indicated by name this same influence on the rights of the Indigenous — urban, rural and traditional. However the urban-educated and literate were most likely the recipients of this influence. In fact, Charles Perkins met King's co-campaigner Jesse Jackson in 1967 (Vermann 2003, p.56). Martin Luther King was important to the Brisbane Protesters also, as the Civil Liberties march demonstrated. Anti-colonialist movements, which often consisted of the non-Caucasians, became politically and culturally influential on the Indigenous as well.

Therefore the capacity of the Indigenous to resist racism grew post-war, aided by unionists, overseas examples and new supporters in the white community. Especially in Brisbane, these changes in attitude emerged and slowly took an urban focus, well before

the women's, Vietnam War or civil liberties Protests. Lilla Watson speaking of the times, said:

it seemed the world was in revolt ...Watts ... the anti-Vietnam war moratorium marches ... I was part of it all. I wanted a change in my life also ... During the 1970s I became more active in the black movement [and realised that my] country had some of the richest coalfields in the world on it . (Watson in Scutt 1987, p. 49-50).

Nevertheless the anti-racist Protests come after these other Protests suggesting the possibility of the need for longer time frames for movements with deeper oppressions to generate broad protest, despite their precursors being active before those of other Protesters who reach points of mass mobilisation more quickly.

### **3.2 Supporters**

In this sub-section, the thesis analyses certain institutions as well as major organizations, which were supporters. In that context, it is important to note, institutional processes attracted a greater political orientation by the organizations on Indigenous issues. Rather than just a shift of consciousness implied in reference to the precursors' role, these early engagements of institutions in this debate forewarned a greater significance. The race issue had penetrated significant organizations and institutions. The institutional supporters began to shift allegiances also, and this was indicative of a deep ground swell that preceded the Anti-Racism Movement.

In 1967, a referendum passed an historically unusual "yes" vote to hand over authority to the Commonwealth for Aboriginal affairs. Although this centralising drift was usual in Australian Federalism, referenda are unusual means of this power shift. The outcome of a win appeared to reflect a sea-change in the Australian consciousness about race. As regards intended new directions derived from the Referendum outcome, Chesterman and Galligan (1997, p.185) point to the census processes as a primary outcome. Planning-wise, *Terra Nullius* was still real — at this point Aborigines were not, or at best only randomly, included in the census, a central planning tool. They had only been on Commonwealth electoral rolls since 1962 and there their whereabouts were unreliably established. However, in reality, the Federal government did little for Indigenous people from this Referendum, indicating the complexity of the problem and the inertia of the dominant classes (Attwood & Markus 1997, p.60) as well as racism, (if now more covert), in the public sphere leading to token change.

Despite the removal of the constitutional barrier by the 1967 Referendum, the precursors saw that

the Federal Government refused to grant the Gurindji (N.T.) Aborigines a small part of their home-land, and failed to allocate suitable funds for Aboriginal advancement in the 1967 Budget. (C.P.A.1967, p.7).

David Roberts, however, believes that the referendum “marked a new era” despite still little improvement for Aborigines in statistics on health, and imprisonment (in C.Bourke [et. al]1984, p.218). So the referendum was a sign of change — meaning little in practice. It does subsequently permit Prime Ministers, Whitlam and Fraser to pass positive legislation. Racism was not simply overturned, despite the application of one of the most powerful formal forces in the Australian political system — the Referendum process.

The U.N. was an institutional supporter, distant, but open culturally. Joe Mc Guinness, President of the Aboriginal and Islanders Advancement League, in 1963 in a letter to authorities, decried the contravention of the U.N. Charter of Human Rights. He referred to the I.L.O. Charter on working conditions and Indigenous rights elsewhere (Attwood & Markus 1999, p.195). Alex MacDonald, at a U.A.W. seminar stated of the U.N. that “I.L.O. recommendations about working conditions ... [are] not being carried out in Australia” (*Notes on Seminar held by I.W.D. on Aboriginal Rights* n.d., p.5). The Indigenous frequently referred to U.N. Declarations and Proclamations, as Attwood and Markus’s documentary history *The Struggle for Aboriginal Rights* attests (1999).

By fulfilling its role as audience to Indigenous claims for human rights, (Passey 1999), which individual and particular nations would not provide, the U.N. represented the hopes of anti-racist consciousness influenced by post-colonialism. The U.N. also encouraged the anti-Apartheid Protests in their condemnation of South Africa. Its encouragement of the imposition of trade barriers and strong rejection of racism gave strength to the Protesters, as their reference to U.N. conventions suggested.

Even the conservative Churches recognised the need for redress. On the one hand Churches, historically and particularly in the broad cultural sense, were an adversary of those of traditional culture, on the other they reached some accommodation with the realities of Aborigines’ lives since they had first-hand knowledge of them. Consequently, a

few Indigenous became functionaries in churches. Pastor Don Brady was an activist of the time and one such person of considerable significance in the anti-Racism Movement.

The other institutional supporter was the Trade Union leadership. The evidence further suggests the particular role of an ally — the Communist Party — within this institution. The Queensland Trades and Labor Council (Q.T.L.C.) as well as the Townsville T.L.C. included members and officials who took up race issues. The Q.T.L.C.'s Communist Vice-President Alex. McDonald, talking in the context of Aboriginal wage justice in Queensland asserted: "T.U.s went from 1951 to 1963 before dealing with this question but when it did, it did so very well." Interestingly McDonald recognised the *Race Relations Act* 1965 in Britain as important (*Notes on Seminar held by I.W.D. on Aboriginal Rights 1-5 n.d.*). The Queensland 1967 Trade Union Congress identified the issue of equal pay for women prior to the burgeoning of women's liberation (while Thornton and U.A.W. certainly did not neglect the issue) yet the same Trade Union Congress, regarding the Indigenous, reversed the process of responsiveness by being led by Indigenous strikes and demands (Q.T.U. Congress 1967, p.56). The role of the grass-roots communists and the left labour movement had been critical. However the whole Trade Union Movement was an often sympathetic institution by this time, especially its left wing, which held considerable influence.

Yet with the A.W.U., a pastoral workers' union, also holding great influence in the Trade Union movement in Queensland, the Queensland Labor Party had a poor history concerning racism. These and other Australian unions were racist, as was the Party. The State Labor government produced particular acts to control Aborigines on the land where they could impede economic changes. If belated, change was to come from the supportive role that the Labor Party was to offer through Federal Senators. State politics was too close to the sectional interests that drove racist policy.

As Humphrey McQueen notes, by June 1971

the Australian Labor Party Federal conference ... adopted an immigration policy which reversed its long standing platform and simultaneously enabled the government to openly acknowledge that since 1966 it too had abandoned White Australia in practice" (1970, p.141)

White Australia feigned indifference to the Indigenous although the Indigenous threatened in particular ways, the dominant hegemony.

While new trends emerged slowly by the 'sixties before the Brisbane Protests, this support meant that there was a small but growing political depth generally available to the Movement, which ensured a greater effect in significant and sustained conflicts. Yet these institutions were not sources of activists. Direct allies on the other hand were contemporaneous and part and parcel of the Protest activities.

### **3.3. Allies**

This section examines the various allies in the specific campaigns as well as providing evidence of the emergence of the Indigenous autonomous identity movement. Several key Indigenous allies operated at this time. The Federal Council of Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (F.C.A.A.T.S.I.) as well as the National Tribal Council and the Black Panthers contributed to the Movements and campaigns. The Indigenous had one major long-standing national ally, also a major non-conformist in regard to the dominant hegemony — the Communist Party of Australia.

In 1967, the C.P.A. produced a document some twenty pages long on the question of the Indigenous. It remained involved in all these campaigns and encouraged discussion forums. It stressed the influence of National Liberation Fronts, anti-Fascism and the unionist interaction with Northern Aborigines during War (*Full Human Rights for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders* 1967). Since the C.P.A.'s inception it had Aboriginal members, and writers like Frank Hardy. Oodgeroo Noonuccal joined when she was known as Kath Walker. Daisy Marchiotti, a C.P.A. activist, appeared frequently in the literature as an author.

Alice Hughes, well known U.A.W. and C.P.A. member produced a leaflet with P. Lammiman in support of Angela Davis. The leaflet *Angela Davis* (n.d.) mentioned George Jackson author of *Soledad Brother*. Written by an Afro-American in prison, this was an influential book of the time in Queensland radical circles. As the feminist movement grew and united with U.A.W. they both took up the cause of Indigenous people. The U.A.W. had a long interest in Indigenous rights.

One of the most engaged non-Indigenous-based organizations was Abschol. Benignly engaged in organizing Aboriginal families to receive tutoring from University students, and in other schemes to ensure improved opportunities for the Indigenous, it played an important role as an ally in political movements. Its emergence within the National Union of

University Students in the mid-sixties indicated the new agenda of post-war student politics. Other alliances emerged especially with a cohort of student Protesters but including members of the more diverse labour movement and Churches. Of the non-Indigenous, male and female students, including those in Abschol, feminists and the U.A.W. played a role. As noted, the Communist Party participated in many of the activities, especially women members, and, as always, the Maritime Union activists. The Vietnam literature was anti-racist and the emergence of the militant Black Afro-American movement shared the revolutionary hostility to the U.S.A. noted in S.D.A. literature. One leaflet, four pages long, headed *Black Power* stood out along with the scattered references to Martin Luther King. *Black Power* contained James Baldwin's defence of Stokely Carmichael — a Black Panther (n.d.).<sup>38</sup>

As regards radical women by this stage, Ms. Thornton exemplified the women's liberationist position, which identified with the cultural complexities in the exploitation of the Indigenous as they paralleled with those in the exploitation of women. She asserted the necessity of broad change rather than the Apartheid-related view. "This 'separate but equal' approach that has been found so dangerous and objectionable by people who care about race discrimination." (*Compact* 1968).

There were common denominators for the political activities not only in the involvement of Aborigines, Islanders, Caucasians and new immigrants and their offspring but also in the ongoing presence of the white organization, Abschol and the common analysis that Queensland exemplified Apartheid in disguise. These campaigns intertwined while relying on distinct precursors and early formations as well as on the emergence of the Indigenous autonomous identities movement.

The quickening of an Indigenous autonomous identity movement relied on such influences as the U.N., rising anti-colonialism, Afro-American Protests and more particularly, the Freedom Rides and the resistances of the Gurindji — these were all evidence that white supremacy was ending. Evidence of these new stimuli appeared in the nineteen-sixties well before the rise of the Black Panthers — an historically distinctive form in the story of

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<sup>38</sup> *Black Power* did not have the *Student Guerrilla* title but it was offset printed by Action Printers who printed S.D.A. literature.



Indigenous resistance. The thesis traces it through changing expressions looking for location characteristics of various advocates of appropriate identities.

The assertion of autonomy reflected increasing hostility toward the State and Federal governments and to the deeper cultural genocide that continued. The Indigenous resistances therefore asserted the value of traditional life, the right to operate their own commercial pastoral operations in the case of the Gurindji and others, the right also to traditional expressions of culture and the right, if desired, to reject all this in favour of identification with urban politically orientated identities. All of these implied new resistant identities. However since the Indigenous had been deliberately excluded from politics the thesis recognises that all political protest represented a new identity, but these expressions asserted this cultural or identity component in the forefront rather than calling for equality with Caucasians. These new identities reflected a new post-war consciousness about race.

The transitions from the Federal Council of Australian Aborigines (F.C.A.A.), which replaced such groups as the One People of Australia League, then becoming F.C.A.A.T.S.I. to include Torres Strait Islanders, and in turn becoming Tribal Council and then the Black Panthers, revealed this crescendo of ever more autonomous groups which arose in the `sixties and `seventies. Without assuming that this was a linear progression, which all Indigenous took, it gives a thumbnail sketch of changing and diverging identities. To some extent it is true to say that urban and traditional identities differentiated, but it is evident that all identities were more assertive. The chapter looks at the influences, recognising that these affected both urban and non-urban, yet the location of Indigenous people, now much more diverse, led them to make different meanings from those made out of changes and anti-racism apparent elsewhere.

While King was a significant precursor the identity of the young urban Indigenous was more influenced by his successors. In terms of the psychology of racism, the Afro-American movement after Martin Luther King's assassination strongly influenced the contemporaneous anti-war analysis of imperialism. Imperialism reduced the black person to humiliation, it did not just take resources. The American blacks, as they preferred to be called, Stokely Carmichael, Eldridge Cleaver, Malcolm X as well as Franz Fanon, all of whose works the popular Penguin Publication House series printed, urged violence to expunge the psychology of white colonialism embedded in blacks. Critically they asserted that racism was not only about political oppression but also about culture, psychology,

religion and history. What needed liberation was the heavy weight of past and present found in human identities, not just structures. They influenced the Australian Black Panther formation, proposing solidarity across national and cultural boundaries for those with black skin. The results of this autonomy of perspective for Afro-Americans can be connected to the urban riots in America at the time. This was a distinctive new direction with little connection to the traditional Aborigine — it was an urban and global identity politics which recognised racism but called on all blacks and sympathetic whites to unite as they had a common cause — liberation and opposition to U.S. imperialism. While this identity was, of course, also derived in terms of the dominant Australian culture a far more autonomous perspective of where the Indigenous chose to stand.

Yet while this direction of change was powerful, those Australian Indigenous with traditional roots did not so readily forgo their culture. It evidently was an identity that they wished to preserve. The traditions of influence for this, other than their natural expression in attachment to their own heritage came through the U.N. forums, on Indigenous as well as other precursors discussed in the chapter's introduction. The pastoral workers' resistances, especially those of the land rights movements, clearly enhanced the direction of such a movement.

Oodgeroo Noonuccal's outspokenness exemplified the growing Indigenous self-assertiveness in Queensland where assimilation remained unabated as a government conceptual framework. Oodgeroo Noonuccal (the name Kath Walker symbolically took), then of the Queensland Council for Aboriginal Rights, wrote in Abschol's *Apartheid in Queensland*:

doubt very much whether the assimilation policy is acceptable to the Aborigines ... Land is what the Aborigine needs more than anything else (n.d. p.7)

Interestingly she had an idiosyncratic physical/cultural location as an Aborigine whose people traditionally inhabited islands in Moreton Bay and thus she lived on the boundaries of urban Aboriginal and white culture, yet retaining a traditional association with her country.

The assimilationist or subsequent integrationist view attracted even more hostility from Aboriginal Joe McGinness, who spoke at the same conference about racism and authoritarianism underwritten by the "Act" for those Aborigines on reserves, and the consequent need of

[s]ome magic measure or stud book ... needed to establish whether you have '25% Aboriginal blood', as the Act puts it ... [W]hite District Managers are given wide powers (McGinness in *Apartheid in Queensland* p. 4).

Not only urbanisation but also intermarriage made the possibility of returning to traditional ways out of the reach of many Indigenous. The use of visual signs of Aboriginality was one of the traditional racist tools of discrimination. These made no sense to those who identified with a cultural heritage. Identity overcame the reality of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait diaspora.

Following their meeting held at James Cook University, the authors of the unpaginated 1971 *14th Annual Report of F.C.A.A.T.S.I.* claimed Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders should be

[s]ubject to the same rights, privileges and responsibilities as other Australians [and g]uaranteed the right to retain ... their own customs, languages and institutions.

F.C.A.A.T.S.I.'s transformation symbolised the cultural identity struggle, which engendered Indigenous consciousness. It had slowly transformed into an organization in which the Indigenous dominated. Groups wanting faster change like Tribal Council emerged and F.C.C.A.T.S.I. disappeared. However F.C.A.A.T.S.I. demonstrated the early claims for transition to Indigenous autonomy and the slow eroding of the concept of white paternalism within organizations as well. The organizations, originally more distant precursors, under these circumstances became now allies.

Lilla Watson described the anger and energy of these times and Tribal Council's formation in her 'Sister, Black is the Colour of My Soul' (in Scutt 1987, p.49). While Tribal Council's name implied the Indigenous identification with the past, national and urban, rather than traditional tribal associations, defined it. Tribal Council's role reflected distinctive new conditions for Aborigines and Islanders. In the programs they planned, the Indigenous took up a structure based on the concept of autonomy through self-determining processes and Indigenous-staffed roles in a community development.

Dennis Walker, in a letter stating that the Aboriginal and Islanders Council had been in existence since September 7th 1969, suggested by implication that the Brisbane Movement was well prepared for the formation of Tribal Council in 1971, which happened

on a national scale. Walker described Tribal Council as taking on concerns not covered by other organizations and including areas of Education, Employment, Housing, Health, Legal Aid, Social and Sporting activities. This was an alternative government with autonomous implications. This letter by Walker was an interesting example of how the tenor of the Brisbane Indigenous movement had changed by 1971. Describing himself as being a Tribal Councillor for Finance and Co-ordination of Aboriginal and Islanders Council Brisbane, he addressed the loathed Director of *The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Affairs Act* Mr. P.J. Killoran Director, Aboriginal and Island Affairs Department. Walker made a direct demand for the right of Aborigines to take control of their own affairs he argued', in defence of Tribal Council,

[we] believe we have achieved our main aim and that is to prove to the general community that we can handle our own problems in our own way. (Walker *Letter to the Director* 15th November 1971).

Aborigines did not speak in public to white authority in this way. The governments, both Federal and State, closed down the Tribal Councils ([www.greenleft.org.au/back/2004/599/599p.10htm](http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/2004/599/599p.10htm)). Tribal Council was the most ambitious of the organizations which flowed from all the Brisbane Protests. It suggested the interest in an alternative with community roots and intentions to create black community governance of some complexity.

The next step was to assert the right to the fundamental powers of the state, which had been the vehicle of Aboriginal and Islander demise. As well, the formation of the Black Panthers represented a strategic response to their condition, in joining with socialist forces that asserted this right to autonomy, through the identity of blackness linked to the history of Caucasian colonisation.

Dennis Walker, Joe McGinness and others formed the Black Panther Party in 1971 (Burgmann 1993, p.36) with this agenda influenced by overseas examples. Although advocating only defensive violence, the Panthers were the only group of the Brisbane Protesters to advocate any violence. No records exist of shots fired, so that the Black Panther posturing was as expressive as it was short-lived, giving it the character of the white anti-racist campaigns in this respect. They contributed to a conference on racism held at Queensland University in 1972 according to Sam Watson, a Black Panther and activist (2004) Yet some, at least, were contemptuous of those who advocated the return to the so-called idyllic world of traditional Aborigines. This was a distinct urban identity.

They created a new urban face of the Indigenous, now 'black', giving them not only greater universality, without ignoring the power of race, but also infinitely more militant, autonomous and resistive models of relationships to Caucasian hegemony. There was also, within it, a clear anti-bureaucratic Marxist influence, which connected to a local Fourth International group and the American Negroes' own attraction to new types of Marxism, while also asserting a distinctive blackness. Sam Watson recalls the Black Panthers' importation of the writings of the new Afro-American militants. He notes both Oodgeroo Noonuccal and Don Brady visited America, meeting both the Indigenous and Afro-American militants there (2004). Interestingly, the role of education remains as a critical conduit of new ideas. Watson recalled doing assignments at school on Malcolm X and Martin Luther King as well as becoming aware of Apartheid through the Sharpeville massacres of 1964 and the Freedom Rides. Therefore the articulation of an independent identity spread in the post-war milieu in many ways, but it rested in part on urban consciousnesses and processes, international awareness and the strength of the anti-racist movements in the era.

Dennis Walker was quoted as stating that black power implied self-determination for all people: "not only for black people but for white people too". He quite specifically rejected traditional culture

Aboriginal culture is shown for what it has achieved - it has achieved nothing ...We must build up a revolutionary culture and we must start picking up guns. (Walker in *A.I.C.D.* 1972, p.15).

This culture was through an alternative government which had "Ministers" for Defence and various social services. It was apparent that the Black Panthers' spokespeople were youthful urban males — of Indigenous Movement. Indigenous women activists such as Lilla Watson and Maureen Bayles were absent from this formation (p.c.L.Watson 6/11/05). This was a Movement dominated by young Indigenous urban males. It was certainly autonomous in disposition.

As with the other Protests discussed in the thesis, Whitlam's election began a new period for Aborigines, where Land Rights received consideration and the Gurindji were beneficiaries of this. As a leading Aboriginal activist of contemporary times Lowjita O'Donoghue states

[s]elf-determination has been described as 'the cornerstone of government policy' and 'the central word' in Aboriginal Affairs since the election of the Whitlam government in 1972. (O'Donoghue, 1992, p.7).

Roberts sees this as part of the decolonisation process. (in Bourke 1994, p.212). Change inevitably was much slower in Queensland and came with some reforms by the Goss government. The emergence and acceptance of self-determination and autonomous identity indicated some sort of political and cultural successes. Yet a Treaty remains a long way away, so that autonomous identities, other than traditional ones via the Mabo decision, have no structural foundations within the political system and now less so, with the dismantling of A.T.S.I.C. Ironically the new independent urban identities which these activists recognised as essential proved even more indigestible to the political system than the traditional ones, despite special government provisions for the urban Indigenous which recognise needs to autonomous services.

The Mabo decision, the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (H.R.E.O.C.) report on *The Stolen Generations*, and the Royal Commission into Deaths in Custody indicate legal/political successes. These are remarkable achievements in the quest for recognition of destructive practices. Yet, at this point in the history of the Indigenous movement for autonomous identities only the uncovering of the depth of wrongdoing to the Indigenous has flourished rather than the reconstruction and broader recognition of their current communities.

Reflection about this movement clarifies both the adversaries' role and the dynamic new contrary influences to the suppression of the Indigenous. Rather than constructing the Queensland government as simply corrupt or archaic or "hillbilly" and therefore a laughing stock for academic and popular analysts of the past, the I.A.I.M. provided part of the evidence (in the vigour of the adversary's resistance to it) for an adversary which was racist, culturally genocidal, and a protector of vested interests in mining, pastoralism, real estate and agriculture: all underwriting a type of colonial racist totalitarianism. The Indigenous found the capacity and necessity to assert an identity that was urban. It was no longer the case that aboriginality implied a common life, but rather a diversity of realities, which needed expression.

However nowhere were vested interests more resistant to this I.A.I.M than in Queensland, which continued with the racism endemic to Australia's fragile identity. The Anti-Racism Movement's expression of parts of I.A.I.M. indicates that the Protests reflected deep currents of change in national identity, which the Indigenous promoted by their strong resistances to white hegemony in the Brisbane Protests. The demand for new identities and power within them as in the Tribal Councils strengthened. These complemented

historically, even if this was denied by some of the Protesters, the traditional Indigenous‘ resistances. While this was tinged with generational tensions rarely apparent in the I.A.I.M. it does reflect on the one hand a tendency to ideological solidification within the Anti-Racism Movement but, on the other, especially with Tribal Council, a significant community movement with broad concerns and interests suggesting a deeper form of solidarity.

### **3.4 Act Confrontation Movement**

This section analyses characteristics of the Act Confrontation Movement or campaign<sup>39</sup> of 1971, which was part of the Anti-Racism Movement’s reaction to the *Aborigines Act of 1971 and Torres Strait Islanders Act of 1971*<sup>40</sup>. Part of these activities was educational, as racism loomed increasingly larger in the Brisbane Protests by 1971, and so “The Moratorium Against Racism” emerged. The succession of Acts reflected changing policy and a partial reflection of an increasing abhorrence in regard to explicit racism. Nevertheless the adversary would not forgo the driving requirement to manage or control the Indigenous. Conflict, which had a specific concern with the Acts, emerged. However the thesis analyses a distinctive form of solidarity emerging in this campaign. The Indigenous movement, it seemed, exhibited a specific form of solidarity. This subsection begins with the analysis of the Moratorium against Racism.

In 1965 the conservative Queensland Government produced new legislation in the form of *The Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders Affairs Act*, which allowed an “assisted” Aborigine to be detained for a year for behavioural misdemeanours (Australian Museum online). The Indigenous had many objections to the Act from its inception. The thesis focuses on a time when these concerns re-arose with its intended rewriting. This new Indigenous resistance to pending oppressive legislation coincided with the end of the Vietnam Moratorium<sup>41</sup> movement and the beginning of the Anti–Apartheid campaigns. It

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<sup>39</sup>This was a movement for the Indigenous although for the non-Indigenous it may be more appropriately described as a campaign. It was called a movement at the time.

<sup>40</sup> For the Indigenous people these Acts were part of an oppressive system of stratification which they resisted from early times.

<sup>41</sup> In fact the proposed Moratorium uses the same P. O. Box 196 as that of the 1971 Moratorium movement (see Vietnam Moratorium Committee: Queensland Co-ordinating Committee

took the form of an alliance between the Indigenous and the non-Indigenous who had been involved in the Anti-Apartheid campaign.

The Moratorium against Racism's priorities are that first and foremost we think and act with regards to Aboriginal people of Brisbane and other urban areas.

Abschol, the women's movement and particularly the anti-war radicals joined with this campaign. This campaign saw "the need for Forums, Seminars and Demonstrations and work in the churches and Trade Unions" (*MORATORIUM AGAINST RACISM* n.d). However its main themes were educational, indicating a concern that typified one dimension of the Protests. The alliance, particularly supported by the Tribal Council and Black Panther movement, organized the Racism Conference in 1971 (*MORATORIUM AGAINST RACISM*).

The University was an important focus of resistances. Meetings between Aborigines and students gave the first indications of this new campaign, but by now several of the Aboriginal activists were students; Sam and Lilla Watson, and Maureen Bayles, in particular. One of the Caucasian activists was the student Mark Georgiou, then recently suspended from university, while the religious connections existed through Brother Bartholomew, a radical Anglican minister and Pastor Don Brady.

In 1971 the Act Confrontation Movement (A.C.M.) formed. One meeting discussed the Abschol-Tribal Council proposals to replace "the Act", and it was agreed nevertheless that a closer study should be made by the Act Confrontation Movement. In the report section of the minutes of a meeting of this group, Palm Island was identified as an important Aboriginal community and here also it was recorded that they needed money to help Aboriginal activists get there. The minutes included a report by a familiar figure Pastor Don Brady, who was a local identity willing to stand up for his people's rights. He reported as an example of the current types of problems that

[ ] In the Murray Upper area of Caldwell Shire Council has set aside 5 acres of land which is gazetted Reserve. Because of this it had been impossible to make any permanent arrangements "as it is not freehold".

Land ownership was complicated by legislation pertaining to the Indigenous, which had facilitated the stealing of land and wages and therefore their identity. Pastor Brady recalls a case in the Murray Upper area when "a member of a particular church burnt out the camps of the aborigines because they did not accept his concepts on religion". While in Townsville "Pastor Don" investigated police brutality towards Aboriginal boys". Aborigines



had died in the parks and allotments because “they had lost all respect and confidence in the D.A.I.A”. [Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs] (*MEETING MINUTES A.C.M 5 September 1971*). Sam Watson recalls an anti-Act demonstration in 1971 in Brisbane when two hundred Indigenous and supporters met three hundred police ([www.greenleft.org.au/back/2004/599/599p10.htm](http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/2004/599/599p10.htm)). Nevertheless the Government passed the Act.

The thesis observes the special character of solidarity or identity within the Indigenous Movement of the Brisbane Protests. It presented itself in terms of social depth and geographical breadth. The capacity to send people to various locations and the need to integrate with the broader Indigenous community were key concerns of this movement. In this there were faint parallels with attempts by civil libertarians to engage the community, but the community connections in ‘the Act’ campaign pre-existed, and were therefore deeper and more widespread. The character of the oppression and the depth of responses in the core of this Indigenous movement produced special qualities in terms of time, depth of experience and cultural pervasiveness, and understanding of this repression and stratification, which characterised this Movement and was reflected in ‘the Act’ campaign.

### **3.5 Anti-Apartheid Campaign**

This section deals with a campaign that reflected another aspect of the nature of the Brisbane Anti-Racism Movement, the Brisbane Protests’ involvement in the opposition to the visiting South African sporting teams. Were it not for the reality that racism affected most Australians to a greater or lesser degree, it would be remarkable that more attention was not given to the conditions of the Indigenous rather than to the international issues of Apartheid, which created much larger numbers of Protesters. The spontaneity of defiance exhibited in the non-Indigenous community was short and sharp, and characterised a particular profile of protest. However in the anti-Apartheid campaign, the Indigenous again asserted themselves against those who oppressed them, even though this Protest was largely driven by the non-Indigenous.

These Protests against Apartheid had special features. The thesis reflects on whether this is a truly international movement, not only aimed at outcomes elsewhere, but actually helping to effect them. If historians wanted to characterise the post war period as having early manifestations of a radical international dynamic against the Cold War conservatism that engulfed it, it is opposition to racism (and colonialism) and secondarily opposition to

“the Bomb” which must serve as prime candidates. Both produced certain international agreements as well as national ones, yet the anti-Apartheid movement which helped produce national endorsement of sanctions was aimed fundamentally at an international condemnation and defeat of Apartheid and, more to the point, successfully contributed to its downfall in whatever minor way.

Apartheid symbolises the racist, anti-liberal, neo-fascist orientation of the face of Western colonialism. Despite images of the more contemporary globalisation, or neo-liberalism, clouding this oppression by views that such perspectives were then ‘outdated’ in the post-war era, these more oppressive characteristics of colonial rule still lingered, despite the ostensible formal independence post-colonial regimes gained after the war. These new ‘independent’ regimes, which particularly followed the Japanese occupation of Northern and Southern East Asia were often no better than those of the colonialists; good political outcomes were never the colonialists’ concern in any case. In fact, local capitulations to cronyism intensified with the Cold War, as first world countries bought support at any cost. While the establishment of local governments presented a non-racist face for the new forms of colonialism, racism continued in South Africa and lingered in the relationship between the white, first and even second world (the Soviet bloc and [parts of] Latin America), and the black, brown and yellow third world — to make a gross generalisation. These relationships were not lost on the non-aligned, post-war countries nor on radicals who influenced the tenor of post-war understandings on race, such as Cleaver, Fanon and others. Racism had a deeper symbolism, which Indigenous and non-Indigenous recognised. Sartre was quoted by the Aborigines Advancement League in 1969 as saying “[n]ot so very long ago, the earth numbered two thousand million inhabitants: five hundred million men, and one thousand five hundred million natives” (Attwood and Markus 1999, p.243).

The local adversary’s brutal reaction to urban protest, including now, that by Indigenous Protesters, represented a pattern which had the unmistakable stamp of Queensland’s pastoral-capitalist and mining-corporation-friendly government (with obvious parallels with South Africa in these structures). The extreme orientation of the Bjelke-Petersen government, demonstrated by a Declaration of a State of Emergency in Queensland to ensure that the football match between South Africa and Australia could proceed, was not surprising in hindsight. This willingness to abrogate civil liberties reiterated the original benefits, waning in importance in the Southern Australian mainland, to the dominant classes of liberalism *sans doctrine*. This denial of rights intensified in Queensland, with the

need to impress miners wanting Aboriginal land, and to reassure pastoralists in the post-war, post-totalitarian environment, who had underpaid Aborigines or stolen their wages and taken their land (and killed them [Reynolds 1981]). The industrialisation process, preceded by and still dependent upon pastoralism and agriculture, and now extractive industries, meant that the adversary intensified the pressure on Aborigines, as well as on the civil liberties of Protesters.

The Springbok demonstrations were the product of the interactions of those diffuse groups of activists who made up the Brisbane Protests with particular input from I.A.I.M. However, while a general abhorrence of racism was the most persistent representation of post-totalitarianism in the West, in Brisbane the Protests again especially relied on the radicalised university community's post-war concerns with racism. These quickly linked up with younger and older Aborigines of I.A.I.M. and those with a history, recent or long-term, of solidarity with them, including particularly, the Communist old left. The momentum, built of successive Moratoriums, while by then waning, regenerated with this issue. The students opposed Apartheid, seeing this in the same light as Vietnam's connection to colonialism, while the trade unions of the left agitated for rights for the Indigenous and South Africans whose unions struggled for survival. The old left, particularly women, continued their anti-racism advocacy, shared now with the student feminists. The Aborigines had become far more conscious and aware. This width of involvement indicated that the race issue was a pivotal concern that united all parties in the Brisbane Protests despite some inevitable differences in outlook yet the movement had a limited acceptance in the Brisbane public sphere. Involved was a coalition of groups, which were not in organizations with authority in the community.

The action of police in breaking up the demonstration of students, unionists, women activists, and the Indigenous, who stood in the front row of Protesters at the Tower Mill hotel, where the Springboks were staying, terrified Protesters. A vicious baton charge by police forced demonstrators through a darkened park and over an embankment and some into hospital. *Semper Floreat* described the action as paramilitary ('Black and Blue' 26 June 1971; Harris 1972)

The University strike committee, formed in protest against the Declaration of a State of Emergency by the State Government ('Black and Blue' *Semper Floreat* 26 June 1971) reflected the broad church of the Brisbane Protests and indicated race's capacity to draw together disparate forces in recognition of its depth of oppression. Its special significance

which resisted ideological simplification, which was then more common in the solidified identities of the Protests. The Philosophy lecturer Gary Malinas chaired the meeting, at which the Strike Committee was formed, David Franken of the radical Christians (a growing force since the Vietnam protest era) spoke, along with the Labor Senator George Georges, who stood out in Queensland for his breadth of understanding, and the Law student Henry Prokuda. Mark Georgiou was a member of the Committee although still suspended, as were Robyn Bardon, a gifted editor of *Semper Floreat*, Barbara Wertheim an active feminist and Judy Clarke, another. The nature of this group, characterised by a wide representation of women, suggests this organization was not ideologically dominated by the more ideological sects. The Committee's presence rather typified the potential of the University environment to unite together loose-knit typically new social movement organizations for large public activities and the growing importance of women in the Brisbane Protests. The Strike Committee, was elected from and with the sanction of, mass meetings of three thousand members of the university community ('Black and Blue' 26 June 1971)

The Springbok question escalated quickly to a discussion about racism planned for Wednesday 28th July 1971 from 3 pm to 12 midnight. Disputations occurred in class rooms, with many students disciplined for unofficial attempts in German and Psychology lectures to discuss racism prior to the event. So the University became embroiled in the debate, stressing its vital role in this regard.

The Strike Committee decided on a meeting in the Great Court — the contested territory between the University authorities and radicals. A meeting of students and staff on Friday July 26 decided on the action of a strike. *Semper* estimates 2,500 to 3,000 people voted. This meeting set up action groups in many departments in the University and looked to mass assemblies to make decisions about the campaign. The Strike Committee sent delegates to both the trade unions and Southern campuses to strengthen their position. While meetings on Saturday and Sunday reduced to 1000 students ('Black and Blue' 26 June 1971), this was a mass-protest at a time when few other Australian campuses showed such interest in Apartheid.

The Queensland Staff Association was divided 31 -31 on whether to call a strike in the face of the State of Emergency (Bardon 'Paid Agitator' 26 June 1971) while the Vice Chancellor's attitude was that the University should not to be so politicised by an officially

sanctioned strike<sup>42</sup>. Support came from places further afield. The African National Congress (A.N.C.) telegram of 19th July 1971 to the Secretary of the Trades and Labor Council of Queensland read:

DECLARATION STATE OF EMERGENCY QUEENSLAND  
GOVERNMENT IN SUPPORT RACIST SOUTH AFRICAN SPRINGBOK  
TEAM MORALLY INDEFENSIBLE STOP MILITANT ACTION IN  
DEFENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS JUSTIFIABLE STOP  
WHOLEHEARTEDLY THEREFORE SUPPORT AND WISH GENERAL  
STRIKE YOUR COUNCIL SUCCESSFUL. (Signed) MSINANG, CHIEF  
REPRESENTATIVE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, (SOUTH  
AFRICA, BOX 758 NEW DELHI).

This was clear evidence that the Protests could effect changes internationally, if not on distant governments, in the short term. The subsequent international pressures continued to erode the Government and ensured its fall.

The Anti-Apartheid campaign was a short campaign — bitter differences did not eventuate and, rather, broad fronts led to strong protests and the spread of dissent. The character of the suppression of this Protest at the end of a period of intense conflict typified the relationships between the emerging cohort of Protesters and the State government. The international and Indigenous themes of the Protest summed up, in some respects, the distinctive orientations of the Protest and local characteristics that impinged upon it. The previous subsections analyse elements of the Anti-Racism Movement of the Brisbane Protests. These activities contribute to the various perspectives, including the Indigenous opposition to local racism and their international commitment.

### **3.6 Difference**

In helping to analyse the Anti-Racism Movement, this section draws attention to features of movement solidarity, which display variable qualities. Some shore up identity in an inappropriately narrow formula, of ideology or strategy. This focuses on excluding others. Another type is more inclusive in various ways. The subsection recognises that there are no simple answers for oppressed groups in terms of such processes, since the right to exclude those who are the source of oppression is, in most conceptions, common sense, yet to wrongly construe potential allies as enemies is its opposite. The section also points to a dilemma in such movements, which revolves around the tensions of universality and solidarity. Hence oppressed groups face the greatest social complexity and this may be

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<sup>42</sup> see Chapter 5

their strength or weakness. The well-known practice of divide and rule defines the adversary's understanding of this conundrum.

In a process that was partly connected to ideological solidification of Protest groups, but partly to do with the deep feelings associated with racism, some Aborigines held very strongly to the view that their identity in blackness or in Indigenous oppression needed clear expression against all comers — whites especially. Oppression of cultures over generations was inherently more complex and deep-rooted than solidarities built around particular issues. Yet many movements attempted to circumvent the complexity of the concept of solidarity and identity, through ideological solidification, just as the anti-war Protesters had done. This solidarity is illusionary or shallow and intolerant in terms of its understanding, unless complemented by complex interventions into ordinary lives, which rely on other forms of understanding including empathy, experience and personal insight. In this other case ideological solidification becomes expressive in intention rather than a mode of operation within organizations. The Black Panthers understood this latent potential best but they too used it inappropriately.

Some, noticeably white radicals, objected to the use of skin colour as the source of identity because they opined that it misunderstood real political processes or obstructed unity. According to John Tomlinson, in his talk presented to a Conference on Racism Queensland University 9th-12 August 1971 aptly called "Power"

The [Aborigines] lost Australia to white imperialists because the whites were more powerful ... Aborigines can increase their power by receiving money and training from other Black revolutionaries. Already Aborigines have been invited to African countries and in this way Aborigines first came to see meaning in the term, Black Power ... I still say that if Aborigines are going to get any part of this country back then they are going to become more powerful than the whites ... Students can convince whites that Black is beautiful, Black is powerful, God was black and Black is god ... it is the welfare system per se that is a major instrument of the oppression of black people.

Therefore, in this argument, identity around colour was simply useless for attacking the real mechanics of oppression. This reflects an understanding, which derives from the political rather than the cultural, asserting the need to focus on instruments not identities.

However identity, in its traditional form, was partly abandoned by Indigenous activists because, while identity appeared as a pre-requisite of their survival, these Black Panthers, to whom Tomlinson referred, reconstructed blackness as other than 'primitive' and actually its opposite. They rejected traditional societies for a quasi-ideological identity — blackness. This was one solution to their dilemma. Other urban Indigenous did not but rather recognised their ambivalent status as culturally disenfranchised but ethnographically connected as in the case of those in Tribal Council before it split with the Black Panthers. The building of such solidarities, that included differences and made efficacious real changes, remained problematic, nevertheless.

Yet while blacks struggled to redefine themselves so did the non-Indigenous in the face of racism. In a pamphlet called **BLACK SEPARATISM AND WHITE SYCOPHANCY** Caucasian revolutionaries argued:

we will support and give solidarity to those socialist elements in the black movement. Those aspects which are exploitative and repressive (there are many of these as in white culture) must be rejected. (Self-management group 12 January 1972).

These responses reflected the problem of a politics built around identity/ideological solidification that, while apparently inclusive and universal, ignored the co-existing need of the Indigenous, at this point, to work with their own experiences of oppression within the fragility of their urban existence. These dilemmas of Indigenous and non-Indigenous radicals reflected their common achievements in the Anti-Racism Movement but differing directions in planning its resolution. Yet Lilla Watson, quoted previously, was a Brisbane Indigenous woman activist and University student who recognised history and self as distinct, thus opening one of the gates to greater tolerance. The Act Confrontation Movement also encouraged a breadth in outlooks on solidarity. A common denominator in these movements with more or less openness to variations of identity and rational argument was acceptance of social roles. Those who found no existing roles or none satisfying chose the most solidified radical outlooks while Pastor Don Brady and Lilla Watson, who accepted the need to associate with and defend the traditional within non-Indigenous culture in which they also accepted a role other than a revolutionary one, seemed least drawn to solidification of ideology or identity.

In reflecting on the Anti-Racism Movement as a step towards a subsequent conclusion at the end of this chapter to both anti-stratification movements, it appears racism was a critical interest of the Brisbane Protesters. The Anti-Racism Movement incorporated the

independently rising Indigenous autonomous identities movement (I.A.I.M), which multiplied and expanded with the synergistic effects of the other concurrent movements, both internationally and locally. The Act Confrontation Movement attempted to spread the resistance out to Queenslanders generally but particularly those Aborigines most oppressed by “the Act”. The Anti-Apartheid campaign gained the greatest non-Indigenous support in the short-term. While anti-racism was central to the non-Indigenous Protesters, who resisted the deep historical legacy of racism, it lacked a personal or experiential intensity for them. For that reason, the solidarity patterns remained quite different between Indigenous and non-Indigenous despite both exhibiting, in part, ideological solidification, as a means of dealing with their own and very different survivals and limitations, and the onslaught of the adversary.

#### **4.0 THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT**

The following analysis looks at precursors, allies, and campaigns as well as differences, competition and adversaries occasioned by the rise of the Women’s Movement within the Protests. One accepted explanation of such movements is that they constituted a second-wave, which appears especially after 1968, in a century of women’s protest, which was distinct both from the older socialist women’s movement and the previous wave in general. This new feminism had preoccupations with gender, identity and sexual orientation as distinct from the first wave concerns with rights in marriage, morality, voting and issues revealing the beginnings of labourist consciousness on behalf of the small numbers of women then working for wages. Emma Miller the Queensland turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century activist, had represented all these concerns. Even Burgmann’s (2003) attempt to divide women according to their liberal, socialist and radical feminist proclivities does not ring quite true of the Brisbane Protests. Nevertheless there was, in the women Protesters a strong concern with the particularity of women’s bodies and minds but neither in the case of suggested exclusivity of interest nor in the case of suggestions of the three streams is the analysis of the Women’s Movement in the Brisbane Protests adequately reflected.

Evidence of the value of these theories of different waves and related explanations of difference are discernible in the Brisbane Protests. However, more particularly in the Brisbane Protests, there is evidence of the capacity of all the women in the Protests to achieve unity and solidarity. Rather than finding these wave or peak disjunctions in this movement, an appropriate analysis focuses upon the ability of these women of the Brisbane Protests to unite across the fluid and partially unbroken transitions that images of



“waves” imply (if the metaphor refers closely to the literal). Yet this thesis argument of the thesis does not represent these women as ignoring the new issues, nor suggest that they returned to issues of voter rights or property transmission in marriage, rather that they took up a variety of labour, gender identity, sexuality and reproduction, race and other equity issues as the women’s movement formed in 1968, while also embracing difference, lesbianism and heterosexuality. Brisbane women, in their capacity to understand the labour movement, were not stereotypical since evidence is presented to counter typical comments regarding this period in Australia, for example, that “migrant women had to do their own organizing” (Eisenstein 1996, p.208) since educated women were preoccupied with the concerns of sexuality and gender or white collar and professional exclusions from the work force.

While many of these Brisbane women Protesters’ interests were identity-related, the Movement exhibited a fluid interaction with the concerns of old left women and they with those of the younger women, in such a way that suggests this Movement was not readily categorised. It was both different from, yet contiguous with, the old left women’s broad concerns for justice, while it included a sharp emphasis on the problems described as those of this second wave. The explanations for this were that the stratification of women within the labour movement caused them, on the one hand to be usually subservient to men in the industrial and political arena but on the other hand to be granted the right to concern themselves with diffuse international, racial justice and familial issues, which became increasingly appropriate concerns of all Protesters by the `sixties, especially the new wave of University-based Protesters. The Women’s Movement of the Brisbane Protests was an alliance that formed between the old left Union of Australian Women and the University Women’s movement, which appeared enduring and without the deep ideological division that marred the same relationships between the Brisbane Protest males nor marred by those divisions engendered by the greater ideological intensity of those associated with the Trotskyite and Maoist, Marxist sects, common in other states. The former, in particular, suggests the greater capacity of the women involved to find unity in the face of oppression, by using solidarity-promoting activities, in which the men proved at times less adept. The origins of this capacity were related to particular lower stratification responsibilities in nurturing and related bonding and to the more particular matters about the Brisbane protest environment and the Protesters’ characteristics. This is not to assert the automatic linkage between solidarity and oppression, but merely, if achieved, its potential for significant depth where long-term stratification dominates the

orientations of the dominant classes. These women in the Brisbane Protests appeared bound to something common to both waves.

The thesis argues that the Brisbane Women's Movement, despite the need to talk about difference, competition and adversarial relationships between sections of the Brisbane Protests, shared the broad wave of liberalism that emerged from contemplation of Nazi atrocities, which percolated through Australia in many forms. Yet while internationally, the U.N. took up the issues of inequality of women in many cultures (Passey 1999) its influence is difficult to trace in Australia, and the example of W.I.L.P.F.'s belated arrival in Brisbane in 1965 underscores this cultural isolation from modernity. The post-totalitarian influence was circuitous, reflecting Australians' proclivities to politics *sans doctrines*. Again, as elsewhere in the Protests, the American intellectual influence was more clear-cut. The National Organization of Women (N.O.W.) in America, began in the late 'fifties and early 'sixties confirming a pattern of changing opinion post-war. N.O.W.'s leaders wrote important books influential on the local movement; Betty Friedan's (1965) *The Feminine Mystique*, was one of the most celebrated.

However literary influences made a very central contribution to the distinctively new features of the post-war, particularly the university-oriented, Western women's movement. In this regard Germaine Greer played an internationally significant role. While there was no intrinsic reason why this should not have occurred, the thesis suggests that in a society so concerned with population growth, Australian women's position was particularly compromised by gender stereotyping, which escalated post-war through the Americanised suburban dream. Yet Romanticism was very much part of Western literary culture. Literature exemplified most clearly the roots of much of the feminist intellectual tradition in Romanticism, with Simone Beauvoir's roots, at least, no different, since existentialism, which influenced her, has Romantic sources. These influences as elsewhere percolated into the Women's Movement.

Theorists historically associated with the anti-colonial and anti-racist movements also contributed to the Brisbane Women's Movement's sense that old identities needed challenge. The influence of Gandhi and King, in particular, and the extensive writing on race and sex by Afro-Americans like Eldridge Cleaver, despite the well-publicised sexism of the male Afro-American movement, exemplified these connections. Juliet Mitchell's (1971) *The Women's Estate* also exemplified this Romantic connection from a women's perspective, as well as a Western Marxist one. Such Western Marxists began discussing

the 'women's question'. The Anarchists and Western Marxists — the dominant influences on the Brisbane Protests — had produced literature of historical depth and strength that dealt with women's needs within the left from Kollontai (1971) to Goldman (1971). Influenced by a diffuse libertarianism, *The Push* in Sydney added a national influence to predominantly overseas precursors, while the Indigenous autonomous identities movement underlined the possibility of a deeply running, but then changing cultural script, in the Australian situation.

Feminist thinkers like Germaine Greer (1981) and more recently Verity Burgmann (2003), acknowledge also the role of the peace movement, nationally and internationally, in the stimulation of the Women's Movement. The Anti-War Movement, like the anti-colonial, third-world movements, demonstrated visibly a disruption of social values and assumed orders and relationships between social groups. Were they Gandhi, King, or Cleaver, or the young anti-war protesters opposing military machismo, the disruption of stereotypical Cold War thinking created a vacuum for theorists and activists to shape new female identities. Burgmann comments that the new left-politicised agenda was influential on the women's movement (1993, p.151-152). This was true, even if most of these were also predominantly moderately patriarchal movements in which women had significant intellectual and public presences but yet these mostly were secondary, in status, numbers and profile, to men. All these parallel and related movements created an atmosphere of cultural dissension. This was so, just as the Women's Movement encouraged the growth of the gay and lesbian movements and the other movements discussed. In Brisbane this synergy in the Protests appeared in the cross-links not only between the Women's Movement and the Apartheid and Anti-Racism Movements, and the Romantic University Movement but also the Anti-War Movement.

Proving its situation within deeper stratifications, the Women's Movement, like the Indigenous movement, initiated early protests pre-dating the rise of militancy about the Vietnam War. Merle Thornton's and Ro Bogner's Protest, noted in the chapter on civil liberties, was the clearest indication of the emerging modern Brisbane Women's Movement. It paralleled a similar event in Canberra when in 1965 a group of women chained themselves to the bar of the Civic Hotel in Canberra (Hawker & Jarvis 1995). Such actions attempted to break the stereotypes of suburban femininity. However, as Merle Thornton pointed out, there were many other issues contemporaneously relevant. Thornton saw the equal pay campaign as of great significance. She said several years later, in 1968, in relation to the drinking taboo and women's status, "unequal pay is far and

away the most important, with the public service marriage bar as runner-up“ (*Compact* 22 March 1968). The equal pay movement became a major concern of the Women’s Movement. It reflected the importance of women’s sense that their condition was not the product of temporary or even generational influences but deeply seated in the fundamental stratifications of patriarchy.

The equal pay campaign saw the joining of Women’s Liberation, Union of Australian Women, and several trade unions including the Food Preservers Union, Clothing Trades Union, Furniture Trades Union, Butcher’s Union, Textile workers Union, Miscellaneous Workers’ Union and the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Women’s liberation and the U.A.W. published, with the support of the above-mentioned unions, a multi-language document, which was a first for Brisbane Protest activists (*Equal Pay*). The thesis suggests exceptions in Brisbane to Eisenstein’s comments about lack of multi-cultural directions in organizing and further indications of a significant capacity for solidarity by the Brisbane women Protesters.

U.A.W. represented the typical concerns of socially committed, probably suburban, working class women. Its connection to the left of the labour movement existed through marriage amongst other bonds, like shared membership of the A.L.P. and Communist Party. Their 1969 conference dealt with child care, conscription, Greek Fascism, biological warfare, poverty and drilling on the Great Barrier Reef (*Draft Resolutions* 1969). Eva Bacon, active in the U.A.W and the Communist Party, and married to long-time local State Secretary of the C.P.A., came to the opening of the Red Hill Counselling services for unplanned pregnancies at the Women’s Centre in 1972. (*Children by Choice Association*). Children by Choice represented a typical concern of working class women, and of middle class and educated University women.

The earlier characterisation of Ms Ward as not middle-class has significance in relation to feminism. She did not put class allegiances in abeyance in favour of a common cause on gender issues, which was one tendency in feminism. According to Ros Mills and Rob Duffield, “Vilma Ward call[ed] for the closing of the Rape Crisis Centre describing it as being staffed by a white middle-class academic elite”. This was hardly an appropriate recommendation since surely a working class orientation was another possibility.

The thesis notes Ms Ward's significant contribution to the Protests came in the form of a generally non-provoking and non-intellectual approach typified minimalist view that the least challenging approach was the best. Her approach provides a point of comparison on many of these matters since she lacked the fundamental impulse to confront directly nor raise deeper questions but rather to create the most digestible image of political criticism. There is no evidence that her outlook on the rape crises issue any more than the other points of difference she had with those who wanted to express radical beliefs could penetrate Queensland's dominant hegemony. The women of the Rape Crises centre were acting on deeper, more intellectual and more radical outlooks and by acting upon them were getting both strong reaction, division and broadcasting of radical Romanticism. This also eventually caused a sea-change in politics while Ward's approach showed no capacity to achieve this change but was, rather, typical of much of the A.L.P. which could only realise the more digestible of the changes. Ms Ward was outside the circle of support of any proposals initiating, as opposed to politically packaging, significant change.

In fact, D. Chapman a researcher at the time noted Women's Community Centres in Queensland suffered from not having qualified staff as opposed to those in other capitals and this appeared typical of Brisbane culture. Perhaps this lack of training led to ideological exuberance and the undesirable outcomes of inadequate training however given Brisbane was the sexual assault capital of Australia (Westbury in Mills & Duffield 1994, p.197) this needs to be placed in perspective given the greatest need may well have been, in Queensland, the political campaign. Ward's accusation, more likely, reflected the broad tasks undertaken by the women in the Brisbane Protests when such radicals had to fill vast gaps in the lack of pre-existing, organized sympathetic cultures. Yet Ward's reported accusations did not engage this issue of professionalism (which was a serious consideration) but rather, perversely, she pointed to these educators' and would-be counsellors' own education as a source of condemnation. Hers was labourist politics lacking interest in deeper analyses of problems nor the experiential base to wish to, it seemed. This typified a sector of supporters on the fringe of the Brisbane Protests but who represented the outlooks of many of leaders of important political organizations and institutions who were distant supporters of the Protests in that State but drew strict boundaries around such support.

The Women's Liberation movement in 1968-9 produced pamphlets of noticeable quality. They arranged mass-distribution of them to high schools. This important step met with a

furor as the Conservative government and Press complained about the inappropriateness of informing high school children about sex and sex education. *Sexism in schools* called for meetings at the U.A.W. rooms. The pamphlet, *Sexism in schools* was followed by *Why Women's Liberation Wrote that Pamphlet*. Gender and feminine identity concerns were the focus of *Why Women's Liberation Wrote that pamphlet*, which responded to criticisms about the distribution of the former leaflet (Women's Liberation [1971?]).

*Why Women's Liberation Wrote that Pamphlet* noted the large numbers of illegal abortions, illegitimate births and sexual diseases, as fundamental to the case for legalising abortion. However they also asserted that a "large number of women [were] sexually crippled [and that] sex also serves the function of pleasure ... [whose]...biological basis [is] in the clitoral system". The leaflet attacked the family and schools for their patriarchal practices. Certainly this demonstrated features of the new interests in gender identity. Interestingly this subsequent leaflet did not mention the U.A.W. rooms but mentioned the oppressive environment under Women's Liberation operated. It appears reasonable to assume that the Post Office Box alone was given for security reasons, since the leaflet singles out intimidation as a feature of the campaign (Women's Liberation [1971?]).

Likewise new, but in this case in terms of the other Movements of the Brisbane Protests, was another leaflet containing expression of a state of doubt. This was uncharacteristic where ideological solidification precluded such admissions. Yet, in the following the author's doubt was public:

[o]ne finds oneself searching for a new feminine role —another type of woman. Any new role must be based on the acceptance of both the biological differences between men and women and the human sameness of men and women ... one finds oneself floundering. (*WOMEN'S LIBERATION — WHAT DOES IT MEAN?* n.d.).

The issues here were more deeply rooted in personal needs and experiences. The pamphlet's format relied on an interior dialogue as well as an exterior one, with uncertainty at its core rather than proselytising. Furthermore, all the above-mentioned pamphlets, as a group, broach that very differentiation between the private and public upon which the adversary's suburban ideal insisted.

A distinctive feature of the women's movement was consciousness-raising groups where women shared their private thoughts. The crucial ingredient of individual, psychoanalytically based, self-investigation was present in the Movement, although group consciousness-raising was not that process. These groups and such activities in them were also a method of establishing solidarity in the need to face personal changes implied by the Movement. "The personal is the political" became a favoured phrase in the Women's Movement.

The intellectual development of the Movement was considerable and, if it was unusual for a world-famous radical thinker to come from Australia it was just as unusual for a magazine like *Hecate* to emanate from this State. Yet this happened, perhaps stimulated in its inception by the long wait women had for any claims to justice. In a tradition in which the Romantic Marxist tradition mixed readily with Feminism (Firestone 1970; Millet 1970; Rowbotham [1972;1973] and Mitchell (1971), Rosalind Innes developed a theory of rape based on Juliet Mitchell's blend of psychoanalysis and Marxism, which quickly made its way to the new *Hecate* (Mills & Duffield 1994, p.205). Such a magazine relied on the contribution of University academics specifically Carole Ferrier who, as previously noted played an important role also in the civil liberties marches of the 'eighties. The University inevitably played a critical part in the lives of Brisbane Protesters and women in the Movement were also, more evidently, variously engaged in a range of activities.

In all these activities beyond equal pay and Abortion, it was predominantly students, who led the interest in constructing a new critique. Yet there is no evidence that this caused internal dissention with the old left women. The Women's Movement therefore appeared characterised by its multiplicity of orientations, and the capacity to build solidarity and the interior elements of the reflections, rather than simply public issue orientations. The key features of an interest going beyond reproductive control to issues of identity and sexuality defined the presence of second-wave concerns in the Women's Movement. Yet campaigns concerned with Equal Pay and the engagement in issues related to women workers indicated these "second wave" matters were far from exclusive interests of campaigns.

#### **4.1 Adversaries, Difference and Competition.**

Adversarial relationships result from the identification by the Protesters of another social group as the enemy. Difference implies shared fundamental principles of groups in alliance, and yet includes people who differ and even have interests driving them; competition applies to those with orientations to “corralling” political and social movements to suit established organizational ends, yet by those groups which nevertheless may well share agenda in common with the Protesters; while these differentiations fail to neatly categorise groups, which tend to exemplify more than one trait, they remain useful in the analysis.

The competitors with the women’s movement were those advocating the interests of traditional political parties in particular. As for difference, the secondary literature reported conflict over race and heterosexual biases (Burgmann 2003) within the women’s movement. However two directions of difference concern the analysis of the Women’s Movement within the Brisbane Protests — one with men and the other with the Indigenous. Women also disagreed with each other and not only in that more frequently asserted difference about socialist and feminist orientations. However, in the thesis, the analysis of differences is restricted to those between men and women and those between Indigenous and non-Indigenous women in the Protests. Competition concerns the A.L.P., while adversarial relationships appeared with some males in the Protests as well as with patriarchy more generally.

As regard adversarial relationships with men, where there was rape or abuse of women, which women stated occurred (p.c.) at the hands of male activists in the Brisbane Protests, then these men were adversaries. Therefore, while the difference model fitted the majority of relationships there were some that were adversarial, and yet others in solidarity with the Women’s Movement. Patriarchy as an analysis was more sophisticated than gender warfare. Patriarchal men oppressed women within the Protests according to Brisbane Women’s distributed literature but they did not dominate the central societal organizations that enforced these divisions nor generally did they endorse the hegemonic patriarchal culture.



Lilla Watson ably expressed this in her general description of the times and the separation of emotions and intellectualisations, in which ideas were shared but experiences of the life altered the meaning of those ideas. Of women's liberation, Watson asserted that it spoke to her head not her heart. She also observes that there was "at times a great deal of hostility expressed by black women towards white women" (1987, pp. 49-50). This confirms the sense that of all the Movements that faced discrimination, the Indigenous suffered the most and were rightly unlikely to accept any other attempts by others to divide them from within or without the Protests, even as Indigenous women questioned their own status in that culture.

The split between men and women in the Protest movement (usually described as the new left in some literature) was much more prominent. The breakdown in traditional roles in the alternative domesticities movement was not explicitly valuable for women Protesters although these were in keeping with general benefits of social questioning implied in these household formations. One example of this conflict in the contexts of broader rationalisations and exploitations of sexuality was in the understanding of the nature of the sexual revolution. This change was advocated in significantly different ways by Marcuse and Reich within Western Marxism, and *Playboy* within commercial culture. The advent of the "Pill" appeared to permit both the further objectification and liberation of women. The complexity and differentiation in impact of these changes, women deciphered much more acutely, while some men in the Protests rather defined it as an opportunity to avoid relationships rather than create variants of them through different intimacies.

Typically, as the Australian feminist Beatrice Faust suggests, the women's liberation movement split from the new left over "bad sex and bad attitudes" and that "the women's liberation stream of feminism opposes the so-called sexual revolution from the first". She means its commercial and male manifestations (*The Weekend Australian* 1997 26 April, p.32.) Some women cast the male anti-war movement as an oppressor at the same time (Kaplan 1996, pp.50-60). The thesis noted that other commentators like Greer saw synergies between male and female movements but not regarding issues of gender and sexuality. Faust refers to Shere Hite and Anne Koedt two internationally famous feminists of the time, who wrote about female orgasm because the conflict of clitoral and vaginal orgasm directly relates to heterosexual masculine interests (*The Weekend Australian* 26 April 1997, p.32). These differences certainly bordered on and crossed over into adversarial relationships and just as the concept of "interests" must be seen as relevant to

the idea of difference. Yet Marcuse's call for a movement of renewed sensuality, were it adopted by the male Protesters, represented a path of commonality through which these differences might have received expression in terms of interests while creating expectations of universality which he might have hoped for. However this unity was impossible without the expression of interests of the Woman's Movement and so represented the important but still inadequate aspirations for universality in the male new left.

Women operated in different ways to male Protesters. Their conflicts did not appear as violent since they were not so confrontational at the street level, while their effect on private relationship violence is difficult to gauge. The Women's Movement relied more on a social base rather than a capacity to mobilise for street activity. Their solidarity, the thesis reiterates, was more complex and sophisticated.

The relationship with the actors in the conventional political system was the most critical source of competition for the women of the Brisbane Protests, since these went closer to the possibilities of significant social change driven by concerns with long-term stratification. Yet, with hindsight, this strategy can be variously interpreted for its efficacy. Women made great gains under the A.L.P. as feminists allied themselves with the labour movement dominated by men. This strategic complexity reflected the need to address stratification with concrete legislation, the realisation of which, no matter how limited in terms of ultimate goals, was contrary to that of the aims of ideological solidification, which was more characteristic of parts of the men's movement. The Women's Movement adopted more complex strategies, which allowed for significant progress despite the ultimate difficulties of reaching equality. The Women's Liberation Movement shared the political stage with the male Labor Party and Trade Unionists as well as with other women's organizations that were much more strategically concerned with conventional political power. The formation of Women's Electoral Lobby (W.E.L.) reflected this. Nevertheless the fear of competition proved divisive.

According to Michelle Gunn and Diana Thorp, the arrival of the Women's Electoral Lobby represented, it may seem, a strategic split in the Women's Movement, somewhat similar to that which led to the formation of the Moratorium movement. Yet, "W.E.L. was never aligned with a political party. It has obvious close links with the Labor Party, but also has some association with the liberals". However, W.E.L. set up Women's refuges in the

A.C.T. indicating the split with women's liberation can be misread. "[W]hen W.E.L. was set up Faust and cronies were soon denigrated as "reformist feminists". The key demands of the campaign were "equal employment opportunity, equal access to education, free contraceptive services, abortion on demand and free 24 hour, childcare" (*The Australian* 1997 14 April, p.9).

According to Faust, these were the same demands as women's liberation but the difference was "we weren't prepared to wait for the revolution" (1997 *The Weekend Australian* 26 April p.32). Apparently some ideological solidification had happened with women as well. The writers noted that before the end of that year "W.E.L. had groups operating in all states and territories" and the same article reports "the tremendous success of candidates' questionnaires". (Gunn & Thorp in *The Australian* 14 April 1997, p.9). Therefore, the reformist movement placed faith in the democratic processes as they existed, still controlled by men, but also engaged in many other activities. Queensland also had its W.E.L. organization. This strategic complexity of the Women's movement is noticeable in comparison compared with many other activities in the Brisbane Protests. It showed that hybrids of reform and radical initiative were possible; this possibility so vehemently denied by the extreme groups the solidified groups found in many parts of the Brisbane Protests

This orientation to electoral politics reflected the realisation of W.E.L. that the Whitlam government after the election "success" of 1969 might make the most of the popularity of anti-Conservative movements. They relied on a tide of change present in Australia. This assumption is based on their sense of difference, rather than adversarial relationships, with the A.L.P., as Thornton exemplified in her allegiances in writing for the Labor Club. Yet there was no doubt that many women saw these alliances as more temporary, and more realistically operating within competitive orientations.

Yet Whitlam promised significant changes for women under Labor. He stated that the women's movement was the most important of his time (Eisenstein 1996, p.19). A full circle occurred when the Equal Pay victory in 1972 overturned the implications of the war time *Re-establishment Act* which allowed employers to replace employees with servicemen the beginning of a chapter in post war discrimination (Crawford & Maddern 2001, p.166). Thus, he offered his government as an ally and supporter in 1972. Whitlam began with the setting up of a Women's Advisor to the Prime Minister and with the appointing of various "femocrats" (Caine 1998, p.244). As well, he set up a Commission

into Human Relationships. In 1975, 21 Women's refuges were established. Subsequent Labor governments institutionalised other demands via the 1984 *The Sex Discrimination Act* and the 1986 *Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act*. 1986 also saw Affirmative Action legislation. Child Care provisions continued to grow. The Women's movement made further gains under the Hawke Government through the Human Right and Equal Opportunity Commission (H.R.E.O.C.) and programs to assist women in various ways.

There is also evidence to suggest the view that competition created division. In the summer of 1974/75, a breakdown of communication between various women's liberation action groups led to chaotic fragmentation (Sawer & Simms 1993, p.183). Feminists became femocrats within these male-dominated, but less so, patriarchal governments of Whitlam and Hawke. The pattern of solidarity which seemed in other senses stronger than in the male-dominated movements turned to solidification also in the Women's Movement. The pressure of competition that flowed from being a part of Governments with only very partial programs of reform affected this solidarity. Divisions were mediated by particular realities of a local nature, which prevented the formation of tensions regarding femocrats at least.

Typically in Queensland, women waited. None of these reforms women realised in Queensland, until the election of the Goss Government in 1989. Women remained active in many campaigns in Brisbane well after the Whitlam success, and participated in the resistance to ongoing oppression in the hands of the Bjelke-Petersen government. This slow pace of reform indicated the particular local characteristics, in terms of the conservative nature of Queensland.

This opportunity to integrate has meant the Women's Movement is no longer found as a specific movement yet a recent, (November 2005) visit to the University of Queensland noted a "Reclaim the Night" platform and march being organized. While the glass-ceiling is evidence that patriarchy needs much more aggressive tackling by men and women, feminists are left with the dilemma of making alliances within radical organizations or piecemeal reform indicating the concept of women's interests must be expanded beyond feminism. This reflects the problems of reform, solidification, solidarity and identity which beset all Movements, especially those derived from the Romantic tradition in which the personal is also the political but in fact must also find room for the universal.

In conclusion to this discussion on adversarial differences and competition, the thesis argues that in most cases men and women created differences based on cultural outlook, which usually reflected pre-formulated stratifications and new dimensions of these, which emerged with changes like sexual “liberation” and “the Pill”. Yet because of the depth of stratification, they expressed hostility to men’s complicity in patriarchy. However the shared platforms and intellectual roots as well as the ongoing relationships between men and women including the common phenomenon of the breakdown of these and the establishment of new heterosexual relationships, are better described as relationships that included differences embodied as interests often creating mutual and sustained hostility with sympathetic men. The idea that competition describes this relationship assumes the presence of institutional practices, which were not under the influence of most men of the Brisbane Protest and were unlikely to be, since many had rendered such opportunities void by their other involvements in the Protests.

The breadth and depth of the change women envisaged attested to the depth of their adverse stratification. This again suggests that such movements as the Women’s Movement in the Brisbane Protests were multidimensional and complex. While the Women’s Movement did not dominate the competitors, they infiltrated their agendas and transformed them, indicating their growing strength. With the success of Whitlam and the engagement of women in his government, the Women’s Movement did not disappear like the anti-war movement or the Civil Liberties Movement. It was ongoing; it worked inside the system and outside it. It is this continuity, as well as its breadth and inclusiveness, complexity of strategy and internal qualities of solidarity, that exemplify the Women’s Movement. The Women’s Movement offered a model of a particular and distinctive social movement, which forced the broader discussion of gender, patriarchy and identities. However while the Women’s Movement has disintegrated in organized form and the glass ceiling remains the changes achieved remain substantial.

While it was a central part of the Brisbane Protests, it was also the product of difference within the Protest cohort. In reality, it built upon on the sense of frustration with the suburban world implied in the activist life style of earlier Protesters, but found this frustration duplicated by differences and adversarial relationships inside the Protest movement.

## 5.0 CONCLUSION TO THE ANTI-RACISM AND WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The conclusion to this chapter incorporates the analysis of two Movements, which challenged historically deep-seated stratifications. These stratifications created significant differences in the way these groups were located within the dominant hegemonies. While women maintained that biological differences with men were significant in cultural, social and many other matters, the Indigenous maintained these biological differences as irrelevant but equally that the cultural structures required a change through which the Indigenous, could be autonomous. Both had these imposed stratifications, reliant on, if then increasingly unfashionable, references to the biological reference points. Such biological /cultural features indicated their unsuitability for important public and industrially-productive roles in white patriarchal society. These challenges to the anti-stratification movements, involving long histories and deep complexities of experience, were of a different order from the challenges facing many other of the Movements discussed. This was the case, even if the other Movements also challenged deep-seated hegemonies in the national or State consciousness. The result was some distinctiveness in the way these movements operated and in their longevity and tenacity.

Both these movements, as a generality, adopted broad and inclusive strategies in relation to their own constituencies but also drew lines they felt necessary to preserving their identity and to helping particularly those within this constituency. Women were a much larger and more powerful constituency and so formed more exclusive barriers, which still permitted them to negotiate a broad set of reforms within patriarchal society and take up relatively important positions within it, if ones initially concerning their own issues. While other Movements with close connection to the anti-war Protests divided ideologically, the activists and mainstream of these Protests in the Anti-Racism and Women's Movements operated without attention to ideological differences in the main. The Brisbane Protests united around the 'broad church' model again in the quest for justice. The Women's Movement demonstrated a pattern of engagement, which also exhibited some of this broad church approach. The usual differences and conflicts found in the Anti-War Movement, for example, appeared less obvious, although women, as did the Indigenous, drew boundaries around their identities to create enclaves of self-support and resistance

These Anti-Racism, particularly the (I.A.I.M), and Women's Movements, because of their locations within prolonged inferior stratifications, had qualities of different solidarities.

These related to different patterns in the way their participants' involvements were expressed, greater need to unravel cultural stereotypes, the addressing of a broader range of repressions and dominations and wider involvements of sectors of the community, including at the inter-generational level. These involvements went beyond the youthful and educated, whose presence, nevertheless, was essential in all movements. In these movements against stratification, there existed greater capacity to unite. Related to these qualities, the outcomes of these movements indicated deep and prolonged if, as yet unsatisfactory, shifts <sup>4344</sup> in redressing some of the oppressions, which they challenged.

In combining elements of the three dominant social movement theorists chosen, the thesis finds such theory contributes to the analysis of the anti-stratification movements of the Women's Movement and Anti-Racism Movement. Although these theories collectively have elements that are contradictory and require specific analyses of their varying explanatory roles of particular social movements, they all identify important elements of these anti-stratification movements. In part, this indicates the complexity of the latter, so that some of the lines of dispute between theorists appear to neglect this complexity, which suggests anti-stratification movements are a partially distinct genre.

Tarrow, in particular, proves limited in dealing with these movements encased in cultural contestation. Whatever Tarrow might suggest about the predominance of political processes in democracies, in the case of the Indigenous in the "New World" the cultural divide between their traditional non-materialistic cultures, and in Australia's case, a materialist "culture" which created cultural and political structures, was profound. This split over into new Indigenous interpretations of blackness, even when the roots of this conflict between materialistic and non-materialistic cultures was thereby deliberately obscured and rejected by the Protesters in favour of the theory of the need for coloured enclaves within a broader class movement and analysis. Particularly in regard to solidarity, the thesis suggests distinctive patterns with the Indigenous and Women's Movements. Tarrow makes no differentiation in the qualities of solidarities, although he recognises the women's movement's consciousness-raising as distinctive. Furthermore, while these movements were both victims and beneficiaries of the democratic political process, this

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<sup>43</sup> Some Indigenous assert no such shift has happened (<http://www.apg.org.au>), however their population is increasing and some land has been given back to them, just as some feminists

<sup>44</sup> Feminists assert 'a glass ceiling' exists as regards high public office yet, at least in parliamentary representation, significant changes have occurred.

was not so in the style of contagious and competitively-challenged spread of contention that Tarrow hypothesises in other situations.

Consequently Tarrow proves more marginal as a source of interpretative insight in these movements. The Indigenous were frozen out of the political process and suspicion might even be cast on their “changed” status after 1967, as rather a further freezing out, within the perverse thinking of racism. Would the results of the referendum and the new status merely increase the possibilities of separation of Indigenous from their land? Certainly the benefits of legislation of the Whitlam and Hawke Governments seemed limited in impact and, in Queensland, things just got worse in terms of this separation. For women these two aforementioned Labor Governments’ roles in containing feminism resulted, noticeably, in the ongoing structured glass ceiling, yet the women’s movement including the Brisbane women had a significant influence on both Governments. Furthermore, despite subsequent laments by the generation of women being discussed, the Women’s Movement went on in various forms, and their achievements remain encased in law. For the Indigenous the route to recognition lay in the judicial system, contradicting Tarrow, yet legislation also followed the Mabo judicial decision, with the *Native Title Act*, and so these outcomes reflect the relevance of Tarrow in his assertions about the flexibility of democratic institutions, but not in his assumption that both movements fit historically repetitive patterns. These remain unresolved negotiations which ultimately challenge liberal democracy from unresolved cultural perspectives about genocide and ongoing patriarchal attitudes to the status of women contained in their theories of difference. Both these movements pointed to new cultural dimensions which were distinctive yet included other forms of stratification. Their influences stretched over established organizations as much as being included by them even after a Women’s Movement, in organized name and form, disintegrated. Nevertheless these superior forces dominated the reform process and only in limited fashion included the Movement’s demands, just as Tarrow suggests happens with more radical political agendas.

The anti-Apartheid movement must be considered as an international movement in the sense of achieving change at the international level, contrary to Tarrow’s belief that social movements have outcomes expressing largely national political processes. In the sense that, once sporting contact was banned no further mass protests eventuated, Tarrow proves relevant. However the outcome of the Protests and the international movement, including quite Conservative streams of post-totalitarianism, forced greater economic and political pressure, and campaigns continued regarding trade with South Africa. The anti-



Apartheid A.N.C. also took heart from the Protests, as the thesis indicated. As a consequence the Apartheid regime fell by the `eighties, largely through international pressures of both non-South African N.G.O.s and Governments as well as local resistances.

Melucci's canvassing of the cultural dimension of resistance is more relevant to the Indigenous despite his over-burdening of it with "post-industrialism". This same point applies to the Women's Movement. Women too had cultural issues. They also had long-term roots in nurturing, and other cultural and personal cultures with biological underpinnings more profound than skin colour. These two, the Indigenous and women, were resistant to the colonisation by industrial, and particularly post-war, suburban culture. They produced as a result Movements of great depth and breadth. Both found that their position created some competition and difference within the Protests and even adversarial attacks. This variety in relationships also was the product of the deep roots of these movements in types of oppression that their stratifications reflected.

Habermas understands the underlying cultural shifts in society, however these are best explained, post-war, in the influence of post-totalitarianism. This is a concept that accords with modernity, while Habermas accepts that ideas inevitably spread through historical movements. However Habermas contests the radical Romantic post-totalitarianism of some groups. Beside the reality elsewhere of terrorism associated with the more violent political cultures of America, Germany and Italy, it was their "defensive" practices which also concern Habermas. Both the Indigenous and Women Movements adopted types of defensiveness in the face of fundamental oppression. Habermas incorporates the idea of solidarity in his writings, yet remains critical of this need for defensiveness. Blackness or connection to the traditional culture and the wish to organize around such a framework was essential in a fundamentally racist society, in order to foster the necessary strength and ability to resist. It was likely that those who were the subjects of intense stratification — women as well as the Indigenous — would assert a distinctive rather than universal identity. These are incompatible with a universalism that assumes that historical influences and their outcomes as well as biological differences are negotiable and must resolve in dialogue and law. Much as this remained a goal so does the preservation of distinctiveness until it was demonstrably unneeded. The evidence suggests that Movements cannot, as Habermas crudely assumes in terms of his own thinking, be simply either in "defensive" or "aggressive" categories. Inevitably anti-stratification movements will be both. At best the negotiations that flow from different lives must recognise agreements

about permanent differences. It is not clear that such difference is what Habermas contemplates as a necessary step except at the individual level. Habermas's concept of ontological "interests" must at least include a distinction between men and women and provide for historical interests that derive from experiences of prolonged stratification. Habermas, the thesis suggests, would reject such concepts.

The three social movement theories define new or existing locations of protest in post-war Western societies. The thesis finds that these anti-stratification movements most clearly reflect a diversity in social locations which are new, rather than those of traditional class conflict. However the women's movement is not new for Tarrow, and he allows for struggles for equality but not difference, in his theories, and makes reference to the importance of residual groups of support, such as are exemplified by the Communist Party women in particular. Such political enclaves were important to a widening conflict. While, for women, their leading (militant and articulate) edge was usually connected to the educated groups at the University, in the Brisbane Protests, this was less true of the Indigenous Movement. However, in this case, while the core of pre-existing Protests was present in groups like F.C.A.A.T.S.I. for the Indigenous, the post-war struggle was new in dimensions, with very distinctive organizations like Tribal Council. Likewise the involvement of off-campus women was significant. The value of Tarrow's insight is greatly limited by these deep differences, despite the very interesting evidence of stronger inter-generational continuities in the Indigenous Movements, which identified with traditional cultures, although the leaders of the Black Panthers were just youthful. Such inter-generational characteristics are rarely theorised as features of social movements of the post-war Western 1960s era, and may again suggest a further possible feature of the depth of anti-stratification movements.

Not only 'working class' Communist Party women, in particular, but also Indigenous women were significant in the Protests. The Communist Party (non-academic) intellectuals were often in the forefront of the race protests, although to them racism was the product of divisions imposed by the ruling class. However their rendering of this perspective was sophisticated and empathetic, unlike the dogma of orthodox Communism. Frank Hardy, the Communist Party member's *The Unlucky Australians* and the 1967 Communist Party publication *Full Human rights for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders* both demonstrate sophistication in their contribution to the Protests. Yet ultimately Aborigines did assert their own identities as both Indigenous and as Party members, as Kath Walker, who became Oodgeroo Noonuncal, exemplified. Race is not a 'new issue', however the perspective,

that these discriminations needed culturally assertive identities, challenged traditional Marxist perspectives and suggested the validity of new theory. Yet in regard to this new theory, the locations of working class women and men, and the intellectual contributions of Communist intellectuals, do not quite fit. Communist Party women also had atypical contributions to the Women's Movement in terms of new social movement theory. The issue of location then remains problematic within the new social movement theory used in the model and yet, as we saw, while this involvement appears to vindicate Tarrow, the identity issues at its core do not. In fact to understand the relationship between the Indigenous and the Communists the thesis reflects on Australia society particularly.

The movements exemplify the influence of fundamental undercurrents of change in all dimensions of human understanding which as Habermas indicates is associated with movements of modernity. As well as this, they produced cultural spaces and challenges, as Melucci suggests, without the thesis assuming their location in a post-industrial society. All the movements in this chapter demonstrate the necessity of applying most of the apparently divergent elements in the analytical model. As regards social movement theory however, the analysis demonstrates the need for cultural explanation in the ways the Indigenous and the Women's Movement grew in different dimensions, which almost all rested significantly on the critical re-interpretation of identity.

Marxism does not prove useful in interpreting the Women's Movement except in so far as it provides some understanding of social stratification. This is relevant to the thesis when it sees equal pay and other labour-based discriminations as the target of both the Movements discussed. While it is Marxism above all other understandings that connects to the concept of stratification, such social differences are the focus of social movement theory as well. Marxism proves useful to understanding the colonisation of the third world and its implications for Indigenous populations, but it offers little to the analysis of resistance to this oppression except to identify the structural interests the dominant classes had in exploitation of the Indigenous. The labour quotient of Indigenous exploitation was very real, yet it was present evidently only in those few occupations where the Indigenous had work.

However the thesis suggests that such a country as Australia with a colonial past based on conquering Indigenous groups required cultural constructions, if only to defend overall materialist intentions of society. In a sense this mimics Melucci's concept of the centrality of a culture that unites all sectors of society in a productive model, if this was creative in

character and in post-industrialism, rather than mono-directional as in colonial society. The world system theorists deem neo-colonialism as non-territorial but rather direct-investment-oriented. In Northern Australia, where mineral extraction and pastoralism drove colonial expansion, land and direct investment were in combination as goals. While this was not conventional neo-colonisation, it was a colonisation nevertheless, and Arrighi's definition of direct industrial investment as characterising post-war colonialism shows his failure to understand the special meaning of land to Indigenous Australians (and to the Indigenous more generally) and therefore its central dynamic in the processes of imperialist oppression.

As to the feminist analysis, it certainly fails to explain the differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous women, yet its efficacy as an insight was reflected by the ability of women to transcend patriarchal social divisions. Feminism is a theory which informed a significantly successful social movement. It was suburban society which forced an artificial reconciliation of the differences between men and women within the nuclear family. This family and the 'way of life' of the suburban ideal, in some ways intensified patriarchy, despite the benign material conditions enjoyed by Brisbane women in such circumstances. Feminism deconstructed this as oppression. The Women's Movement's examination of sexuality, bodies, identities, reproduction, orgasms and abortions, and not least domestic violence was typically feminist critique and this had a deep influence on the Protests and continued on well after other major elements in it had declined. It provided essential insight into the women's movement and the ongoing resistance of patriarchy. While it rested on Romanticism, it gave it a very specific edge in the post-war era and was a dominant influence in retaining this Romantic edge to the Protests, while nevertheless describing its independence from the typical directions of male radical Romantic post-totalitarianism, which underplayed the cultural stratification of women.

Feminism assumes conflict along gender lines within movements and this occurred. The relationships with men in the Protests requires, as the result of feminist insight, a complex articulation which recognises difference and adversarial relationships with men. Feminism itself as a theoretical explanatory model is centrally relevant in the study, since gender did play a critical role. Attitudes to organizing and protest styles, to solidarity and to exploration of the personal were key differences with men, ignoring for the moment the very different issues women focused on as mentioned previously. Furthermore there was need for differentiated movements in such a way that the feminist movement excluded men. Yet the Indigenous rejected 'white' feminism as a correct insight for them. Some

solidification around identity for women operated, just as matters about ideology more frequently described male solidifications.

That feminism had roots in existentialism and Romanticism is undeniable. Romanticism embraced the view of subjectivity against the system more adequately than any other tradition that flows into feminism, as Greer recognises. De Beauvoir, whose connection to Romanticism was expressed also through existentialism in the philosophical movements post-war, was a foremost advocate of women's rights. The doubts about male-female relations expressed by de Beauvoir flooded into subsequent writers who looked much more directly at suburbia and the opportunities for women beyond it. Feminism was highly critical of the Western suburban woman's role culminating in Greer's Romantic expositions of greater freedoms for women with particularly sexual themes. While the impetus for such reviews of women's status was experientially rooted in post-totalitarian insights, the Women's Movement, like the situations of all the Protest movements derived impetus from fundamental post-war oppression. Yet the contribution of Romanticism with subjective orientations to the Brisbane Protests as a way of thinking and criticism and action appears unequivocal. Most binding of all is the evidence of the catch phrase that 'the personal is the political', which was quintessential Romanticism and was shared by all female groups described in this chapter. The presence of this ubiquitous phrase goes a long way to providing a simple, if close to an over-generalised explanation of the influences on the Brisbane Protests as regards the Women's Movement and the I.A.I.M.). This overgeneralisation applies especially in regard to describing those representing traditional cultures, which nevertheless they often no longer lived in (through no fault of their own), way of understanding of the Romantic intellectual origins of Protests generally, in the Western world at this time, and, in particular, the Brisbane Protests.

However the thesis argues, and this helps establish the particularity of the Brisbane Protests, that the Indigenous reinforced this Romanticism by their defence of the traditional lives and their identification with King. This contributed to the non-Indigenous Protesters' affinity with them, despite the problematic dimension of seeing an old culture as Romantic when Romanticism is clearly a modern European viewpoint.

Yet other aspects of Australian history suggest a particular character in the intensity of the colonisers' disregard for the Indigenous. The Indigenous were a reminder not just of colonisation but also of the racial isolation of Caucasians living in the South Pacific. In Queensland, this orientation affected the adversary, as in the Queensland Governments of

all complexions who sought to suppress the Indigenous for all the above reasons. These factors were intensified by a sense of greater fragility as regards other races and cultures, as Queenslanders were closer to the 'Northern threat' and in the route of their apparently imminent invasion. Yet the Queensland Governments recognised a dependence that required controlling the value of Indigenous labour in an inequitable manner. The orientation of the Northern non-Indigenous perspective was to exploitation and destruction of culture. As the Indigenous moved to the cities the dynamics of this exploitative relationship changed, but the racist perspective remained

The Protests of the anti-Racism Movement, especially in I.A.I.M., suggest a significant role for the Indigenous, as early precursors of a new critique of the Australian identity, asserting, against its materialism and 'developmentalism', the need to respect an older civilisation at odds with this identity. Yet the Indigenous societies were also in transformation as a forming often inner-urban political culture showed in particular ways. These ways become clear as the thesis deals with differences in the Movement and the evidence that the Indigenous urban groups lived in a much deeper solidarity than that of the dominant culture, where solidarity had lost most of its vitality as a concept and the liberal dream of association in the public sphere as citizens collapsed, under the weight of the hegemony of the concept of privacy in suburbia. The great threat of the Indigenous remained the perception they were anti- or non-development -oriented. Women, who did not want to be merely consumers and/or merely producers of babies were also, in this way, threatening although women's culture in general was somewhat anathema to the 'developmentalist' ideology, occupying the subservient role of populating, rather than "producing".

When analysing the national dimensions of these two movements, the general thrust of post-war development was not on the surface peculiar to Australia. Yet the adoption of the suburban domesticity from the United States was deeply riddled with the contradictions between the private and public sphere there and the "gendering" of those contradictions. In the Cold War period this ideology was readily adopted in Australia, magnifying the already dominant stratification based on patriarchy. However the relationship of the Indigenous to their land was a State concern and therefore national policy could only ease discrimination through Commonwealth legislation, rather than fundamentally alter it, until international treaty responsibilities filtered through the legislative and judicial system — a process which Whitlam had insufficient time to assist.

Yet the peculiar circumstances of the rise to power of the Whitlam government at a time when the traditional fragility of the national identity reached a highpoint was important for allowing Whitlam to change direction in regard to the Women's Movement, and, where his Government could, Indigenous issues. The Labor Party, traditionally regarded as anti-women, was able to incorporate some of the demands of the Movement as well as allowing femocrats to play roles in the Public Service. The strength and vitality and breadth of the Movement demanded its incorporation, but its connection to the identity crises speeded its uptake into the political field, unlike in Queensland where vested interests in land prevented reform, as did the predominance of a racist and patriarchal, fundamentalism.

Therefore, the opportunity of national identity crises was an opportunity of great significance for Australian feminists to advance and to use governmental processes as a road to reform. As well, the lack of ideological or orthodox Marxism with a stranglehold on thinking — a product of the emphasis on nation building rather than 'useless' ideas allowed these two anti-stratification groups greater significance. In Queensland, the adversary was particularly oppressive. Concern with dissemination of vital literature created a real educator's role for the Women's Movement.

Only in Queensland, where the Indigenous "interfered" directly with critical investments and, apparently in contradictory fashion, where their labour was so relied upon, did the recognition of the importance of the Indigenous identity remain so antithetical to the dominant interests thereby creating the intensity of conflict. This also reflected the higher populations of the Indigenous as well as the need for their exploitation in wealth-making and land acquisition activity — mostly in mining in the period discussed. Women struggled against this same sort of fundamentalism, although their issues about reproductive rights, appropriate definitions of marriage and tolerable behaviours within marriage, as well as Equal Pay meet strong opposition. Queensland's accent on the extractive and pastoral industries gave the State governments little motivation to address such issues. Ward's criticism of the Rape Crisis centres is significant. In Queensland critical theory was political — across its absence and presence was a great divide which the Protesters found difficult to traverse, such was the influence on conscious and unconscious minds, of pioneering fundamentalism in the form of patriarchy which, in this instance, the adversary represented. This meant women also waited twenty years for the flood of reforms of the Goss Government, suggesting the peculiarities of democracy in Queensland.

# CONCLUSION



The thesis has analysed five major movements and many subsidiary events by using the analytical model to provide explanations for the desires and expectations of the Protesters, their conflicts with adversaries who represented deeper orientations, their outlooks, differences, behaviours and, finally, the shorter- and longer-term outcomes of their Protests. Through these analyses, the thesis has argued firstly that in reactionary environments such as Queensland's, social movements may be efficacious within a set of defined circumstances. This was demonstrated in the analysis when it was shown that the Protesters, in public and defiantly, opposed oppressions and injustices while recognising their own sources of strength and weakness in their immediate and broader environment. They additionally needed to operate with intellectual openness and depth, maintain an inclusive rather than ideologically and identity solidifying and therefore exclusive form and needed to demonstrate sustained internal cohesion and commitment, as well as establish compatible environments and locations for proselytising, personal and social networking, and household formation. Furthermore they needed to couch their oppositions in such a way, and direct them to such subjects so as to engage an apparently indifferent audience, who after a period of decades sometimes, eventually appraised these Protests or subsequent and related ones, as worthy of their attention. This appraisal was such that the movements' support grew, with at least this audience's potential to listen, due to further directions of change toward modernisation.

Secondly the thesis argues that even the most appropriate social movement theories cannot do justice to the complex of forces, forming, and expressed through, social movements such as these discussed. Individual broad theory, while informative, over-constructs movement forms and practices, narrowing or expanding movement horizons, and ignoring other structures or endemic influences. Social movement theories provide analytic guides, which are, however, too circumscribed by the complex variability of patterns, reflecting underlying societal structures and the specificities of immediate environments, acting on movements. These variations, occasioned as well by movements' challenges and confrontations, include this presence in idiosyncratic environments which are wrongly assumed in theorists to be unimportant. These factors prevented the ready applicability of such theories in this example. By extrapolation from this attempted application, the probability of reoccurring patterns of deviation, which occur in a broad array of countries, suggests the theories remain problematic in terms of the breadth of their applicability as much as in their limitations in the particular case of the Brisbane

Protests. These limitations the thesis defines in this conclusion after considering the most appropriate analysis of the Brisbane Protests as indicated by reference to its previously defined conduits of efficacy.

While many pertinent analytical studies, which inform this study's focus, are on particular movements' aspirations and processes, here the focus is on a set of phenomena in terms of which multiple, and somewhat different participants in various movements can be linked. These links, minimally of time and space as suggested by the thesis's title, in fact, proved to be much more than such links imply. The thesis has analysed cross-linkages in activities, united actions and locations, sources and means of expression, living arrangements and common intellectual themes. All of these suggest explanations of historical and sociological processes, but particularly the former, due to this coalescing of energies and ideas of movements against often common adversaries, in a time frame.

Nevertheless underlying sociological or other general theory has provided deeper layers of explanation of these events (despite reflections on its applicability also proving rich in explanatory contradictions). Certain more wide-spread characteristics of the Western form of social movement resistances were elucidated in the analysis, such as those of responses to democratic political processes, formation of experimental cultural activities and cultural moments of resistance, as well as the capacity of movements to realise communicative standards, loosely embedded, and in Queensland's case almost buried in, a colonised and less rationalised 'life-world'. However Marxism and feminism added structurally or fundamentally discordant complexity into the field of these first-world-orientated social movement theories by their invaluable analytic insights into the Brisbane Protests.

The conclusion describes the phenomena of the Brisbane Protests through recognising the relevance of historical realities of a local, national and global sort, which framed the impetus, sources and inspirations for change in the Brisbane Protests. The Protesters shared the intellectual motif of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism. The thesis recognises this necessarily loosely-defined motif as enriched by influences derived from multiple and very different geo-political locations and therefore inclusive of breadth and variation, from which events and experiences of the post-war era could be broadly apprehended in these admittedly, only somewhat, common themes. In these the Protesters in Brisbane found the

sustenance for the belief that change, which their experiences encouraged them to seek, was necessary and possible.

Furthermore this unity and diversity reflects the fact that the Protests occurred in the presence of historically distinctive and sociologically changing global circumstances, which gave new impetuses to protests against injustices. These resistances to the global order defined the initial, and, in Brisbane, the central, adherents of contemporaneous protests, who were located outside established mainstream organized expressions of class stratification. The Protesters not only adopted a version of the agendas derived from the influence of the broad impulses of this radical Romantic post-totalitarianism but looked to a new global order and believed in the necessity of equitable changes in and between the first, second and third worlds quite different from the prescriptions of sterile orthodox Marxism and those of a compromised liberal democratic practice which repressed specific internal cultural and external colonial populations. The Protesters' roots in the common and the mutual sources of change derived from rather the idealised forms of societies of first, second, third worlds and the Indigenous, underscored the threat and reality of wars, present and recently past, and even of global destruction, which impacted on this generation and forced a type of global inclusiveness.

In the historical sense, the Brisbane Protests of 1965-72 were localised variants of these global sentiment of post-war post-totalitarianism which manifested itself in anti-racist, anti-colonial, human-rights-orientated activities by people reflecting upon the growth of totalitarianism in many societies and seeking to subvert this partly by recognition of the need for international conventions and organizations. Many of these adherents unless themselves colonised or deeply oppressed, which reflected rather those in second and third world countries and the Indigenous and women of the first world, remained relatively indifferent to significant challenges for reform within their own nation states.

Those in Australia who represented this general post-totalitarian perspective were the Whitlam Government and those cohorts in the A.L.P. and the Moratorium movement who supported him, those left-nationalist intellectuals in Australia who wanted to preserve Australian culture as well as embrace multi-culturalism, some white and Indigenous organizations and elements of the Fraser Government, especially in regard to their attitudes to the Indigenous, the mainstream of Humanities academic staff at University of Queensland and those concerned with autonomy, including the Vice-Chancellor. Perhaps

the two most familiar faces of this perspective to the Protesters were Wilma Ward — underscoring the role women found in politics outside the political mainstream organizations in the “unofficial politics” which proved the most dynamic in the era. Aligned to them was another post-totalitarian of significance was George Georges. Such outlooks were present elsewhere in Australia, even in mainstream journalism, but not in Queensland with The Courier-Mail. However as an organized and articulated consciousness such proponents were few and far between, with Evatt the clearest example of such a perspective nationally and yet still, in his repeated electoral failures, an example of the tenuous hold such a perspective had even there.

However there were far more radical proponents of this cause who found in their environments deep grievances which they related to a broader and far more critical and inclusive account of the failure of the world they lived in: these were the radical post-totalitarians Their agenda broadened into support for national liberation fights, anti-nuclear, anti-racist, anti- bureaucratic and human rights-oriented organized and militant actions, globally. In the West specifically, resistances to a consumerist and suburban conformist public torpor, reliant on gender and racial stratifications, were part of this deeper hostility to the global order.

The desires and expectations of the Protesters and their outcomes in conflict with the adversary were apparent in the Civil Liberties Movement. The adversary suppressed the Protests about the Vietnam War. The Protesters’ belief that this need for protest was a matter for the Government to take seriously, in terms of attracting debate and interest, was ill-founded. In this, as in many other matters, they instead found indifference, hostility and suppression as common to the adversary’s responses. The civil libertarians’ aspirations and expectations countered perspectives represented in the dominant orientation and widely shared. Their confrontations intensified conflicts since the Protesters’ outlooks evidently had no utilitarian or material value.

The Brisbane Protest in the C.L.M. needed explanation by reference to expectations created and publicised elsewhere in the world. Importantly these “foreign” sources reflected battles much greater than just those concerned with civil liberties. In these deeper concerns they paralleled those of the anti-war Protesters in Brisbane with whom there was, in leading personnel, extensive overlap. The protest style, growing not only

amongst Afro-Americans but also amongst Caucasians in America, was already reflected in the important Protests in N.S.W. for civil rights and in the women's Protests about unequal treatment. Civil liberties were couched for the radical romantic post-totalitarians in these perspectives. However there appeared, in Brisbane, no group who simply adopted a perspective that these were normal democratic rights which were just idiosyncratically neglected, which might well have reflected a post-totalitarian outlook. The Trade Unions were by far the most significant allies, although they were neither initiators nor key protagonists and so they were also evidence of an idiosyncratic public sphere by the singularity of their support.

The C.L.M. activists found few other allies — it was students just as students in other countries had initiated waves of protests. In Brisbane however, the waves less readily spread into broader contentions. Even the large numbers of students who turned out in September 1967 never returned to such events about this issue. Yet the Civil Liberties march stamped a characteristic outlook on the Brisbane Protests which remained, although transformed significantly, into very different, if still related, understandings. This radical liberalism infused with a rather eclectic Catholic radicalism, and espoused also by American immigrant proselytisers, had characteristic social formation expressions in an open-ended series of movements, inclusive in structure and applying immanent critique with emphases on conscience, moral debate, cultural matters and non-violence. These features describe much of the Brisbane Protests. They remained as a presence, even as it was overlain with this libertarianism and types of Marxism and feminism. This core outlook created a distance from the great extremes typifying the new left in other parts of the world.

It was this continuity with liberalism and the cultural discourse embedded in the Newman influence and the reliance on the university for transmission of radical ideas, as well as the reality of local fundamentalism and the claims of Indigenous orientated precursors to the cultural critique of colonialism, which ensured that a mainstream in the Brisbane Protests remained intellectually amenable to European Romantic cultural critique and analysis. While the C.L.M.'s success was doubtful in terms of a committed solidarity and, needless to say, changed legislation, it initiated mass open political activism as part of growing tendencies to other forms of youthful and political defiance, subdued as these still were in Brisbane and even Australia, if less so in the Cold War period more generally.

The Anti-War movement was the political centre of the Brisbane Protest movements, understood, in the narrowest sense, as disputes with those in government. At the level of political opposition, it triggered much of the initial ferment and remained a running sore of the Protest movement, even if culturally deep-rooted and stratified groups eventually demonstrated greater continuity. It created the greatest amount of Protest literature, as well as numbers of meetings and marches. It led to direct and violent clashes of the most politically adventurous and openly hostile form.

Finally, the loss of public support for the war and Conscription having influenced, yet without success, two Federal elections, by the third it became a critical factor in Whitlam's ascent to power — after the labour movement had been unrepresented at the Federal Government level for 25 years. At that point a confluence of post-totalitarianism, and radical Romantic post-totalitarianism with the latter only apparently very much in the background and the former realising and re-interpreting its critical character into politically digestible form, occurred.

In accepting the Anti-War Movement's crucial importance, the thesis has engaged the national level of politics very specifically. The Protesters' engagement of the national tradition of opposition to Conscription for overseas service, which reflected again the way ideology and nation were fundamentally entwined in Australia, was significant. Strong feelings attached to war and Conscription and had done so in the past. Therefore, whereas the C.L.M. found few local allies, the Anti-War Movement, which was activated by a moderately similar cohort found instead both alliance and strong competition with in a broad national movement.

Most importantly, this stance of the radical Brisbane Protesters, amongst others within the Australian anti-war movement, challenged the national identity and required of the labour movement a profound shift away from simple reliance on the Americans, to something akin to asserting a notion of independence. However, they insisted, all should understand the real meaning of the war. In the deepest moments of this ideological solidification, some of the Protesters appeared to temporarily embrace Maoist popular Romanticism. Yet there were surviving characteristics of radical liberalism and cultural radicalism of great strength which proved more inventive, elastic and dynamic in the Brisbane Protests as the following

discussion shows. However the shift to include Marxism of greatly varying complexity occurred, some of it enriched the perspectives of the Anti-War Movement. Yet often there went with it, a degree of ideological solidification as there was competition with those in the Moratorium Movement who wanting short-term electoral outcomes, articulated different intentions. The libertarians remained a powerful force as well, but they also had solidified in opposition to the plethora of new radical groups and the quest to harness the Protests for electoral advantage. Nevertheless, the broader more radical views emerged well before the competition in the Moratorium Movement, which nevertheless indicated a sea-change and greater differences especially within the Anti-War Movement. These differences were fractious and deep and created solidified groups who expressed strong opposition to each other, at the core of which was a dispute about the relevance of incremental change, which apparently the solidified groups thought could be solved by ideological intensity and narrowly defined organizations of male dominated organizations. These intensely ideological fractures were less typical of the long-term culturally stratified.

The Anti-War Protests lasted through the seven years as a consistent force. This Movement meant that Protesters' attention to these involvements might easily have impinged on other choices of lifestyle and outlook, not to mention other campaigns. While it was no means just this Movement that led to life-style choices in the inner suburbs and the thesis produces no data that, in fact, that proves it, such longer-term commitments were likely to have led to choices about where and with whom the Protesters lived. Such changes evidently affected changing tastes in music or new tastes for cultural products, which challenged the mainstream. Foco offered an example of this kind of impact in this context. The idea of creative script re-workings, theatre-in-the-round, discussion of ideas, country and Protest music, European theatre and political themes balanced with disco and other more commercial activities, meant that the Protesters created a very original environment for the arts — which in Brisbane's philistine and fundamentalist environment was real resistance. These activities, while subject to Protester politicisation and inevitably political suppression, very clearly defined the Brisbane Protests as a critical and intelligent cultural movement.

This activity again points to a diversity of influences and openness of outlook, which characterised much of their activities. Of course elsewhere, especially in Europe, Marxism, literature and theatre had clear connections, and the C.P.A. in Australia had developed

new theatre. In Brisbane, the contribution of young Communist trade unionists to Foco was very significant. Culture proved a common ground but in Brisbane such cultural developments were rare and reflected the local needs and abilities and the growing depth of the movement as well as the new tailoring of culture to suburban conformities.

This was not solidification but experimental and creative and was a feature of the diversity of Protests and perhaps their distance from the epicentres of cultural production such as they were and even distance from the greater political nationalism found Sydney and Melbourne. This was a local, provincial response.

The thesis has shown how the Brisbane Protesters generated a number of the anti-suburban movements. These included cultural statements about the relationship between private life and engagement in the public sphere and about the means and content of cultural production and consumption. The Protesters lived in a distinct part of Brisbane, pursued a distinctive lifestyle and shared an inner suburban location. These inner suburbs had distinct town planning and domestic structures, which underlined the challenges to the intersection between the private and public and in a way somewhat specific to Brisbane living.

These houses were places for experimentation and social and other interactions where those with new values could talk of them and live them out. The Protester occupants shared a location with a forgotten Australia: a non-suburban location. Many of these dwellers had no interest in the Protests but if any did, it was here they were most likely to live. It is difficult to gauge how architecture influences attitudes, and it does not create ideologies, but there was a Romantic core to the house on stilts with veranda that many comment about. Were the options of shelter, dark and dingy, wet and cold, (as possible in places like Sydney and Melbourne), the consciousness in the minds of Protesters about what needed to be changed might well have been different. Inner-city environments here were not only unlike those more inhospitable environments elsewhere but also had spaces that linked public and private easily. Householders created different interactions, new possibilities social failures and difference. However the interest in life style alternatives, the idea of the cultural as a (resistant) way of life, which the Brisbane Protesters shared with other contemporaneous movements, also had strong appeal as a Romantic domesticity in these circumstances.



Given the particularly strong connection between Protesters and the University in Brisbane revealed in the thesis it is not surprising that the decision to confront the University therefore raised a clear dilemma in the minds of some Protesters. It was recognised by some as an essential source of change so lacking in the local community especially in an organized, and therefore efficacious, form. Some Protesters saw the University's limitations, and, especially the most radical activists pointed to its disciplinary role within a larger political purpose of the adversary. These Protesters saw the hand of the capitalist state in the University's cultural and administrative *modus operandi*. Others with greater connection to it and its purposes — educational as well as certificating — saw its imminent demise as dangerous to any ongoing resistance and especially to their own engagement in such activity. No other work place offered these possibilities and nowhere as much as in Queensland in particular. Their attention to issues of autonomy, pedagogy, content of courses, structures and practices of the administration was an attempt at immanent critique, just as the civil liberties discussions had been. As the thesis has shown, difference was never more clear in the Brisbane Protests than around the formation of the Romantic University Movement, which implied the Romantic other, rather than a simple sterile mirror of working class ideology to replace the 'bourgeois' one. Again the Brisbane Protests interestingly showed a proclivity to find the cultural and intellectual as relevant. Typical also of the mainstreams of the University-led Brisbane Protest was an open, eclectic, inclusive and broad-based unity which emphasised participation rather than ideological purity. It was a method of immanent critique of culture.

The Romantic University Movement was notable in Australia for producing a 300 odd page book called *Up the Right Channels*. This did not have the culture of solidification typical of the times but a ribald masculine Australian anti-authoritarianism, with cartoons, interspaced with "obscenities" of which Australian working class vernacular was rich. Approximate to each other were expressions of shallow male sexuality and quotations from Gramsci, and this again underscored its eclecticism in the general field of the Romantic. It was Romantic particularly because of its consistent opposition to science (but more particularly technology) and the scientific method in the social sciences.

Finally, the thesis has argued that the anti-stratification movements add another perspective on the characteristics of the Brisbane Protests which suggests distinctive

qualities within solidarity: in gender difference; in commitment; in length and depth of patterns of resistance and tendencies to formation of a specific identity. These identities were resistant to a wide range of oppressive environments and institutions and had strong experiential associations since stratification existed over long periods and involved established lifestyles. Those in these stratifications were either denigrated or artificially ennobled. The solidarity in these movements was constructed in terms of these general experiences by people, in some senses removed partially from their traditional cultural roots or practices due to rationalisation and modernisation in communities. These produced the most prolonged and continuing resistances, well past the Whitlam Government period, which followed and, so readily, connected to the period under study. The thesis shows how both the Indigenous and the feminist movements had these characteristics of deeper solidarity and historical continuity.

In both cases the spread of ideas through schools and Universities was rapid. In the Women's Movement there was an attendant flourishing intellectual movement, while the Indigenous referred to the work of other Indigenous, the anti-colonial movements and the ideas and practices of the American Afro-American. These intellectual flourishings added to the cultures of particularity and universalism and both adopted a balance of these perspectives. In regard to particularity some, such as the Black Panthers, as did radical feminists, of whom there appeared fewer in Queensland due to a necessary breadth of focus, turned to solidification, by exclusion of men with whom difference, as well as occasionally, adversarial relationships operated. This however was less common with these anti-stratification movements despite endemic problems that arise from dealing with the reality of cultural, racial and gender-specific stratification. Generally the most rapid capitulation to this solidification occurred to those who had neither the benefit of membership of long established cultures now with resistant outlooks nor of the University cultures which permitted expression of critical ideas but who rather found sustenance in organizations with strongly binding ideologies less suited to even quasi-democratic environments, as that of Queensland's — even less suited because of this pervasive authoritarianism. Those most denied vehicles of any critical expression solidified most quickly or turned to behaviours inimical to wider communication.

The thesis notes this reoccurring pattern of ideological solidification and its ultimately short-term prognosis, while noting that the more successful broader-based campaigns

avoided this ideological retreat and instead looked for what seemed appropriate and more universal strategies. While often these groups retained important critical perspectives, they suffered the possibility of locking into an ideological cocoon of false solidarity devoid of the solutions to their own problems but highly expressive of these on an immediate level.

In reflecting on the specific nature of the Brisbane Protests, the thesis has analysed five broad groups of movements as representing the diverse concerns of the Brisbane Protests. They shared a time and place and an adversary and orientations upon which they focused different criticisms. They were all grass-roots movements, while some aspects of their activities integrated periodically with the political interests of mainstream organizations such as the A.L.P., the Trade Unions and sections of the leadership of the Communist Party of Australia. The lack of local cohorts in Brisbane, with a very few noticeable exceptions, meant the failure of radical or oppositional traditions to devolve into particular forms against an adversary and especially in a political economy almost entirely inimical to the development of such grass-roots movements. Only the Indigenous with their Communist and socialist allies had resisted in the non-urban environments and particularly in the North of Australia where they were tolerated by pastoralism but newly threatened by mining. Women Protesters had begun to initiate actions while the Peace movement depended on a benign combination of youthful male and female and rank and file Communists and socialists. As a consequence, of the largely otherwise closed public sphere University Protesters expressed their shared historical intersections in terms of a pattern of a critique of dehumanising conformity, which had multiple presentations. The thesis has described these as radical Romantic post-totalitarianism

While differences between the Protesters existed and some elements among the Protesters orchestrated behaviours adversarial to the interests of others, the thesis has shown the common drawing on these assorted Romantic traditions. This was evident in their broad concern with the human subject's stereotyping and domination as the root, i.e. the cultural root, upon which oppression rested and with the need to formulate alternative models of human belief, understanding, interaction, and identity. This provided a sufficiently common yet rich format on which to predicate the Protests. The lack of civil liberties, war and conscription, domesticity and culture, gender relations and racial stereotyping offered opportunities to apply these outlooks to real experiences. These outlooks clashed with the hegemonic utilitarian materialism and its attendant economic,

strategic and cultural subservience to a dominant, liberal democratic and global colonising power.

National identity was embedded in 'Americanism' and built around industrialism and materialism. All these movements challenged these. Crude utilitarianism was the dominant hegemony, with the romance of the bush its unique exception. While perspectives in opposition to this utilitarianism were not new in Australia, in so far as they as they had contributed to the national identity, they had few claims to cultural significance nationally or internationally — such as a role in the evolution of Western society — despite a handful of known explorers, artists, and scientists. Rather Australia's white beginnings were inauspicious. However what was shared through national identity was the belief in the benefits of utilitarian materialism through which some assumed a superiority to the crudest self-justifying class cultures of the old world. Yet White Australia often used exaggerated versions of same in its dealings with those who could not or would not conform.

This ideology intensified in the post-war era, with industrialism almost completely supplanting the romance of the bush. So those believing in nature as other than a physical reality, those who had transcendental values or those who looked to cultural expression which aimed to inform and challenge or those who saw artistic and intellectual life as a model of human work and authenticity or activists who privileged the public sphere over the private, or those who were willing to risk strategic security and investment patterns for the concept of independence or those looking to a morally constructed world view or looking to ideals of equality, all these were outsiders unless their interests could be reconstructed in the national material interest as mothering most readily was. The nurture of children was still subordinate to the industrial production, gendering and stratifying this ideology, and when women refused their secondary role as consumers and even as nurturers, their outsider status was confirmed also.

In Queensland, this conflict with the dominant orientations was intensified by the challenge to a pre-industrial dominant class with its new segments aggressively asserting mining interests. While they too might have articulated an opposition through fundamentalism to the dominant orientations, as some in Catholicism did in respect of rural and agricultural livelihoods, the dominant class instead simply shared the materialism and the fundamentalism. This was the peculiar and culturally oppressive accommodation between

two apparently-theoretical opposites. A starker Protestantism was unimaginable since it was unmediated by an understanding of democracy and public life, beyond self-interest. This was possible where the connection between private conscience and the commercial and public was severed, while Irish Catholicism fostered the agricultural as a barrier to corruption, and socialism was racist and anti-intellectual, except to a tiny isolated Communist Party, clinging also to an overseas dominant power.

The modernising potential of the dominant classes nationally, inclusive of expenditure on education and immigration, overrode a more traditional outlook to exploitation of resources typical of the dominant economic forces in Queensland. Yet the lack of a strong core of public groups in intellectual dispute, evident in small degree nationally, was decisive. This intensified the Protesters' reliance on the University as a source of Protest. Furthermore the sense that there was a small town culture and a benign rather than an aggressively industrial stratification evident in terms of housing, created characteristics of the Protests which accentuated the Romantic element of the critique.

The thesis argues that the Protesters, in effect, required generational changes and education processes (which are closely related) rather than being able to rely upon spontaneous, or at least relatively immediate, widespread contention through the public sphere. These changes worked through new parts of the working class, in white-collar areas and the professions. These long-term changes eventually provided for a larger cohort who would support the civil liberties movement and had some identity with modernity.

Nevertheless the apparent disadvantages of a small cohort of Protesters meant that generally they accepted broad tasks for instance both as civil libertarians and feminists, defenders of autonomy of Universities and radical causes for social justice, cultural change and political revolution. It was because of the characteristics of the social environments that this outlook prevailed as well as in the institutional location and social, gender, ethnographic, national class and personal characteristics of the interpreters of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism. The Movements adjusted to the circumstances.

Women and Aborigines, as culturally-stratified outsiders became powerful presences in the years following 1972. The challenges mounted by these groups developed the

fundamental disjunction posed initially, if quite differently, by the anti-imperialist stand of the Anti-War Protesters, against the tenets of the nation's identity, with its fear of the Asian region and reliance on a global imperial power and devotion to industrialism and materialist utilitarianism. Those who had long been culturally stratified within this identity and, in the latter case, perhaps worse than stratified — made invisible — challenged the dominant orientations on these deeper levels. However it was the clash at the level of national identity which was critical to the national dissipation of an hegemonic ideology in the phase under discussion, and it was this which gave greater impetus to the other conflicts at the cultural stratification levels, which nevertheless had independent and separate histories. Racism, and sexism less so were the price of a unified, labour-inclusive national consciousness. These were fundamental to identity. The thesis argues that a synergy occurred, not just of time and place but in outlook and shared Movement orientations, irrespective of deep differences especially connected to the cultural stratified groups and in ideological disputes, at times, even through adversarial relationships.

The thesis then defines the Brisbane Protests as a set of coherent oppositions to State, national and international adversaries variously interlocked, and to a hegemonic world view which internationally saw that good and evil could, at least politically, be reduced to U.S.A v Soviet Union; that national industrial development and therefore racism and sexism, in different ways defining those non-producing, were the cores of national identity along with the reliance of the dominant classes on a submerged and cringing sense of autonomy reinforcing a society with few, other than material, aspirations — not even ones for autonomy. These features of dominant ideology furthermore emphasised consumerism and cultural marketing and suburbanisation in which women were designated a greater role. At a state level, religious fundamentalism and authoritarianism were adequate frameworks to express state, national and international aspirations.

However the rising tide of post-totalitarianism unsettled the Cold War ideology which readily encompassed the dominant hegemony. This slow development of post-totalitarianism was belated in Queensland. While more radical variations of it, in radical Romantic post-totalitarianism in unison with post-totalitarianism created changes in national identity of great significance, in Queensland this radical Romanticism adopted in the hearts and minds of many Protesters represented a broadly inclusive approach to all resistances, including those of the intact and diverse Indigenous cultures who played a

significant role in the Protests. Post-totalitarianism however barely surfaced in a public form in this State.

What, then, of the usefulness of various general theories in dealing with specifics of this kind? While the analysis of the Brisbane Protests has identified a mixture of interrelated social movements, the understanding of which requires not only historical insights but more general theory, the thesis also has shown that social movement theory is insufficient both individually and collectively to analyse these Protests. In addition, by extrapolation and by reference to other general theory, theoretical reflection indicates the need to consider other significant analytic insights. This is much more than a claim to a lack of specificity but rather suggests more general limitations about those social movement theories used in the thesis. These events are better explained either by other general theory or make apparent the theories' lack of sufficient rigour to usefully apply them to the specific cases of the various Movements. This latter failure is not so much because the theories don't fit the circumstances but that their key analytical concepts are not well enough defined to make important distinctions in the analysis of movements. Therefore these failings impinge on this theoretical territory of social movement analyses, suggesting their limitations, both in general terms as well as in the particular movements studied.

The thesis argues social movement theories have not demonstrated their capacity to fully understand these complexities in the case of the Protests and this limitation, given for example, the partial universality of feminist and Indigenous experience of certain oppressions, represents problems at the level of general theory, while other lines of critique also are suggested in the following. These failures are present in attempts to represent the cultural, political and economic jurisdictions which social movement theories hypothesise as causes of particular social movement features but which, in fact, prove significant causes of variation from those social movement analyses.

The Movements tended to have dimensions of solidarity and identity which were fluid. They were both defensive and aggressive in outlook, apparently requiring both. The importance of these qualities just as those capacities of the movements to create internal dialogue demonstrated the value of gendered insights in the analyses. The theories point to these same variations with their own explanations including the proof that such movements should be represented as proof of the influence of democracy, modernity and

post-industrialism rather than evidence that movements were gendered. The traditional and perhaps biologically influenced role of women as nurturers had “different” impacts their expressions in social movements. This is so even if women were as much subject to history as men and if their activities and their quasi-biological proclivities, like men’s, must also be analysed historically and sociologically.

The understanding of cultural stratifications adds to the thesis reflections on solidarity, identity, defensiveness and aggressiveness beyond the question of gender. Other forms of subjugation produced distinctive patterns in this regard with common themes of depth and length of this outsider status appearing useful to better explanation. This account may suggest a route to dispense with biological difference as an explanation given some of its problematic implications but it is not, it seems, the route to re-establish the value of existing social movement theory used by the thesis.

In reviewing the general theory, Tarrow applies best to those societal forces which already have degrees of political representation but he applies less readily to the culturally and therefore politically, highly stratified groups. The problems particularly of the Indigenous require much more complex responses than those that the political system provides. So it is evident in the Anti-War Movement discussed in Chapter 3, and in reforms pertaining to some concerns of the Protesters discussed in Chapter 6 and in Whitlam’s interest in the arts pertinent to Chapter 4, significant mainstream accommodations and political interceptions occurred. Women have advanced but in the process this has deceptively created a glass ceiling leaving the sense that the political system again proved inadequate to responding to the needs of women despite women’s significant representation in politics.

To this extent, Tarrow is relevant, although the circuitous path by which this happened in Queensland is already evidence of the limitation of his perspective except at the national level where, admittedly, his own focus is strongest, despite the more ambit claims he makes about democracies in general which presumably he accepts may be federal or unitary. Furthermore some parts of a culture bury political conflict rendering it taboo. In fact, his claim about democracies seems of limited applicability where public life has largely degenerated and where even national politics is not and never had been argued



through ideologies but rather through national identity largely pertaining to its role in securing material well being.

Because a materialist utilitarianism was endemic in the national identity, (further laced with xenophobia as a mechanism of its legitimisation), contention about independence and roles in world politics was for that reason likely to spread very slowly. It spread within the post-totalitarian rather than just a class, spectrum of outlooks. Not surprisingly this conflict intensified when Protesters concerned with conscience, culture, rights and activism, identity, justice and world equity became a force in the Moratorium Movement. This is not the spread of dissent that Tarrow envisages and the mainstream competitors had to accommodate a significant quotient of this influence rather than accommodating a version of their own orientations with very limited appeal to the more radical groups. These Protests at the national level created an atypical outcome. As the thesis argued the process did not collapse into typical democratic disputes but atypical ones hostile to widely accepted and bi-partisan views of national identity which had previously mapped out the agreed paths by which industrial growth was secured. This created a cultural crisis at the national level which Tarrow could not understand by referring it to variations in national political processes. Tarrow's theory of democracy is a European one, where politics is more volatile and defined by class ideologies and it relies on the pressure of a livelier and ideologically enriched public sphere not the slow welling up of a cultural shift, if temporary, in identity. His theories are problematic in historically anti-intellectual and non-doctrinal politics which are contrary to assumptions within his theory of the universal patterns of democracies; let alone the problems their applicability creates where the public sphere was almost obliterated by fundamentalism, and even modern ideologies were not culturally and politically represented in the public domain

Furthermore, the deep-seated inequalities that the thesis studies also have a cultural dimension into which Tarrow's political process theory is unable to make analytical inroads. These movements, discussed in Chapter 6, are the most pervasive and attract the deepest solidarity and the longest-term resistance. Rather than resolving differences through the political process the possibility remains that these movements, despite their ebb and flow, may also transform political discourse as to suggest their influence is much deeper than Tarrow allows. The Mabo decision exemplifies this argument, as do greater rates of female participation in the Australian Parliament, or bi-partisan support for sex

discrimination legislation. These movements retain a basic intractable character which is cultural and underscores a deeper criticism which does not, as Tarrow assumes, prove that capitalism generates inequalities but rather that as an industrial, utilitarian and materialist culture it cannot incorporate some human aspirations — a perspective which Habermas explores, if also problematically. Movements that challenge national identities or cultural stratifications fall outside Tarrow's scope. Australia's peculiar lack of autonomy adds another level of complexity to the question of political processes since he also assumes such a characteristic of autonomy is present.

Melucci suggests that the post-war social movements, that come after that of the new left, including the women's movement, were distinctively new. However his emphases on culture and the individual codes of personality and behaviour as creators of resistances were emphases that radical Romantic post-totalitarians encompassed. Drawing on both Gandhi and King, who represented racial and cultural stratifications with deep histories well outside the ambit of post-industrial societies, this radical Romantic post-totalitarianism encompassed cultural challenge, if not in these particularly cases in the sense of articulating an emerging new societies' ongoing creative production of codes. Yet these contradictory cultural resistances of Gandhi and King the Protesters interpreted as new possibilities implicit in university and cultural production. Their alternatives parallel Melucci's formulation of post-industrial movements' outlooks.

These activists responded to historical changes especially in sociological structures in suburbia, technological threats, and the Pill, with the articulation of the need for individual rights, conscience, and for new domesticity. Such responses were cultural or code-orientated expressions yet Melucci's view of post-industrialism would not include Australia's or Brisbane's circumstances even if he articulates the relevance of international influences. These Protester conflicts were predicated on the conflicts that industrialism created with values and traditions: conflicts closer to Habermas' perspective than Melucci's. Melucci, furthermore, excludes the new left from such an expression of post-industrialism yet the Brisbane Protest were closer to these "post-industrial" (actually Romantic) expressions while being the most distant, in fact, from the realities of a post-industrial culture and economy. Furthermore Melucci represents open identities as the province of (educated) youth but this does not explain those more widely found in cultural stratifications, even if youth within these stratifications were still particularly moved to

identity shifts, as the research has suggested. He manages to implicitly dismiss the concept of solidification of identity by dismissing the Italian and other new left's solidification as industrial in origins or as at best in between industrial and post-industrial. While the thesis does not study a post-industrial environment nor can it readily extrapolate into these environments, Meucci's concept of identity should more clearly define why such outcomes of solidification are not just as likely in such societies.

Melucci's definition of post-industrial societies' cultural orientations, tangentially apply to post-colonial societies such as Australia. Cultures of assimilation, subservience, sexism and marginalisation were constantly used. Furthermore, the Brisbane feminists, Indigenous and others exemplified his understanding of identity and the inner world of movements especially in relation to their new concerns with values, individual needs, and collective identities. Yet he makes no connection between the depth of this inner dimension and the history of stratification. His world is the 'avant-garde' world of educated youth in this particular case of the Brisbane Protests demonstrated a gendered, but complex inner space which has strong connection to an anti-war movement and national identities which, like race and gender movements, appear to respond to a ubiquitous cultural/political and economic oppression separate from the codes of post-industrialism.

The richness of Habermas' definitions of communication under ideal conditions produces a standard from which to judge social movements' potentials in modern societies. Habermas' critical understanding of modernity and its challenges prove relevant but problematic in societies where deep divisions, including cultural genocide by modernising forces must preclude, at some levels, simple ready acceptance of joining the discourse of modernity, much as Habermas recognises colonisation of the 'life-world' operates in tandem with rationalisation. Yet rationalisation evident say in the concept of assimilation which is the work-horse of modernity in Habermas, creates such disjunctions, that it means that those culturally stratified by it chose a variety of autonomous and traditional identities. These they inevitably in various ways defended and consolidated. While in principle this may not be any more ideal than the solidification of which Habermas is also critical, it may indeed be necessary to psychological survival. Social movements must surely be protective of their cohort without being tagged defensive. Again Habermas proves over-prescriptive, if also powerfully reminding the analyst that such a standard of movement activity implied in 'modernity' must be established in a broad direction if a

general solution is to be realised. It is the over prescription of his theory of modernity which ensures it cannot describe social movements in action yet rather brilliantly locates them on the boundaries between life-world and system as potentials. But while potentials within an intellectual structure, they less readily conform as part products and survivors of those contradictory realities which require both defence and attack under pressures that eventuate from disputes in that location especially those in regard to long term cultural stratification. Those such as Lilla Watson and Pastor Don Brady as well as Tribal Council used both defence and attack. It is possible that Habermas' response is both in gender- and culture-occluded.

Yet Habermas' insights help us understand the reason for the Brisbane Protests' achievements when the model of the eclectic, open-ended, culturally-rich and less ideological movement styles operated within the Protests. The potential of an intellectually strong movement derived from Romanticism is partly consistent with his own beliefs. Further his assertion of the need for balance this source of inspiration with that of the Enlightenment is suggestive of some of the Brisbane Protests' intellectual limitations. This criticism may apply to the stratification movements as well since they do have eventually to find common ground with a wider majority to be fully successful. Habermas therefore proves of some value but not sufficiently to be

However Habermas likewise introduces analysis and critique over burdened with theoretical deliberation. While the breadth of his comments in the assertion that social movements operate on the borders of life-world and system in modernising societies is the best and simplest explanation of movements of the Brisbane Protests they cannot be interpreted as he seems to do in terms of a simple dichotomy of regressive and aggressive movements. Here theorising oversimplifies and denies not only the reality of ethnographic enclaves and the need to include certain of their requirements that may have even the requirement for generational changes embedded in them. Habermas has particularly in the case of women to deal with their claims to inherent differences with men which have material causes and may in a sense represent a more trenchant "ethnography" of gender; one which is contrary to the concept of modernity. While this perhaps is overly critical in that Habermas generally sees dialectical processes at work in change, it is not clear how his ideas will work in these circumstances yet without his concepts of universality these groups also cannot acquire justice and freedom.

Race in particular is so much a matter of class and identity, that the accepted divisions, as between new and older social movements and attendant theoretical debate predicated on differentiating movements concerned with identity rather than labour especially institutional labour's quest to redivide the economic pie, are made problematic. Feminism also suggests new dimensions in the style, character and resource bases of social movements, forcing the theorising of domiciliary and town-planning structures and cultures as pertinent to the resources of particular stratifications especially. While women were excluded from labour-based conflict they used other opportunities, in many ways less constrained and enriched by this exclusion to further their claims.

Feminism reveals this complexity of understanding by reference to resources not just to the male-female difference and patriarchy, but to the wider, if still then, partly-gendered, disjuncture between the public and private for which 'the political versus the cultural' in social movement theory needs additional anchoring as does the argument about identity and solidarity since the character of these cultural/material structures impinges on those theoretical disjunctions yet is occluded in them, and so therefore is the understanding of movements .

There appears to be a distinctive social territory, which social movements occupy which makes their variability inevitable, especially in their roots in cultural stratification, in the related dynamics of their openness and intransigence, the variability of their resources and in their adversaries their orientations towards even quasi democratic and national types and particularly their relationship to historical frames. Movements reflect not just ideas but the capacity to deal with their socially allotted space intelligently. While all these too might be further theorised, such understandings are lacking in various ways in the social movement theories chosen in the analytic model.

In conclusion then the Brisbane Protests were part of a tributary of post-totalitarian sentiment in the post war era. Their version of it as radical Romantic post-totalitarianism was a global perspective held by deeply varying groups of outsiders both to mainstream politics and the dominant global framework of the Cold War. The Protesters had this global anti-colonial, anti-industrialism and anti materialism cultural consciousness which in Australia relied on the stimulation of conflicts about national identity due to the

commitment to the War and Conscription. The broad consciousness was retained in the Brisbane Protests due to the benefits of this diffuse set of outlooks' translation through the filter of intellectual discussion and concomitant openness and inclusiveness. This was achieved in the face of an oppressive environment with a modernising culture growing within it but with little organized advocacy of it in the public sphere. Yet this isolation of outsiders from post-totalitarian sentiment or from other traditions which were consistent with it, meant therefore their mutual reliance was required which was aided by several significant University staff and other student voices and the less ideologically-narrow outlooks of the Indigenous, women and radical workers. Various streams of radical Romantic post-totalitarianism developed while differences also emerged between the eclectic post-totalitarians and those with strongly and largely political anti-bureaucratic and anti-capitalist sentiments as well as with both some of the former and the latter with those with solidifying black identities as well as other differences between men and women about patriarchy. Yet almost all in the Brisbane Protests remained still partially open to the potential of radical new understandings of the post-totalitarian world influenced by the various currents of radical Romanticism.



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A.J.P.H. *Australian Journal of Politics and History*

ANTaR Australians for Reconciliation and Native Title.

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## PRIMARY SOURCES

### ABBREVIATIONS

B.C.N.D.	Brisbane Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
C.L.C.C.	Civil Liberties Co-ordinating Committee
C.P.A.	Communist Party of Australia
I.A.I.M.	Indigenous autonomous identities movement
L.A.G.	Labour Action Group
O.P.	O'Neill, Dan, Papers, Boxes 1 to 13 Fryer Library (Univ. of Q'ld)
R.S.A.	Revolutionary Socialist Alliance
R.S.S.A.	Revolutionary Socialist Students Alliance
R.S.P.	Revolutionary Socialist Party
S.H.A.C.	Socialist Humanist Action Committee
S.D.A	Society for Democratic Action
T.P.	Thompson, Michel, Papers, Boxes 1-14 Fryer Library, (Univ. of Q'ld)
U.A.W.	Union of Australian Women
U.R.C.	<i>Up the Right Channels</i> (O'Neill et al.) 1970
U.W.P.	Union of Australian Women, Papers, Boxes 1-8, Fryer Library (Univ. of Q'ld)

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