

LOTS WIFE

Vol. XII, No. 10 Monash Newspaper, Monday, June 5, 1972.





What did you do today kid? Oh, I planted some cabbages for the revolution.

It all began with a meeting of some two hundred people earlier this year. They set up a loose unstructured sort of society known as the Communal Living Society, dedicated to spreading the possibility of an alternative way of life... where the possibilities inherent in the human soul, possibilities which the western capitalist system stifle and distort, can be fully developed. The Society consists of people who are interested in the social and ecological implications of organic gardening, people who want only to create a reasonable standard for the food they eat, people who just like soil and earthworms, people who are involved in looking at new ways of medicine, education and religion, communards, political freaks, feminists, ... and a number of odds and sods who just like the company and the dope.

Man is not a thing, yet contemporary man is being treated as if he were an object, a non-person. The majority, as we know, react to their dehumanisation with apathy. A few respond with efforts to destroy the society, and

usually end up being themselves destroyed. However increasing numbers, although often unsure and confused, are actively concerned with thinking about and acting towards the creation of humane and viable alternatives to our dehumanising society, ... alternatives that may exist, do exist and will come into being.

We see a shift of the centre of attention away from the struggle to exist to the struggle to live. More specifically, a shift from the making, acquiring and consuming of things to the discovering, fostering and developing of human relationships. We are concerned and committed to giving power to the person power to stand against the dehumanising pressures of the corporate state; power to choose; power to feel and experience, as well as to have a developed consciousness and rationality; power to be as well as to become; power to give and love, as well as to produce and consume; power to take responsibility for one's own life, and further as the last Whole Earth Catalog states — "Power of the individual to conduct his own education, find his

own inspiration, shape his own environment and share his adventures with whoever is interested."

We start with our own efforts to become more humane, involving ourselves in the process of self-change and growth. From this we reach out, helping others to achieve their own development by providing tools. By helping them to meet people, by just letting them know that alternatives are possible that they do exist.

At this point we want to focus primarily on communal living, as we see this as the core social form and lifestyle of an alternative society. The purpose of communal living is to create a situation where adults and children can live more intimately and humanely in a cohesive, face to face primary group; an emotionally close fundamental human living unit, living in a more natural state; and where the program is the discovery of our true selves and the need for new relationships.

We seek specifically to: a) discuss the nature of social and material alternatives; this will primarily be through the media of

public lectures and discussion groups involving people interested and active within the alternative society, and co-operating with any group similarly concerned. b) help people who wish to become involved by:

- holding weekend conferences and communes where such people can meet each other.
- using the magazine we have produced as a point of contact
- helping people get in contact with others through the creation of a telephone and referral centre.
- an information-collecting collating and disseminating centre voluntarily staffed and financed.
- a list of people available with specialised knowledge, who are prepared to offer their services to needy persons.

We are holding a Forum on **WEDNESDAY 7th JUNE** at 1.00 in the Alex. There are going to be speakers on various related subjects and question periods. Please come along and have a listen and maybe contribute a few ideas. We think we're on to something worthwhile and we want you to be in it.

BLACK EMBASSY

Early this year on the 26th February an Aboriginal Embassy was set up in Canberra. It takes the form of a tent situated on the lawns of Parliament House.

When it was established, one of the officials of the embassy told a reporter that the support for the embassy had been fantastic. He showed the reporter a number of international telegrams welcoming the establishment of the Embassy.

One of the telegrams was from Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, and another from an Australian working in a London store who got his English workmates to sign a joint letter, in order to establish the Embassy's international status.

The Embassy has a list of demands which has at its head "Full state rights to the Northern Territory under Aboriginal ownership and control with all titles to minerals etc."

The Embassy has become a centre of world wide publicity and has become a symbol of black resistance throughout Australia.

With the extreme cold of the Canberra winter coming into sight, some reorganisation is seen as being necessary. The Embassy staff, which is to be cut down to four, are being vaccinated to withstand any illnesses which they may contract as a result of the Canberra cold. They are asking supporters to forward financial donations to keep the Embassy operating, and also for warm clothing (particularly overcoats, balaclavas and gloves), blankets, stretchers and beds, and safe, second-hand kero heaters suitable for tents. The Embassy aims to contribute any finance raised above their needs to community projects and in particular to the Aboriginal Children's Breakfast Programme now operating in Newtown, Sydney. The aim of the Embassy was to develop awareness among urban Aborigines in particular of black nationalism and to unite all Aborigines despite cultural or language difficulties in the fight for their rights.

Their concept of black nationalism included support and solidarity with other oppressed national groups and with working class struggles in general.

Embassy officials said that they thought it was essential for the Embassy to continue at the focus of black commitment to the struggle and to prevent anybody saying that Aborigines did not have the staying power for such an enterprise during the Canberra winter.

The Embassy would also help co-ordination of struggles on a national scale around such projects as the Moratorium for Black Rights due to be held on July 14th. Black Community Projects, awareness programmes, etc.

Michael Anderson, former High Commissioner at the Embassy had indicated that he wished to devote his energies to a Voter Registration campaign amongst rural aborigines in N.S.W. to raise awareness there.

Any donations of any kind would be extremely welcome and can be sent to Sammy Watson Junior, c/- Aboriginal Embassy, Parliament House Lawns, Canberra

Catalyst

SOCIALIST FORUM A.G.M.

The Socialist Forum was conceived at the end of last year and was initiated by a meeting of representatives of all left-wing political factions which was held at Jim Falk's house during the vacation.

They thought it might be an answer to the present disintegration of "the left" at Monash into separate and often antagonistic factions and that it could provide an open forum in which members of the left and those who wished to know more about socialism could discuss what their differences were and what they held in common.

The Socialist Forum was set up with an interim committee with their first job being to organise activities and recruiting for Orientation Week and to hold a meeting in the 1st week of 1st term at which a new executive would be elected. The frame of reference was:

"the Socialist Forum will begin by organising left-wing speakers,

films, debates, forums, etc., and will hold regular general meetings. Students will pay a membership fee of 50c to join the Forum. The Forum will hold no control over its members or over other socialist groups on campus. All left-wing students and staff whether members of other clubs or not, will be urged to join."

So far the Socialist Forum has conducted regular weekly lunchtime meetings attended by about 100 people, which have brought some current controversial issues into the open (University Council, Uastash in Australia, Teachers Strikes, De-Schooling etc.)

The Socialist Forum could continue to operate at this level but it is proposed that the time is ripe to expand to an action footing. The A.G.M. will be held next Thursday in the Rotunda and discussion will be introduced by Jim Falk and Frank Burden. All members and potential members should come.

G. Gadston

ENSEMBLE DANCE AT MONASH

The Alexander Theatre on Saturday June 10th, is the place and time booked for the final performance of the 1972 season of the exciting and talented Ensemble Dance Theatre.

This amateur, and very non-profit company was formed to fill the considerable need of talented and creative young dancers, choreographers and technicians for involvement in Ballet, at an organised theatrical level. Because the yearly intake of the professional Ballet companies is limited, and the step to full-time theatrical involvement too great for most dancers, many talented young dancers achieving high grades in their Ballet Schools are left without a creative outlet, once they reach the age of 17 or 18 years, and it is for these that the Ensemble Dance Theatre was created.

The Theatre has since made a

place for itself in Melbourne under the leadership of Producer Director William Carse, well known for his work with the National Theatre Ballet as Principal Dancer and Choreographer-Producer.

Four short ballets will be presented in the Classical style of which the highlight will be "Street of Fools", a character Ballet choreographed by William Carse. The lead role of Melisande, a clown with high ambitions, is danced by Jeanette Buskens, who also choreographs "The Seventh Hour, O Feathered Serpent". This dramatic ballet which is based on Aztec ritual, tells of the selection of a maiden for sacrifice by the god Quetzacoatl.

Experience this polished performance of classical ballet on the 10th. Student concession only \$1.00.

Yoland Wadsworth



CHOIR

Countertenors wanted... The newly forming Monash Chapel Singers can make use of any countertenors that may be around the university at the moment. Two of the motets and anthems c., the first programme call for countertenor singing. Frequently such parts are sung by the alto section of the choir and this in turn requires occasional arrangement of the vocal line. Apart from the question of authenticity of performance such adaptation gives rise to, the absence of countertenor singing in Tudor music diminishes the internal fire of these works and dampens the timbre of the tonal structure created by these great composers. If you are a countertenor contact the Chaplain Office in the Union and enquire about the choral programme.

HITCHIN

Plans are being made to collect and study pedestrian and motorist suggestions concerning the hitchhiker syndrome which is plaguing Monash roads. An official statement of the problem and a possible solution as seen by the Safety Committee is being drawn up at present to be placed before the university to stimulate further ideas. At least hitch-hikers and motorists should start thinking about their own reactions and to what extent they would conform to a generally-accepted proposal intended to maximise the probability of the survival of people and machinery using our roads. Watch for developments. Your Safety Committee Representative is Ross Gawler. He has a letter-box in the M.A.S. offices so that he can effectively represent YOU.

EDUCATION

TALK AND ACTION



JACKSON AND ILLICH ON "QUALITY OF AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION"

The two international "big names" invited to the recent AUS Education Conference had considerable impact on the participants, but were remarkably different in style and approach. Brian Jackson, of Cambridge University, addressed a public session at the beginning of the conference, while Ivan Illich, of the Centre for Intercultural Documentation at Cuernavaca in Mexico, gave the final address to close the conference.

Jackson is best known for his *Education and the Working Class*, first published in 1962. His Melbourne address echoed the theme of the book, in a devastating critique of the treatment accorded the working class child by the English education system. He spelled out in harsh detail the workings of the "filter" techniques used to ensure that working class children will not survive in the educational race: wealth, irrelevant curricula, and examinations. Somewhat disappointingly, Jackson's "solutions," the steps he proposes as means of remedying the present scandalous situation, seemed modest in the extreme. Admittedly, he begins from the assumption that English society is so conservative that vast and radical social change is inherently impossible. He may well be right in this. However, Jackson's claim that pleas for radical educational reform are little more than conscience-salving rhetoric seemed somewhat gratuitous. In the latter part of his address, Jackson gave the distinct impression of performing a massive "cop-out." Finally, despite the large number of questions addressed to him, Jackson seemed to make virtually no effort to understand what his questioners were getting at, or to answer them. Perhaps he was simply not prepared to find more radical educational thinking in Australia than in Britain.

Illich's address on Saturday night was an extraordinary occasion. Those of us who had met Illich on Friday night were already aware of the incredible warmth and dynamism of the man's personality, which was very evident indeed as he moved around talking to small groups at supper. Astonishingly, these same qualities came through in the vastly different atmosphere of a mass audience packed into Wilson Hall. Somehow, Illich managed to turn this situation into a "conversation" between people interested in each other's ideas. One could not help thinking that this was the rare phenomenon of

"charisma" at work. Illich gave a very short formal address, then devoted the rest of the time (some two hours) to answering questions from members of the audience.

It would be quite impossible to do justice to Illich's thought by attempting to summarise the points he made. His thinking is so novel, dense, and concentrated that it must be pondered at leisure. For this reason, I can only urge readers to study the transcript of Illich's remarks (to be published by AUS in the form of Conference Proceedings). One of his earliest comments in his address was an observation that the present moment is probably one of the few times in the history of thought when it is possible to ask new questions. Illich's ideas certainly call for a new way of thinking, and this is possibly why he is having such an impact, even though the business of coming to terms with his approach is a most demanding enterprise.

Several peripheral points can be made about Illich's Melbourne address. It is quite clear that his thought is constantly developing. The major themes from his books are still there: the economic impossibility of providing universal education in schools, the profound mistrust of institutions (schools, churches, professions) because they so easily distort the human ends they claim to serve, the need to realise when we must say "No" to development and technology. But there are significant new emphases. For example, Illich was at pains to point out that "deschooling" is an unfortunate term. The social approach he stands for cannot be adequately summarised as simply a movement to abolish schools. The notion of "a deschooled society" is much more profound and far-reaching than this, and academic critics who are inclined to dismiss Illich by heaping scorn on the idea of abolishing schools would be well advised to try to go a little more deeply into Illich's thought than this.

It was intriguing to watch the procession of questioners on Saturday night, and to try to characterize them. They were mostly quite young (mid-twenties), and I think they could fairly be called the marginal academics, the people on the fringe of the academic educational establishment: Dip. Ed. students and young teachers who know the classroom and the university at first hand, have been formed by these institutions, bear their stamp, profoundly experience their distorting effect, and yet "hang on in there" because they see no other way. The external symbols of mild radicalism — the long hair, the beards, the love-beads, the simple but freaky clothes and ornaments — were there in abundance. One had the impression that these were the young people who would ask Illich's new questions; turned off by the old world enshrined in school and university, they wanted to think in a new way. (Incidentally, the questioners did not seem typical of the audience: I had the impression that the audience was considerably older and more "established" than the small number who went up to ask questions.)

Understandably, the questions centred on what one discussion-group leader characterised as the "Monday morning syndrome": "OK, Dr. Illich, I dig your ideas, I buy your analysis of schools and society: they're a bad scene, and we've got to find another way, but what do I do in my English class next week?" Illich was naturally reticent about giving specific replies to such questions: this is an existential problem that each person has to grapple with in his own pragmatic situation. However, Illich did say quite a lot about practical action and life-style, and his remarks on this subject warrant close attention.

Illich's thinking tends to provoke either adulation or scorn, the latter usually from the elite of the academic educational establishment. Yet they are powerful ideas that cannot be lightly dismissed. I am sure that most of us who experienced a personal encounter with the man's extraordinary charisma are more convinced than ever of the need to grapple with his thought, and learn his new way of thinking. It is an endeavour that I heartily recommend.

Terry Quinn

SECONDARY STUDENTS STRIKE

Last Wednesday, the Victorian secondary school students decided that they had had enough of trying to put up with their education system silently. So far, although they have been the majority victims of the system of education, they have been the least demonstrative. Up till now, the extremely impressive repertoire of sanctions available to headmasters has "persuaded" potential secondary school protesters to think better of it. Evidently, these persuasive powers no longer impress so much. Over 2000 school kids attended a strike meeting and march through the city that made similar occasions by their older confreres look decidedly low key.

The most startling aspect of the whole occasion was political maturity and sense of group solidarity that was shown. Talking to various groups of students, it became very apparent that they were aware of the political problems that the Australian and global community now face. The speeches were mostly made by student leaders, although Ted Bull from the Waterside Workers, George Crawford from the Plumbers and Gas Fitters, George Lees from the Technical Teachers' Association and Moss Cass from the Labour Party, were represented.

The students referred their problems into the context of the wider world. There was an obvious attempt by speakers to see students as part of a wider community where civil rights were at least paid lip-service to and where the legitimacy of democratic struggle is formally accepted. They argued cogently and passionately that this was their political heritage also. They argued that the extremely authoritarian, inefficient, financially and morally bankrupt educational system they were forced to work under, was no longer acceptable. They asserted their right to become responsible agents in the face of the extremely irresponsible attitude of their community and administrators.

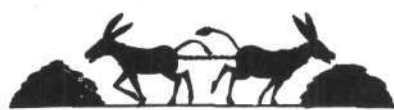
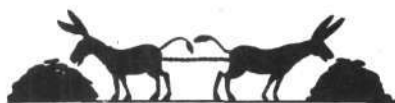
The sense of solidarity was no doubt aided by the "firm" line being taken by the various headmasters around Melbourne. At University High, the head was expelling one student dissident for every ten minutes that there was

Uni. High students on strike. Other headmasters were also making similar intimidatory gestures like expulsion, threat of expulsion, suspension etc. Because of this perhaps, for the first time, this reporter witnessed real and immediate sense of commitment at a political meeting. The whole thing was very real. Those children were really risking their educational futures by just being there. There was none of the usual vicariousness that so often dogs demonstrations. The issues were immediate, pressing and involving every participant in a very intimate and personal way.

The gathering moved down Collins street down to the city square. There a real happening occurred. Up till then, most of the speeches had been made by leaders. Now it was the turn of the rank and file to have their say. The speeches were short and angry. It was the most animated rap session this reporter has ever seen. Children from the various schools around Melbourne got up and said all the things that they and generations of school students have been dying to say publicly for years. It all came out concisely and explosively. As each speaker got up, told his and his school's story, the gathering became collectively more and more furious. The scene must have sent a chill down the spines of any witnessing "educators" that might have been watching. And there probably were as there was a growing crowd of spectators who were watching and listening as the meeting went on.

From the city square, the demonstrators moved down Swanston St., and up Bourke St., to Parliament House... for a demonstration there. During the afternoon there was planned a group rap session so that more information could be exchanged and compared. This reporter was not able to stay and sit in on these sessions, but given the general enthusiasm, there is no doubt that the more intimate sharing of common experience at the hands of school authorities ought to produce a fertile crop of ideas and resolve in the face of the common problem.

Editors: Phil Herington/ Mark Taft Layout: Tony Howard
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PENTRIDGE CHAIN ASSAULT

JUNE 7 DEMO AGAINST SELECTIVE N.S. PROSECUTION

Amidst a great deal of grunts, heave ho's and RSL pressure, the then Minister for Labour & National Servitude in 1964 (Mr. W. McMahon no less) introduced the National Servitude Act to provide cannon fodder for Vietnam.

Statistics from the National Service Dept., show that up to December 31, 1970, 11,500 men had not registered for National Service since it was introduced. Ten of Australia's fine sons, who shirked their manly duty to kill, murder, rape and plunder in the name of democracy have consequently paid their debt to society with gaol sentences of 2 years; none of which served more than 15 months before their political releases. Ten out of 11,500 gives a percentage of .09; it seems our government holds itself responsible not to exceed the .09 level.

The ever popular Attorney-General, Ivor Greenwood, has carried on a paper tiger attitude

a call up notice (.09%).

By looking at the facts intelligently it is obvious to anyone that the National Service Act is administered in a very selective manner. The simple facts are even filtering through to the newspapers as this extract from the AUSTRALIAN editorial of 26th April, 1972 shows:

"Of course, if the Commonwealth Govt. had not been provocative by being selective about those it seeks for breaking the law, those who are subject to the law would not be so intent on flouting it. That there are thousands of young men in breach of the law is no excuse for the government to use the old army trick of singling out for punishment every tenth one of them to discourage others."

The editorial goes on to say:

"The Attorney-General, Senator Greenwood, has not helped this situation by excitedly blaming every-

what the officials and the 20 Commonwealth police assigned to N.S. investigations can do."

True as this may be, it does not alter the facts that the majority are not prosecuted. Whether one accepts the figures obtained by DRU from the N.S. dept. or those quoted by Claude Forell, the picture does not alter very much. The latter states that up until the end of 1971, 7775 did not have acceptable reasons for not registering and were deemed to be balloted in. Of that number only 1089 had been prosecuted. The DRU figures state that up until the end of 1970, 11,500 had not registered (without acceptable reasons). Of this number 1659 could not be traced, thus from the remaining 9574 only 1007 had been prosecuted. While there are substantial numerical differences between these figures, it clearly shows that by far the majority are not touched.

Even if we accept the explanation that the N.S. dept. and the Commonwealth Police are incapable of handling a greater number of non-compliers, the fact still remains that enforcement is selective. It is obvious that those

on the public resisters. What was again obvious, was that they gaol only those who made it easy for the Commonwealth Police, such as Charles Martin and Geoff Mullen. But what was more interesting was that not everyone was in a position to be gaol as they had not yet received call-up notices and thus had not been given the opportunity to disobey them.

This highlights the second tactic used by Greenwood to distort the facts about prosecution. That is that not everyone is proceeded against after their initial prosecution — **this is where the selectivity is of paramount importance, as those most active are most likely to be proceeded against the quickest.** The prosecutions of Barry Johnston, when he was declared an ALP candidate, and of Bob Scates and Bob Bissett (both ALP members) is of relevance here. When we consider the thousands against whom action could be taken it is clear that this is not merely a case of departmental inefficiency, which may be the position during the earlier stages, but a definite attempt to concentrate on comparatively few people.



towards draft resistance. Espousing a policy of law and order, he selectively prosecutes prominent and political draft resisters to use them as a deterrent to other activists and to fool the public of his own inefficiency and police ineptitude.

Outwardly, Ivor permeates a facade of stern discipline to impress the gullible voters. The public of course can assist to bring to justice all outlaws, he might suggest, by writing the resisters name and address on the back page of any Readers Digest, tear along the dotted line, but for God's sake send it to anybody but him.

At present there are 6 resisters who are part of the Ivor Ripoff. Bob Scates, Ken McClelland, and Ian Turner in Victoria, Garry Cook WA, Bob Martin SA, and Michael Kouchin NSW, are all serving 18 month sentences. It is true that almost a majority of 5% of the population believe that draft resisters should be gaol — bugger the 95%, they're probably communist, Asian, or draft resisters themselves, and hence non-entities in society.

Meanwhile, back in reality, Ivor, disguised as a paragon of virtue, steadily prosecutes 10% of non-registrants. From this 10%, few are required to refuse to attend medicals, and even fewer are given the opportunity to not comply with

one in sight but his own department, when the major part of his problem is that his department is palpably not doing its job properly."

But is this merely a case of departmental inefficiency, or a deliberate attempt by the government to intimidate both those of registration age and the draft resistance movement? It could, however, also be a basic unwillingness of the govt. to come to grips with the fact that at least 2% of those eligible are not complying by prosecuting everyone the govt. would make known the extent of draft resistance and opposition to the N.S. Act. The present situation allows the govt. to contort the facts and make it appear as if the law is being obeyed by all except a few commie rat bags.

Naturally those concerned deny selectivity: in his recent abortive article on Draft Resistance (AGE, May 20, 1972) Claude Forell stated that — "The two ministers (Lynch & Greenwood) react strongly to suggestions that militant draft resisters are singled out from prosecution while those who quietly evade national service are allowed to get away with it. There are obviously some youths who escape the notice of the dept. There are others who cannot be traced. A number of bogus registrations have to be sorted out. There is a limit to

first prosecuted are those who make it easiest for the dept., by either writing to them or making a public stand. Thus when Greenwood states that these people — "merely advance the timing of their prosecution", he actually means that they are inviting their prosecution, for if they did not do this they would probably not be prosecuted at all. By the time the next ballot comes around and the last lot of public defaulters has been dealt with, there is no opportunity to deal with the silent ones. The facts have proved this correct, and probably on a larger scale than even imagined.

It became obvious very early in the piece that selective, or partial prosecution was taking place. THE AGE recognised this as early as February 26, 1970 (early that is for the media, as it was obvious before this). "If the defiance is quite as minor as Mr. Snedden suggests — less than 2% — the question poses itself. Why has the Government not gone ahead and prosecuted those who have persistently and publicly refused to comply with the Act?" Snedden tried to solve the problem by attempting to introduce a civilian alternative (so-called) and bringing in the C.O. Referral procedure, neither of which was successful. From the end of 1970 onwards the department launched prosecutions at an increased rate — but mostly

In order to emphasise this situation a 'symbolic gaoling' of those who have not registered, (both prosecuted and not prosecuted) will be held on Wednesday afternoon 3 p.m. June 7, outside Pentridge. The idea is that attention will be drawn to the fact that those outside who will be chained together, are just as 'guilty' as those few gaol inside. In order for this to be effective we require about 50 resisters to participate. We urge others to attend also, as a crowd is needed. Could all those wishing to participate in the 'gaoling' please leave their name and details at Lot's Wife office by the Tuesday afternoon. See you all on June 7.

PROPOSED PROGRAMME — JUNE 7

3.00 P.M. PENTRIDGE: Chain-up at entrance of draft resisters 'demanding' that they are as guilty as those gaol inside. Other activities as situation warrants.

3.30 p.m. TRAM TO CITY. Still chained.

4.00 p.m. CENTURY BUILDING and/or PRINCESS GATE. Repeat of Pentridge tactic.

4.30 p.m. A.P.G. Street Theatre at City Square.

P.S. We may need some padlocks for the chain so if you have one, please bring it.



J'ACCUSE

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF THE AVERAGE LAW STUDENT

JULIAN BURNSIDE

"JUST THINK: every day my noble brethren in the Law faculty devote, unselfishly, 4 minutes to political activity, 10 minutes to social issues and a staggering 17 minutes to broadening their culture — FANTASTIC!"

The profession has long since had the crusty charisma of overt ossification. Such is the fate of any institution resisting change in the name of stability. It cuts both ways. The students of the discipline have likewise become barnacled in, and in defence against the storm. No ordinary storm — but perceived as the irrelevant gnashings of the uninformed. Thus they have for a long time thought themselves the better (if they considered it at all) for having retreated into the icy librarian gloom of the hallowed ancestors, whose precedents are today's life-blood. New decisions — a necessary transfusion. But by and large it is all quiet as they lie, intellectually entombed, by choice, among the writings and the bones of Blackstone, and Coke, and Halsbury. Little did they realise and less did they care, that outside their shell the world turned.

So it has been said of law students. Oft-maligned, occasionally defended. We have been categorised as conservative, reportedly reactionary, a sticking point in any of the attempts at revolution organised by Ecops or Arts, or that flux of disciplines commanded by Comrade Langer. Besides, we would reply, lawyers, and (by purity of reasoning) law students, are organisers. We need not take an active part in radical movements. Instead, we are the ones who can effect the changes you want. We understand the machine you are attempting to alter. We (implicitly) are doing our bit.

Question: Are law students really apathetic?

Answer: Emphatically not! We are quite aware of society.

Riposte: Bullshit.

Fact: Law students really are apathetic.

In fact most law students are about as uncultural and disinterested as you can get.

Thus far, I imagine I have advanced no moral propositions. The charges and defence, are as common as murder and self-defence. In Perry

Mason terms, however, we have a surprise witness. Fresh evidence.

The facts: we took a random sample of 12% of law students who had completed a 4-page questionnaire on attitudes. Sixty-six per cent have been to non-government schools. Nearly half have at least one parent engaged in a professional occupation. Nearly two-thirds come from a family where one or more persons have tertiary qualifications. Only 19% are "doing it for themselves": receiving no financial assistance from their parents.

Do you think they're a bit arrogant? Eighty-eight per cent state that they are very (42%) or partly (46%) socially aware. Eight per cent (more modest souls) thought themselves to be "not much so", and the rest thought they weren't socially aware at all. Now some may think it objectionable in the extreme to have eighty-eight per cent of law students filled with a belief in their own social conscience. Even worse, when it transpires that they are pompously deluding themselves, whilst trying to delude others (occupational hazard?)

Whereas 88% have such grand ideas of their own social awareness, about 5% of law students manifested objective interest in anything cultural, social, or political. The question: How much of your time do you spend on:

- a) sport (average 11.31%)
- b) creative/artistic (average 4.97%)
- c) political (average 1.39%)
- d) social

- e) involvement (average 3.23%)
- f) recreation (average 19.06%)
- g) study (average 60.04%)

Before the statisticians (and any law students sufficiently interested to read this article) start ranting, it must be admitted that several important categories have been omitted. Especially "employment". However, on average the law students tested accounted for only 6.3 hours per day outside their studies. Observe that studying merits 6 times as much attention as cultural, social, and political pursuits combined. That sport and recreation together demand 3 times as much as the more altruistic diversions.

Just think: every day my noble brethren in the law faculty devote, unselfishly, 4 minutes to political activity, 10 minutes to social issues, and a staggering 19 minutes to broadening their culture. Fantastic! I believe that's even higher than the national average amongst 7 year old autistic yaks in outer Nangaitwat.

BALLS, BOOKS

& BANKS

In all seriousness, the situation is worse than it seems. Individual devotion to cultural, social and political activities was unevenly spread; the overall average being lifted by an unusually active "hard

core". This group average 3 to 8 times better than the rest, so one may fairly state that whereas some law students are pretty active, the rest are completely, hopelessly lost to any cause which does not involve the balls, books, or bank balance.

As a well conditioned law-student, however, I cannot end there. We cannot be destructive and critical, without being constructive and helpful. I believe the situation could change. The first step is to make law students realise, despite their pretences, that they are sadly lacking in the qualities and interests which make worthwhile citizens of competent practitioners. They must be coaxed, not cudgelled, from their ivory tower. After all, there is nothing new in the lawyer's indifference, as the Bard said, they have it from their fathers.

JURISTIC OSTRICHES

Nevertheless do not let your patience and gentility prevent you from emphasising to this growing breed of juristic ostriches the importance of awareness. The world is more complex than Blackstone ever could have dreamed. The legal system is the nerve centre of the delicate machine of a society, too often running with distempers. The lawyers role is, much more than in the past, an important social role. His actions, although not directed at society, more than ever affect society. Above our duty to the long-hallowed profession, we as students of the methods and contents, strengths and defects of the legal system, have a duty to Society. It is a duty we can only continue to ignore at our peril.



VIETNAM—AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW

Mark La Pirow

Graham Dunkley's article in *Lot's Wife* (May 29, 1972), maintains that the Republic of Vietnam, the United States and presumably countries such as Australia, New Zealand, South Korea and Thailand, have or are continuing to participate in a war because of either: 1) a lust for death of innocent people or 2) because the war is beneficial for political, economic or morally misguided reasons. He also states, expressly and by implication that the North Vietnamese are: 1) not guilty of any moral, political or economic wrong, 2) represent a form of government which is given a divine right to rule in the area by pre-destination or acceptance by the population of the Republic of Vietnam. Specifically he uses these precepts to argue a case stating that the United States retaliation for the N.V.A.'s Easter Offensive is an escalation of the conflict and not merely a reply to the escalation of the invasion.

I do not intend on going into the history of Vietnam in any greater detail than Mr. Dunkley. I only intend to point out his basic mistakes. The more important question arising out of the Easter Offensive is the probable future nature and extent of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. activities in this area of the world; a point which Mr. Dunkley apparently fails to grasp.

Background Observations

Firstly, the 1954 Geneva Accords are again brought up, this time accusing the R.V.N. and the U.S. of breaking them so many times that they "tacitly acknowledge" that they would rather not remember them. The Geneva Accords were chiefly a settlement and a ceasefire agreement between the French and the Viet Minh; along with other countries such as the R.V.N. and the U.S. who were interested parties but not the major combatants. It named, what now is the D.M.Z., as a temporary demarcation line for the troops loyal to Ho Chi Minh's embryonic state, and those who were against it for various reasons, to regroup.

The history of the migration of people in 1954 recounts that approximately 800,000 to 1,000,000 people left the North for the South, before the North Vietnamese broke the agreement and stopped further people from leaving. I see this as being a more important breach than any other subsequent military action by the D.R.V. because it could in no sense be considered to be an act of self defence — regardless of one's "World View". The other document was the Final Declaration which specified that there would be elections in 1956 to re-unite Vietnam. No country signed this agreement. The United States and the R.V.N. would not agree to the agreement because they could not be assured that there would be a free election in the North. Even in 1954 the refugees from the North brought with them the tales of the imposition of the Agricultural Land Tax and the Land Rent Reduction

Campaign — both of which were designed to, and achieved a basic transformation of the traditional, localized, family based society to a communist state, by the use of selective executions and general terror. One cannot blame the R.V.N.'s reluctance to participate in a poll in which the more populous section of the country would vote under those conditions.

Secondly, the whole question of the Viet Minh-Communist Party inter-relationships is of major importance in the history of this era, as the Nationalists soon found out. Ho Chi Minh, a pseudonym, was known throughout Vietnam as Nguyen Ai Quoc and the leader of the Communists. However it was not until after 1954 that Ho acknowledged to the world that he was one and the same man. Why did he wish to hide the fact? What factor in his personal history persuaded him that it was best to withhold his identity? Again, aside from military action the attempt to stifle the "will of the people of Vietnam" by withholding information of the most basic nature, must be condemned.

Moral Positions

I do not intend defending United States action as being done, this time, for reasons with which I would myself agree, however I do support the action. The N.V.A. has been able to invade the South. The N.V.A. has managed at the date of this reply (May 29) to capture one provincial capital, Quang Tri. It has managed to deliver substantial damage to the population, countryside and economy of the South in Military Region 1. Its rocket attacks on cities kill innocent civilians, maim others, destroy essential public services and in short do all the "normal" damage of warfare.

The United States has undoubtedly killed innocent civilians in the North, destroyed essential public services, and damaged the economy. The horrors of this action are every bit as bad as the N.V.A.'s.

However, the bombing of Dresden, and the bombing of London were

almost equal in their horror. Yet no one would doubt that it was right to defeat Hitler. Horrors of war are the products of both sides — but the moral side in the second world war is seen as the same by both Mr. Dunkley and myself; that the bombing of Dresden was a necessary evil to defeat Hitler.

In the present war our world views differ, and I believe the moral side rests with the Republic of Vietnam and those nations which help her. The R.V.N. has never invaded the North; attempted to establish itself as the government in sections of Laos or Cambodia; start the Tet Offensive 1968, the Easter Offensive 1972, or a policy of selective assassination of doctors, teachers and village officials in the years since 1956. Nor has the South sent a Le Duan into the North to form and supply an N.L.F.N.V. In the past years the support for the Communists has not materialized. There was no "great uprising" in support of the N.V.A./V.C. in 1968. In fact there has been no V.C. since 1968. The war was and still is an attempt by an outside political power to gain domination over all the other countries of Indo-China.

The United States — a Study in a Sell-Out

The U.S. has specified two

requirements for the lifting of the blockade and the cessation of the bombing. 1) release of all American P.O.W.'s and 2) an immediate ceasefire with troops in their present positions. This is the minimum it can request in order to get its soldiers home without major domestic eruptions. Its present action is an attempt to buy the co-operation of Hanoi. If they are granted, and U.S. withdraws, there is a strong probability that a further offensive by the North, in a respectable time afterwards (i.e. 12 to 24 months) will carry with it tacit U.S. approval. This action depends not on events in Saigon-Hanoi, but on events in Peking-Moscow-Washington.

The United States has never held the importance of S.E. Asia as being dominant in its foreign interests. The U.S. is primarily Eurocentric with strong interests in South America arising out of the Monroe Doctrine. The Soviet Union's sphere of influence outside its borders are primarily Eastern Europe, the Baltic States and recently the Middle East through to India and Bangla Desh. The United States, under Dulles et al. saw the importance in S.E. Asia not for its intrinsic worth, but a necessary "frontier" between the West and the Communist World. At that time the Communist World was



basically monolithic in structure, and it was felt that if they allowed a military gain in one area of the world, they would find that other, more important, areas would be threatened.

The Soviet Union felt that if they allowed more of the "Third World" to fall into the hands of the West they would be further surrounded and isolated and could face falling further behind in the race for world superiority. China was not, in my opinion, a sufficiently independent force at that time and its aspirations were not basically different from the Soviet Union's.

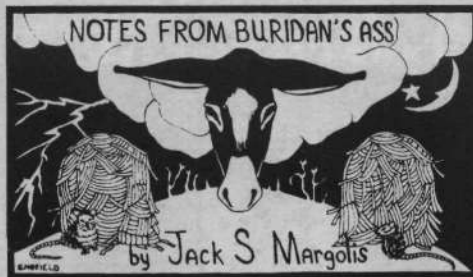
Today the situation is different. The U.S. is no longer in a position where it can act alone, without fear from possible superior Soviet military power. China has emerged as an independent national power, interested in developing her own sphere of influence. The Soviet Union is as much afraid of the Chinese as of the Americans.

The United States has faced great domestic pressure for the end of the war from both the American Right and Left, and the basic international position arising out of the apparently irremovable division in the Communist world has provided an "out" for Nixon. One or both of the major protagonists in the war, either China or the Soviet Union may be willing to combine with the U.S. against the other. Depending on the United States' skill at international balance of power politics it could lead to the preservation or destruction of the present political structure in S.E. Asia.

When Kissinger and Nixon went to Peking they undoubtedly came to some agreements. The context of these is as yet unclear. But in my opinion they amounted to a recognition by the U.S. of China's territorial sphere of influence in Taiwan, South East Asia and an approval of Chinese policy in India. In return China would tone down her support for Hanoi.

However this action resulted in the discrediting of Truong Chinh and the pro-Peking faction in the North Vietnamese Politbureau, and Le Duan and the pro-Soviet faction are able to gain ascendancy due to the willingness of the Soviet Union to supply the weapons of war that the battle for conquest required. The Soviet Union wished to do this for two reasons 1) to embarrass a China-U.S. alliance and 2) continue on its policy of encirclement of China. What Nixon and Brezhnev decide in Moscow will undoubtedly modify those countries previous positions. The tragedy is that the main military ally of Australia, is no longer a safe bet in the event of the alliance ever having to be invoked. The whole area is in flux, and the activities of the superpowers will have the dominant voice in our future, rather than any of the countries of the region, communist or non-communist.

As far as Australia is concerned the change in U.S. attitude from one of willingness to preserve the status quo in this region, to one of possible recognition of a super power of either the Soviet Union or China, seriously threatens our independence. Australia has for too long had a colonial mentality, first to the British, and then to my home country of the United States. However any country places its own objectives first, and if there is a conflict of interest between the United States and Australia, we will lose out. At the moment if we were forced to choose an alliance with any super-power, the United States is the most preferable but it is by no means a desirable long term arrangement. One cannot trust an ally to maintain old commitments when its own priorities have changed.



The management of the Union has been in the most capable hands of Doug Ellis during the last six months. His concern for the affairs of the Union have covered not simply the day to day running of things but also a meticulous attention to problems ranging from the need for facilities for paraplegics to creative proposals for extending the commercial area of the building. He has dealt with outstanding problems and current ones. His presence on committees has been uniquely productive. His approach to staff problems has been understanding and constructive. Doug has shown us what can be done.

Meanwhile, welcome home Graham! Warden of the Union.

Graham Sweeney, returned from six months study leave in the U.S. Graham remarked of a visit to Disneyland, "it's a Masterpiece of organisation."

In case you've been wondering why the Monash Hospital is so slow in being developed it is not only because of Bolte et al. Seems that there's a real little power struggle going on in academic circles. Certain Deans are unhappy at the prospect of a sudden influx of medicos resulting in the appointment of between ten and fifteen new professors on campus. The Monash hospital will increase the medical faculty in every way and doubtless Don, Guy, David, Ken and Kevin are

not happy about giving them more money as well.

Moral Rearmament's response to the Little Red Schoolbook — entitled "The Black and White Book" — is a tremendous hit. Quotations include:

"In the grip of sex people get moody, self-centred, dull-eyed, bad-tempered, sloppy at work."

"The Black and White Book" goes on: "When you live straight, your mind and imagination are free to tackle the world's problems. Eva, a Swedish girl, writes: 'Purity gives you a sparkle and a gaiety that do not have to be put on. It satisfies you deep down and I believe it is the normal way to live. Permissiveness, instead of satisfying, just makes you grab for more and more.'"

Eva has a solution to a problem which, one must admit, is much easier than taking a cold shower or running around the block. "What do you do when temptation comes? I find I can do one of three things. I can give up and fall. I can try to fight it in my own strength. Or I can turn to God and win the struggle."

NETHERLANDS DANCE THEATER



"Mutations" and "Journal" illustrated to perfection the imaginative, creative and technical brilliance of the Netherlands Dance Theater.

"Mutations" was played against a stark background, and set to electronic music. The orchestral, harmonic and rhythmic organisation of the music reinforced the harsh theme of alienation which ran through the ballet.

Instead of there being a tonal centre or a serial organisation, the music comprised a series of mechanical sets in an irregular and often synopated rhythmical pattern. The effect of this rhythmical construction was twofold in that, whilst emphasising the remarkable movements and control of the dancers, it also made such technical perfection all the more difficult to achieve.

The dilemma of man in modern plastic society wherein he is divorced from his creative self, is taken up at the start of "Mutations" by angular movements and stylised geometric white costumes.

A vision of human sensitivity expressing itself was then presented via the medium of a film projected on to the back of the stage, in which a young naked man repeats the movement motifs established previously, but with a far greater softness of line which was accentuated by the slow-motion running of the film.

Alienation, in its pristine form, the gutting of emotion and sensitivity from sexuality, was brought home by such features as a male and female dancer, clothed in "space-age" garb and one-foot high cork sandals which made their movements slow and totally lacking in

spontaneity.

Juxtaposed to this and following scenarios was the focal point of the piece, wherein a couple simulated a beautiful representation of love-play.

The scenery for "Journal" consisted of armchairs suspended from street lamps. Music was replaced by querrelous and petty dialogue between the dancers on stage. Various groups and couples were thrust into conflict with each other. Dissatisfaction with relationships was expressed and eventually blamed upon the absence of some material commodity, such as a colour T.V. set.

This ballet was much shorter than "Mutations" (or seemed to be), and in many ways much less complex. Its advantages, however, were its imaginative originality and subtlety, and its exemplification of the talent and versatility of the company.

REVIEWED YVONNE SUMMERS



AUSTRALIAN CAPITALISM: TOWARDS A SOCIALIST CRITIQUE

ed. J. Playford and D. Kirsner, (Pelican, 1972, 2-25)

Reviewed by John Alford

It is difficult to criticise a book whose terms of reference place most of its contents beyond criticism. Playford and Kirsner lay down the purpose of their book *Australian Capitalism* as "to initiate the project of mapping the foundations of our society", and believe that it "constitutes a good beginning towards a comprehensive socialist critique of Australian capitalism." As mere "initiation", only "a beginning", it cannot be chided for failure to include more detailed information on this or more academically respectable analysis of that — after all, that is the work of others yet to come.



But even so, there must be certain criteria by which one judges a good beginning. Firstly, it must be sociologically self-sufficient: its particular theories and paradigms must appear *prima facie* free of serious flaws in the terms of social science. Secondly, it must provide a jump-off point of reasonable stability for the later researchers, both in the sense that there are actual concrete propositions there to be tested empirically, or developed further, or modified without major ruptures, and in the sense that all of the chaff has been sifted from the wheat, and later researchers need not revert to square one.

In terms of ground covered, the book is adequate. An attempt is made to examine all the relevant areas of concern, although, as the introduction pleads, they could not include chapters on mass communications and the oppression of women, "for practical reasons". One marvels at the basic assumption here that somehow women are just a sectional issue, and that perhaps a People's Commissariat for the Liberation of Women might be established after the revolution, to deal with the adjustment problems, etc.

Quantitatively, then, the two criteria are satisfied when viewing the book as a whole. However, the quality of the individual articles vary considerably.

Kirsner's article, "Domination and the Flight from Being", is as pretentious as its title sounds. Safely snubbing both the crude Marxist and the smooth technocratic approach, Kirsner does not quite manage to transcend either position, but instead stumbles on a compromise which might well be labelled (compositely) "smooth Marxist." The latest in tightly integrated, self-sustaining abstract sociologies is unfolded before our very eyes — and yes folks, it's much the same as all those other sideshows we have been seeing for a few years (Warren Osmond in *The Australian New Left*, most of *Arena*, some of *Australian Left Review*, etc.). Like the typical spruiker, Kirsner's language oozes terminological flamboyance: pompous New Left Reviewese

bludgeons the reader into apprehension of relatively simple concepts.

Maybe it would not be so bad if Kirsner had something significantly new to say, but his arguments have all been heard before. Admittedly, he does a good job of summary of the two writers he acknowledges (Marcuse and Habermas) but this is not quite what is required: the two criteria I laid down are not met.



Certainly, the contribution is sociologically self-sufficient — it is a closed system of abstraction. But as a springboard for further investigation it leaves a lot to be desired. The article exhibits a marked lack of concreteness, as one feels that his sketch of Australian society could apply anywhere in advanced industrial society, apart from the occasional interpolation of a Donald Horne-style "good bloke" syndrome.

More seriously, Kirsner's article is too much bound up in "single-factor determinism". His picture of Australia as a totality of repression and/or domination through cultural mediations fails to explain the existence of radicals, or for that matter the embryonic counter-culture in this country. Somehow radicals just arise, or rather for Kirsner have to arise, after first "finding themselves", rather in the manner that Saul saw the light on the road to Damascus. Put into terms that the Australian academic New Left might understand, his argument is not dialectical; it does not express a consciousness that history moves as an interaction between man and society (and nature, for that matter).

By being a little more modest in his methodology, Playford manages to avoid such problems in his necessarily general contribution "Who Rules Australia?". Bringing to bear on the problem a wealth of research data which probably no

other writer on the left in Australia has accumulated, Playford fills out his previous fragments on the subject (*Neo-Capitalism in Australia*, "Myth of the Sixty Families", "Top Brass in Australian Politics", "Judges and Politics in Australia", "Arbitration Judges", and others) into a respectable general statement on the problem of power in this country.

The result, as Playford acknowledges, is an approximation to Ralph Miliband's general schema (*The State in Capitalist Society*) and some of the shortcomings of Miliband's book are reproduced. There is a tendency, of which I think Playford is sometimes aware, to abstract the "political" from its cultural context, thereby overemphasizing the purely mechanical or manipulative facet of power. However this is offset by rigorous probing of the class basis of power in Australia, and also by a willingness to consider the cultural attributes of the imputed decision-makers themselves.

Overall, Playford provides a long-needed revision of the paradigms by which we investigate power, but he does not sufficiently develop the theoretical approaches. An attempt to apply some of R.A. Dahl's bourgeois but nonetheless valid strictures, about the need to examine some actual decisions made by the imputed elite or ruling class, would prove fruitful, especially if tempered with later critiques of Dahl (e.g. Bachrach and Baratz, "Two Faces of Power") about the necessity also to consider the "mobilisation of bias" surrounding such decisions. Maybe a power-

examinations of the relationship of Australia to America and other imperialist powers, and to its own colonies. In a somewhat untidy article, MacFarlane nevertheless amply demonstrates the relationship between Australia's fortunate economic development and the vicissitudes of the world capitalist order. Rowley, in "The Political Economy of Australia Since the War", adds political flesh to these economic bones, and elucidates the integration of the Australian ruling class into the global imperialist order, whilst at the same time having regard to the different currents within that class.

Although sound in his approach to the analysis of imperialism, Rowley's contribution is patchy, interspersing areas of clever exposition with resorts to assumptions sliding on neo-Marxist banana-peels. Accordingly, his concluding strategic prescriptions ignore the exact directions in which Australian society is heading. His appeal to a return to working-class struggles, based on the need for "non-economic demands" (workers control, etc) is a consequence of his lack of insight that the traditional class schema may no longer be valid. For example, he admonishes those who point to students as the vanguard of a new class to "remember that at the time of the last census only one per cent of the population had obtained a university degree". He misses the point of the strategic position of the technological workers in the forces of production. The Russian proletariat in 1917 was not much more than one per cent of the population.

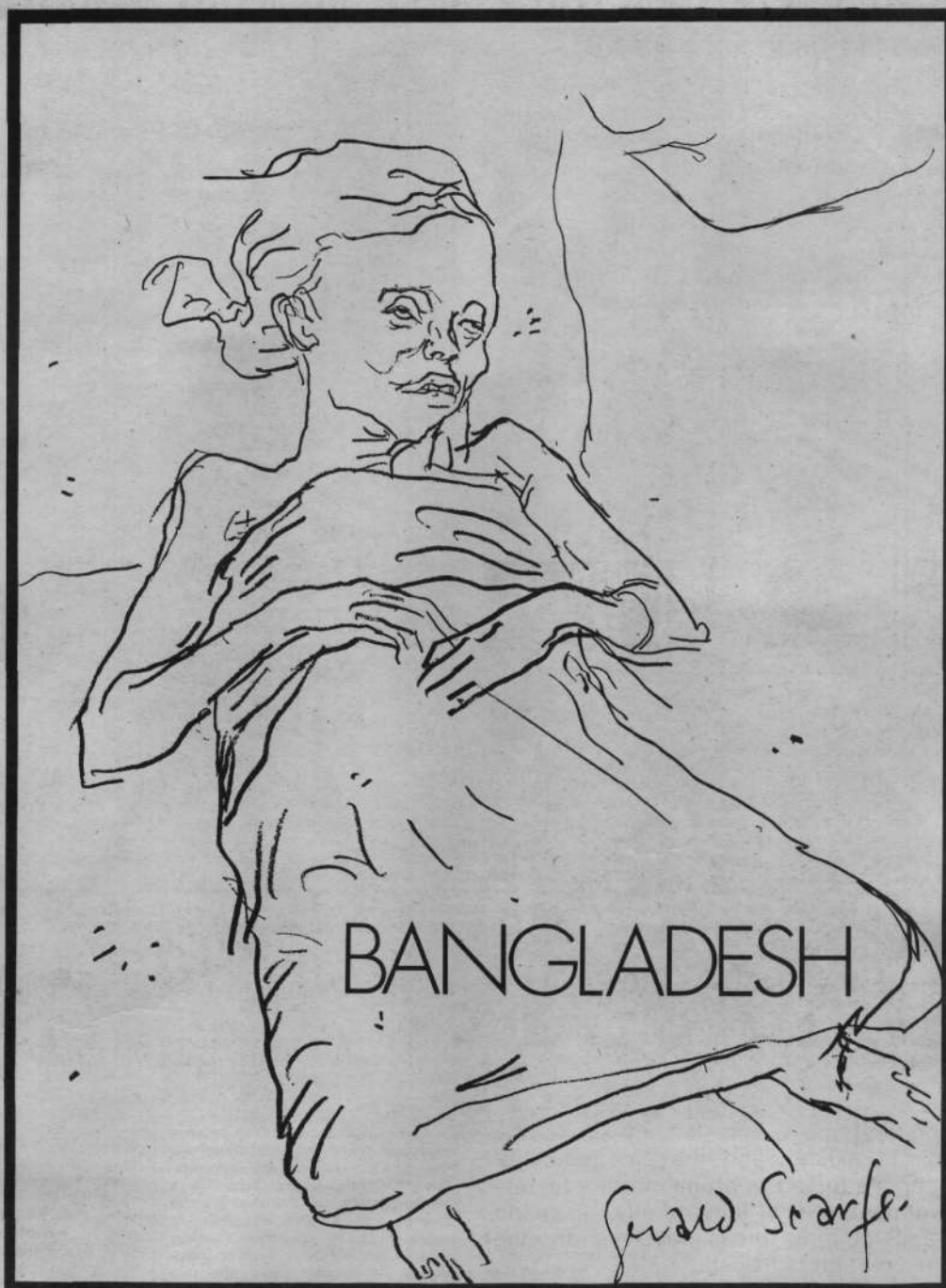
Three articles written some time ago reflect their out-of-date nature. Peter Groenewegen's "Consumer Capitalism" can never quite transcend the consumer mentality it is supposed to be attacking, and rests with a mediocre compendium of Year Book-type statistics on the standard of living in Australia. Bob Catley, in "A Resilient Perspective", concentrates too much on bitching about the internal politics of the 1970 Adelaide Moratorium movement to really convince one of the profundity of his "Communist bogey" analysis, which most people had perceived even before 1970. And Wheelwright, with the mass of data his other works must have yielded, could surely have offered something more recent than the 1970 Brian Fitzpatrick Memorial Lecture.

McQueen, whose discourse "Glory Without Power" finishes the book, hits some dazzling nails not quite on the head, and yet as previously he doesn't bother to drive them home. We are left, however, with a fascinating model of the springboard to which reference has been made. In all, Playford and Kirsner have gathered together a mixed bag of contributions, which add up to a vague feeling of disappointment.



So much for the editors. The contributors, too, exhibit both good and bad qualities. The most positive aspect of the book is its coming to grips with the question of imperialism. MacFarlane, Evans and Rowley all make serious

But despite this, it is worth reading, firstly because it is interestingly written throughout (and generally well edited), and secondly because it at least tries to ask the right questions, even if its answers are blotchy.



GENERAL OUTLINE

AREA 55,000 sq. miles GEOGRAPHY

Bangladesh is situated on the Bay of Bengal and totally surrounded by India except in the extreme S. E. corner, where it shares a short border with Burma.

The land is riparian in character as it covers most of the area of the Ganges' delta. Besides the three largest rivers (Ganges, Jamuna and Meghna) the land is criss-crossed by hundreds of smaller waterways. Except for a small mountainous tract on the Burmese border the land is extremely flat (about 95% within 300 feet of sea level). Most of the land is cleared but small forest areas remain in several districts.

CLIMATE:

Tropical — warm and humid with summer monsoons. Average annual rainfall 75 inches.

POPULATION:

Approx. 75 million.

Population growth rate approx. three per cent per year over last two decades. Ethnic composition. 95% population are Bengali. Largest

minority group known as Biharis; this group composed of Muslims from a number of areas in India who migrated to East Pakistan after partition in 1947. Remainder is made up largely of small tribal groups.

RELIGION:

80% Muslim; Hindu approx. 18%; some Christians, Buddhists.

LANGUAGE:

Bengali — English is widely used also. Biharis predominantly spoke West Pakistani language — Urdu. Literacy rate is approximately 25%.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION:

Capital city of Dacca largest city with approx. 2,500,000 residents. Chittagong second largest 500,000. Other main towns are Khulna, Jessore, Kushtia, Comilla. Approx. 93% of population live in rural hamlets.

AVERAGE INCOME:

About A\$65. per annum.

AGRICULTURE:

Main crop is rice; two crops annually in most areas. Jute is largest cash crop and the major earner of

foreign exchange. Tea was second major export — however the future for this production is bleak. Fish provides major protein component in the people's diet and is a minor export.

INDUSTRY:

Very limited. Jute mills are largest concerns — until 1972 most were owned by West Pakistanis.

IMPORTS:

Due to lack of industrial development East Pakistan had to import almost all heavy equipment and industrial requirements. Some rice, salt and other basic food-stuffs normally imported.

POLITICS:

Dominated by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his party — the Awami League; until 1971 a centre party of moderates whose grip on Bengali politics stemmed largely from the party's insistent demands for provincial autonomy. The struggle of 1971 led to a slight move to the Left. Main opposition comes from groups such as the two National Awami Parties and the Communist Parties — all at various positions left of the Awami League.

BANGLADESH-THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

G. CORNALL



To fully understand the events leading up to the disintegration of Pakistan and the emergence of Bangla Desh, one is forced to probe into the history of the sub-continent and, at least briefly, examine the forces and counter-forces involved in the struggle for the creation of Pakistan.

Throughout the period of the British Raj in India, there had always been a strong undercurrent of communal distrust between the Muslims and the Hindus. In 1905, the colonial government employed this feeling of antagonism between the two communities in an attempt to weaken growing nationalist sentiments among the Bengali Hindus and split Bengal into two states — West Bengal being largely Hindu and East Bengal predominantly Muslim. Although the partition of Bengal was revoked shortly after (1911), it had had a considerable effect on Bengali Muslims. The partition had been satisfactory for the Muslim community, and it sowed the seeds for the later partition and the creation of a Muslim homeland in the eastern area of India.

By the late 1930's, the Indian nation-

alist movement was rapidly gaining momentum, but its increasing strength was beginning to appear as a threat to many Muslims. The Muslims feared for their fate in a Hindu-dominated India, and it was in response to this fear that the Muslim League, under Mahommed Ali Jinnah emerged as a third protagonist in the struggle for independence.

The Muslim League represented Muslims from all areas of the sub-continent but its leadership was predominantly from the Western areas of India.

The Muslim League, at its convention at Lahore in 1940, passed a resolution that, on Independence, the Muslim-majority areas of India "should be grouped into 'Independent States' in which the constituent areas shall be autonomous and sovereign." It is significant that the resolution calls for "Independent States," the resolution clearly did not envisage one single heavily centralized state. (This problem was resolved by Jinnah, shortly before independence was achieved, when he stated that the plural used in the resolution was simply a "clerical error")

In 1947, Jinnah forced the Congress to accept the Partition of India and the British Government accepted the Muslim League's plan for a Muslim state of Pakistan to be created out of the two Muslim majority areas in the extreme Eastern and Western areas of India. Finally, in August, 1947, the two states became officially independent. I have outlined, at some length, the events leading up to the creation of Pakistan because to a considerable extent, it is in these events that the most deep-seated causes of the subsequent disintegration are to be located. Put simply, Pakistan should never have been created. That it was, is a tribute to Jinnah, or at least a recognition of the hold he had over the Muslims of India, and over the Muslim League. That it held together, despite its turbulence and problems for so long was as much due to the reverence in which the people of both East and West Pakistan held the man and his vision, as to the efforts of the country's various ruling elites to crush all who dared to dissent.

The bond on which Pakistan was created was religion, and it was Jinnah and the Muslim League which provided the political link between the two groups of co-religionists. Against this sole force for unity were grouped the many factors which eventually caused the country's collapse. The most obvious factor was the geographical separation of the two wings. West Pakistan and East Pakistan were separated by over 1,000 miles of Indian Territory

— but more important than the actual distance was the separation in outlook.

West Pakistan's orientation was more to the Muslim Middle East while East Bengal had always been heavily oriented towards West Bengal and India. Further, the two groups had little in common except for their shared religion (and in many ways, this ostensibly common feature varied from East to West). Ethnically, the East Pakistanis were Bengali while the West Pakistanis were predominantly of West Asian stock. The Bengalis spoke their own language and proudly retained much of the language's cultural heritage. Almost all aspects of culture and life in Pakistan differed from East to West.

Thus it could be suggested that, from the start, Pakistan was unlikely to survive — it was only a question of how long the bond of a common religion would be sufficient to prevent the many fissiparous tendencies from ripping the country apart.

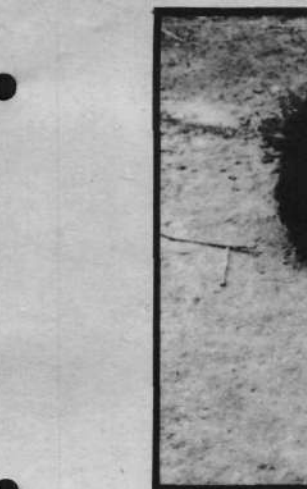
Differences between the wings erupted (even before the state was officially constituted) on the sensitive issue of language. Jinnah, the Quaid-i-Azam, decreed that "Urdu and only Urdu" should be the state language of Pakistan. This was manifestly to the detriment of the Bengalis, and their response was immediate and sustained. Riots and disturbances continued until 1952, when Bengali was accepted as a state language on a par with Urdu.

The latent antagonisms which the language struggle had brought to the surface were so significant that, by 1954, just six years after the creation of the state, the Muslim league was soundly beaten in the East Pakistan provincial elections by a coalition of opposition pro-Bengali parties. This success had been won on a platform which was seen by the West Pakistani Premier as so threatening that he believed it must have been a "foreign conspiracy." Within ten weeks of the elections, the United Front government was dismissed by the central government and East Pakistan was placed under "Governor's Rule." These incidents in Pakistan's earliest years illustrate the general tone of Pakistan's politics at least until the fall of President Ayub Khan in 1969.

EXPLOITING CLIQUES

It is a picture of rigid domination of the East by the West. However, it is possible to go even further than that — it was domination and exploitation of the East by a series of small cliques in the West. These cliques

were predominantly composed of high-ranking West Pakistani members of the armed forces and the bureaucracy and small groups of capitalists and landlords. In fact, these cliques dominated and bled not only East Pakistan but also the provinces of West Pakistan. In its most general form, the protest led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League in the East was a protest against the province's exploitation by a West Pakistani ruling elite. While it is true that West Pakistan as a whole benefited from this exploitation, the greatest proportion of the "spoils" was enjoyed by the small and relatively closed group at the top who controlled the most important institutions of the state — the bureaucracy, the army and thus the government itself. West Pakistanis controlled almost all industrial complexes in the Eastern province, as well as most of the jute production. Similarly, the higher echelons of the civil service and army were almost exclusively made up of West Pakistanis. In both fields, there was obvious discrimination against Bengali personnel.



This consistent discrimination and oppression of Bengalis at a relatively "personal" level was paralleled by exploitation of the province as a whole for the profit of West Pakistan. This aspect of Bengal's colonial status was created largely through the manipulation of state finances by the West Pakistani elite. While East Pakistan, through its production of jute, provided between 55% and 65% of foreign capital earnings, it received only

between 20% and 35% of state financial expenditure. Also considerably greater proportions of foreign aid were spent in West Pakistan, despite the fact that it represented only about 45% of the state's population. Stated generally, Bengal was exploited to provide finance for the industrialization of the West and then made a captive export market for the output of these industries by a system of discriminatory tariffs. The tariffs were set so that East Pakistanis were forced to buy lower quality goods from West Pakistan's factories at higher prices than on the international market. This captive market enabled West Pakistan to maintain a relatively low unemployment rate and a higher standard of living, and at the same time, allowed continued existence to inefficient (but profitable for their owners) West Pakistani industrial units. These claims are illustrated by the fact that in 1969/70, per capita income in West Pakistan was 61% higher than in East Pakistan (that is nearly double what it was ten years earlier) while prices were considerably lower than in the East. Between

1949 and 1969, the estimated transfer of real resources from East to West, due to the East's export surplus, was \$2,100 million. Much of this exploitation was directed to the maintenance of a vast military establishment in which the people of the Eastern wing had little part. Moreover, the general rationale for the existence of this military structure was enmity with India and, even on this point, the people of the East differed slightly from their compatriots in the West. Anti-Indian sentiment had always been slightly more paranoiac in the West, where Kashmir had been maintained as a great source of contention with India. The people of East Pakistan gave less importance to Kashmir and, encouraged by their deprivation due to the ban on trade with India, were rather more kindly disposed towards reaching an accommodation with that country — certainly Mujibur Rahman was considered to be rather "soft" on the issue of relations with India.

ONLY A SOLDIER

With the fall of President Ayub Khan (in March 1969) in the face of a mass popular uprising, the raw and undisguised dictatorship of the military-bureaucratic-capitalist elite was temporarily in retreat. Power devolved onto the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, General Yahya Khan, and he pledged himself to facilitating the return (perhaps better, the beginning) of democracy in Pakistan. It is perhaps worth quoting

his words in his first broadcast to the Nation: "Fellow countrymen, I wish to make it absolutely clear to you that I have no ambition other than the creation of conditions conducive to the establishment of a constitutional government..." The awareness of exploitation had been increased in the East by the Awami League to the extent that even Yahya Khan was forced to publicly agree that many of the grievances proclaimed by the East Pakistanis were genuine, serious and in need of redress. In this situation, one has to attempt to assess Yahya Khan's sincerity concerning the return to democracy. The Awami League's platform unequivocally promoted great changes in Pakistan's structure both politically and financially. These changes would have vast consequences for all the groups who had previously dominated the state — but the most affected would be the military establishment and the capitalists. The question becomes: whether these groups would accept a democratic verdict only if it left their positions reasonably intact or, put more directly, whether they would

in this exercise. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party won 81 of 140 seats in the Western wing and none in the East, while none of the Awami League's 167 seats were in the West. This gave some excuse for General Khan to begin his new argument that some agreement on the broad principles of the future constitution should be reached before the Assembly met. There was, in fact, very little justification for this but sufficient for Yahya to promote the round of fruitless discussions held throughout February.

CONFRONTATION

These foundered, due largely I would suggest, to Mr. Bhutto's intransigence not Sheikh Mujib's determination to "steamroller his six points into a constitution," as Bhutto claimed. At this point, Mr. Bhutto, probably with Yahya Khan's blessing, announced that he would not attend the inaugural session of the constituent assembly. Armed with this as an excuse, on 1st March, 1971, two days before the proposed opening date — President Yahya Khan indefinitely postponed

accept a constitution based on the Awami League's six points. I believe that the answer is that these groups, from the start, were not prepared to accept an election result which would undermine their position. They were prepared to operate through a democratic facade, as had been fitfully maintained in the 50's, but not to permit real democracy. Thus there were, in fact, two diametrically opposed groups involved in the elections of 1970 — those who posed a threat to the national elite and those who were likely to be tractable and could be used as a facade behind which the old guard could continue to operate. An election result which favoured the status quo or one which would force moderation and compromise onto the pro-autonomy groups (by requiring coalitions, etc.) would be acceptable, but should the Awami League win an outright victory, a direct confrontation between the old elite and the pro-autonomists would be precipitated.

the Assembly. This move rocked Bengal like an explosion — the people and, in true response to their feelings, Sheikh Mujib had reached the virtual end of their tolerance. Bengal lurched rapidly into a vast non-co-operation movement, taxes were paid into "Bangla Desh accounts" with Bengali-owned banks, orders were taken from Mujib alone and the central government's orders ignored.

From this point on, the only solution could be victory for one side or the other. The talks held in Dacca in the fortnight before the 25th March were largely a ploy by the military to gain time. Either Mujib gave in or the army would re-assert central control (i.e. the control the old military-bureaucratic-capitalist lineup). The final confrontation had come.

EDUCATION REHABILITATION IN BANGLADESH

"The foundation of every state is the education of its youth"

Diogenes (412-323 BC)

Today Bangladesh is a country that has had its education system destroyed and if it is to become a self supporting nation it must educate its youth. So give your support to the appeal on June 5th — 12th as Bangladesh needs Australia's Aid.

The victory of the Awami League with 169 out of 313 seats in the National Assembly made the spectre of confrontation real. The ruling elite was faced with three alternatives:

1. Accept the democratic verdict and the certain consequence of curtailment of its power.
2. Force a compromise onto the Awami League or
3. Overturn the election results.

In the event, it first tried the second alternative. The unusual pattern of election results provided some tools

Q. You were a Bangladesh activist last year. Were you disillusioned with what you saw there?

A. No. I don't think so. Perhaps I have kept my illusions intact. I was awfully depressed by a lot of what I saw. But I never really doubted that it had been worth supporting the struggle for Bangladesh independence. I certainly saw a lot of disillusionment while I was there though. On the other hand there is exhilaration, passion, militancy and impatience — you get that sort of atmosphere among a lot of the students — but on the other, there are a great many people who are cynical, disappointed and disgusted with the way things are going. Many of them want to get out of the country as fast as they can. The sense of high elan, the surge of revolutionary patriotism — all that has certainly receded.

Q. What kind of thing has led to this loss of elan?

A. Basically I suppose that some of the leaders of the movement have got rich fast. For instance, Awami League members of parliament, many of them are notorious for that. These people were singled out for having their houses burned down by the Pakistan army last year. When they came back from Calcutta after Liberation last December they had virtually nothing. But then they were often the people put in charge of local government jobs, like relief distribution, which gave them all kinds of opportunities to siphon off funds for themselves, and now quite a few of them are rich.

Q. But you say that you weren't disillusioned yourself?

A. Well no, I wasn't. That is partly because of a sense of relief that the horrors and atrocities of last year are a thing of the past. And also because things have shaken down reasonably well over the last few months — particularly as regards food supplies and factory production and communications. There are still huge numbers of people unemployed, but fewer than two months ago. Industrial production is nowhere near fully restored, but the factories are getting a lot more raw materials to work with and the spare parts are beginning to be made up. And the ports are operating at something like 75% capacity now, which is an enormous improvement.

Q. How's this industrial production being organised? I gather quite a large sector of the economy has been nationalized.

A. That's right.

Q. But are those nationalized firms actually operating on a socialist basis or is government ownership a pretty nominal thing?

A. Well, some of the management is in the hands of the same people who were running particular plants before nationalisation. That is the case with a lot of the Bengali firms which were nationalised. But most of the takeovers have been of firms that used to be owned by West Pakistanis. And there has been quite a change. Usually the top man now is a Bengali who used to be the number two or number three man. In other cases a political person, someone from the Awami League, has been put in as an administrator and the other managerial people operate under him.

Q. Are there any West Pakistanis running firms?

A. Oh no. They practically all left. Some left before Liberation and most of the rest were taken off to India along with the prisoners of war.

Q. And that presumably goes for the minority groups such as Biharis as well?

A. Well the Biharis are still there, in Bangladesh. But there are no Biharis running firms. In fact, very few Biharis are employed at all.

FOOD, RICE AND FAMINE

Q. And what about the general food situation? There have been a lot of alarming reports about that.

A. Well, it's still terribly tough. The price of rice is somewhere between 50% and 100% above what people expect in terms of their level of purchasing power. And every now and again it goes skyrocketing in particular localities. But I gather that the people who are managing rice supplies are now a lot less frightened of the future than they were a month or two ago. There are evidently enough rice imports in the pipeline to prevent the situation from getting out of control altogether. Now that doesn't mean that there aren't going to be famine conditions in particular areas between now and the big harvest in November. But the fear of very large scale famine that was being talked about in pretty desperate terms two months ago seems to have receded.

Q. Does this increase in rice prices have much to do with an outflow of rice into Calcutta? The rice price is notoriously high there.

A. Yes, there's something in that, and a lot of people in Bangladesh regard it as a major cause of the high prices. On the other hand the Indians say that there is very little rice going out of Bangladesh into India. But I didn't really try to check up on the facts. Certainly there's a lot of anti-Indian feeling and one of the grounds for resentment of India, and of the Awami League government as being too ready to do India's bidding, is the argument that rice and fish and various other commodities go out to Calcutta, because there aren't any longer the tight border controls that existed in the days of Pakistan.

Q. Part of the problem, which has been highlighted in Australia, is that rice distribution has become chaotic because of the breakdown in communications and because of the delta terrain and the many rivers. What is the general situation with communications, particularly with river transport?

A. Well, it's not a situation of breakdown, though it was that last December. In fact, it's a reasonably good situation if you remember how completely destroyed everything was then. Let me give you an example. Early last month I was up in Dinajpur, which is in the extreme north west of Bangladesh and trying to make arrangements to get down to Dacca by car. I discovered that it would take me about thirty hours to do that 200-mile trip, by the time I had waited for about six different ferries in places where there were previously bridges or bigger and more frequent ferries. If I had been doing that trip two years ago it would have taken me about ten hours. That's a measure of the degree to which everything has slowed down. It is possible to get from Dinajpur to Dacca by car, but it's a lot slower.

Q. But are there some areas that rice and other foodstuffs are simply not getting to because of the damage to bridges and ferry transport?

A. I am sure there are some, but it is hard to know how many.

Q. What about the stories of hoarding of rice?

A. People certainly believe that hoarding is a big part of the explanation of the high prices. And they often blame Awami League people for this. Whenever the price of rice goes up or the price of kerosene or cigarettes or something else there are accusations that someone in or around the government is cornering the market. But I suspect that overall shortages are the more important part of the explanation.

Q. The government hasn't gone so far with its supposedly socialist policies as controlling prices in any field?

A. No. It tries fitfully every now and again but its controls usually don't work. Its administrative capacity just doesn't extend that far.



Q. Tell us what the general administrative situation is: does the civil service function reasonably well?

A. Well, everybody complains about it. But when I compare it with the Indonesian civil service in the periods that I've been there, I think it is functioning quite well. There are a lot of well-trained administrators in key positions, like Deputy Commissioners in charge of districts. The pattern there is that most of the old Deputy Commissioners have been shifted out — many of them discredited as collaborators. The people who've been put in are younger and a bit more political. But they are usually about as well-trained as their predecessors. It's not as if people of no training or experience were occupying the important positions.

REFUGEES, STABILITY AND THE BIHARI

Q. And what about the refugees? Is it true that 30 million people were refugees at the end of the war last December?

A. Well, there were about 10 million refugees in India. And something like 95% of those have come back to Bangladesh. Most of them seem to have settled back in their home villages, and got back their land or tilling rights. The question of how many internal refugees there were is much more difficult to check on. The Bangladesh government maintains that there were 20 million who were displaced persons within Bangladesh, people who fled their home villages because of Pakistani army terrorism or because of the fighting but didn't go out to India. But that is a figure that is very hard to check on, and I suspect it is exaggerated. There is no doubt though that the number of homeless people is still huge. You see enormous numbers of beggars and vagrants in Dacca and the provincial towns.

Q. Is the place reasonably quiet these days? I am thinking of physical security, particularly as it seems that a lot of former freedom fighters have held on to their arms.

A. Well, there's a great deal of talk about looting, and you occasionally get reports of political meetings having hand grenades thrown into them. But I was struck by the quietness of the place. I didn't hear a shot fired the whole



time I was there, which is pretty remarkable if you consider how many arms there are distributed throughout the population — and the fact that Bangladesh has virtually no army and only a skeleton police force. I remember talking to some long-time missionaries in one district I was in and asking them how the law and order situation compared with the one in 1970 before the whole crisis blew up. Their reply was that things are much the same now as they were then. There are certain parts of towns where it is unwise to wander about late at night and some rural areas where dacoity is quite a problem. But the general level of violence, they said, was no higher than in 1969-70 when the place had a military government which spent huge sums on its army in the name of security.

Q. Who is actually responsible for law and order? Is it the Bangladesh army, or the para-military formations, or the police, or what?

A. It's all of those, plus, I suppose, Mujib. His personal authority certainly goes quite a way towards explaining the fast normalization.

Q. But isn't it true that there has been violence against the Bihari minority?

A. Oh, I saw a lot of evidence of that. The position of the Biharis, 900,000 or so of them, is really tragic. Their whole community is suffering retaliation for the fact that many of their members sided actively with the Pakistan army last year. A very large majority of them are segregated in camps and ghettos, and not allowed to work. They are barely managing to survive physically — the death rate is frightful in the camps I visited — and suffering from an oppressive sense of fear and despair.

Q. How do they actually live, if they are not working?

A. Well, some of them have been getting food from the Red Cross, but only in tiny quantities. For the rest, it has been a matter of selling off whatever belongings they have had. And there seems to be next to nothing left to sell off now.

Q. What does the government do to protect them from mob vengeance?

A. Having them in the camps and ghettos is said to be protection for them, and in a sense it is. But even so there are often incidents. A group of Bengali civilians will go into one of these camp areas and take away people who they say perpetrated atrocities last year. And those people then just never come back.

Q. Well, is there any solution to this problem?

A. Many of the Biharis are hoping against hope that they can get out to Pakistan. I suppose that it is possible that something like a quarter or so of the 900,000 will be able to go to Pakistan eventually, after there is an overall diplomatic settlement between India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. But from what I've heard about the attitude Pakistan's President Bhutto is taking on this it seems more likely that it'll be a smaller fraction. Certainly the great majority are going to have to stay in Bangladesh.

Q. Are things going to improve for those who have to stay there?

A. I think they could. If Sheikh Mujib were to put himself out to emphasise that the Biharis should be treated as first-class citizens and given a chance to work — that is, those of them who are not being charged with war crimes or collaboration — that would make quite a big difference. He would, of course, be flying in the face of prevailing political sentiment. But he might be willing to do that if he realized that Bengali treatment of the Biharis is losing Bangladesh a lot of its overseas friends.

MUJIB, INTELLECTUALS AND SOCIALISM

Q. What is really the basis of Mujib's authority?

A. Well, the over-used word 'charismatic' certainly applies to him. He is the father of the nation and its principal hero. He suffered for it to come into being. He has been in jail for longer periods than any other political leader of the Bengalis. He was not the first man to advocate an independent state for the East Bengalis, but he has long been the central figure of the movement that has now brought the new state into being. In a sense he epitomizes Bangladesh.

Q. But doesn't the tarnished image of the Awami League brush off onto him?

A. Yes and no. It's a bit like the old story of the king whom everybody loves, who is seen to be surrounded by corrupt advisers. Most people are convinced that Mujib's party has a lot of corrupt elements in it. But Mujib himself doesn't get much of the blame for that because he is seen as a man of great goodwill who is doing his best in difficult circumstances. There has been a good deal of talk about him wanting to hold new elections before too long so that he can purge his parliamentary party of the people who've given it a bad name. Mujib's personal reputation is certainly high, though there are critics in the intellectual community who say that he hasn't got a policy and doesn't know where he's going.

Q. Do you see that as fair criticism?

A. Yes, to some extent. But I think there is an increasing sense of clarity about policy. One of the problems of the Awami League government is that the relationship between the party and the intellectuals sympathetic to it has been a pretty loose one. And the relationship was disrupted last year when most of that group of intellectuals were scattered to all parts of the globe — London, Washington, Calcutta, West Pakistan and Bangladesh itself. Those people do have a set of middle and long-range policies, they know what they mean by Bangladesh socialism, and how it might be achieved. And on the whole, their relationship to the Sheikh is a good one. I am thinking of some of the economists in the Planning Commission, of people like the Minister of Justice, Dr. Kamal Hossain, and of some of the social sciences people at Dacca University. But both they and the Sheikh have been so tied down by the day-to-day business of government over the last few months that they are only now beginning to put their imprint on government thinking about the future. The Sheikh seems to put a lot of trust in this group of intellectuals, especially the Planning Commission economists. He is pretty suspicious of many of the old professionals of the Civil Service of Pakistan. And the Planning Commission people have got their opportunity because they can be used as a counterweight to them.

Q. Could you give these intellectuals a label? Are they broadly socialist?

A. They certainly see themselves as socialists. They're a fairly heterogeneous group but most of them take the government's socialist programme pretty seriously.

Q. To what degree is this programme actually being implemented? There were such moves as cutting down civil servant salaries. Is this continuing?

A. On the salaries side there's been some reduction of the egalitarian pressure; the salary ceiling, which was put down very low, has now been raised a bit. But many other egalitarian measures have not been watered down. For instance, private schools are not allowed to charge more than a pretty low maximum of fees. Many kinds of taxes, particularly in the villages, have been abolished and arrears cancelled.

Q. Is there any move towards land redistribution?

A. Yes, there are moves towards it: a land ceiling of 33 acres has been imposed. But it is widely suspected that that has not been implemented properly, that evasion is being made easy. After all, landlord interests are well represented within the Awami League.

POLITICS, PARTIES AND CLASS

Q. Would you like to say a few words about the other parties, like the National Awami Party?

A. There are two National Awami Parties really, the pro-Moscow one of Professor Muzaffar Ahmad, which is almost the same as the pro-Moscow Communist Party of Bangladesh, and the pro-Peking one of Maulana Bhashani, who is 87 and entirely self-educated — a long-time peasant leader and a powerful orator.

Q. He is also something of a senior statesman, isn't he?

A. That's right. He's the one man who has authority comparable to that of Mujib, and to that extent you could say that he is a bit of a threat to Mujib, though he is really too old to be thought of as a potential Prime Minister.

Q. Are both of those parties in the opposition?

A. The NAP of Muzaffar Ahmad, the pro-Moscow group, is not. It is really very close to the government. But the NAP of Bhashani is the principal opposition force. And Bhashani offers a kind of protective umbrella to a whole lot of small Marxist-Leninist groups further to the left.

Q. Are those groups a major force?

A. Not really, they are pretty fragmented. Some are participating in open legal politics and others are hiding out in village areas. There seems to be quite a bit of personal rivalry between leaders, and there is the legacy of the big factional rows that developed in 1969-71 over the question of whether to support the Awami League-led move towards secession from Pakistan. That issue divided the pro-China Left very deeply and the sense of mutual recrimination is still strong.

Q. How strong are the Maoist groups like Mohammad Toha's which are operating in the countryside?

A. Pretty weak, I suspect. And they seem to be waiting in the countryside rather than operating there. The government evidently manages fairly easily to

keep them confined to small areas. Occasionally there is talk of a possible crack down on the whole of the Bhashani-cum-Maoist Left, which would presumably drive large numbers of students and former freedom fighters into supporting the groups in the villages and the forests. But my feeling is that Mujib is not likely to attempt any sweeping crackdown in the near future. It is awfully risky to make guesses about the future in this area, but my guess is that Mujib will keep the pro-China Left fairly weak over the next few years. On the other hand, they probably have a pretty good chance over the long term because of the class situation in the villages.

Q. What is the class situation there?

A. There were a number of studies done in the late 60's which suggest that class polarization in the rural areas had grown rapidly over the previous 10-20 years and that the great mass of the peasantry had been growing poorer. According to one study there was a trend to disinvestment out of the villages, with the village economy becoming more and more subsistence-oriented. It is possible that these trends could be checked in the social situation that has arisen as a result of the Awami League victory, but it is not likely. If it is true that the 50's and 60's were a period of increasing class polarization in the rural areas and that trend continues then Bangladesh might well become ripe for peasant revolution, particularly as there is not much in the way of communal, ethnic or religious division in the society cross-cutting the class cleavage.

Q. Are there any parties to the Right of the government?

A. Well, all of the Muslim parties have been banned, some of them still have a bit of activity — putting up slogans on walls in Dacca, for instance — but I think it will be a while before they revive as a force of real importance.

Q. And what about Kadar Siddiqui, the man who organised his own guerrilla force last year and is supposed to have something like 20,000 men at beck and call?

A. Well, Kadar is certainly still a force. He controls an area around the town of Tangail. He says he owes allegiance to Mujib but he has been very critical of senior government people and particularly of student leaders close to the government. In some ways his position is that of a warlord, so in immediate terms he's possibly more of a threat to Mujib's authority than the ideological Left around Bhashani.

Q. This situation of warlordism — are there any other areas which are virtually controlled by remnants of the freedom fighters.

A. Not really, or only very small areas. Kadar is really unique. Most areas of Bangladesh are very close to the Indian border and so it was fairly easy for the central command of the Bangladesh army to keep control of what was happening militarily during the guerrilla period — except in Tangail.

Q. Tangail is rather more isolated?

A. That's right, it's about as far from the border as any area is. It's also very unusual in that it is heavily wooded and has got underground caves. So it's good guerrilla country.

BANGLADESH, INDIA AND CHINA

Q. Did you see much evidence of anti-Indian feeling?

A. Oh yes, there is quite an undercurrent of that. The relationship at the governmental level is fairly cordial but there are some quite complicated emotional undertones, partly because Bangladesh people don't like having to keep expressing gratitude for what the Indians did last year.

Q. Is there evidence for the charge that Bangladesh has become an Indian client state? Or are the Indians being cautious about throwing their weight around?

A. Yes, I think the Indians have played their part cautiously and tactfully. Sometimes you feel they are bending over backwards to be nice and undomineering. But of course they are an overwhelmingly powerful country vis-a-vis Bangladesh. Bangladesh is poor and disorganised, so it is inevitably dependent on India for all kinds of things. The other thing is that Bengali Muslims are frightened of being dominated by Bengali Hindus again. That is a flashback to the period before 1947, when the Hindus had so great a lead on the Muslims in terms of Western education. As I see it, the Muslim Bengalis who fought against West Pakistani domination and exploitation in the 1950's and 1960's and last year were expressing a nationalism which is continuous with that of the Muslim Bengalis who opted for Pakistan in 1947 because they wanted to get rid of Hindu dominance. And there is a lot of feeling that the victory in this second struggle must not be allowed to undo the positive effects of victory in the first one, that independent Bangladesh must not become just part of the rural hinterland of Calcutta as it was before 1947.

Q. Is Bangladesh pretty fully lined up with India in foreign policy?

A. Yes, with India and Russia. But the Mujib government doesn't want to become too dependent on those two and so is trying to develop counterbalancing relationships with other powers. It will probably take a while to get those sorts of relationships with either America or China. In the first instance Bangladesh is looking to countries like Britain, and Western European countries and Japan, and to some extent Australia.

Q. What about the attitude towards China? Is that still fairly hard?

A. No, I think it has softened quite a bit since the end of the war. Bangladesh will probably be happy to forgive the Chinese their role last year as soon as the Chinese recognize the new state. The Chinese have been very slow to recognize, presumably because they want to wait until Pakistan recognizes. But I think they will be forgiven that too, provided they don't give too much support to guerrilla groups like Toha's, which they probably won't for the time being.

STUDENTS AND THE NATIONAL POLITIC

Q. What about students in Bangladesh? As they formed such a large part of the Mukti Bahini last year they are presumably pretty political now.

A. Oh, certainly. One of the most important fields of national politics is in the contest between the two major student organisations, the Student League and the Student Union. The League is close to the Awami League and the Union is on the Left, including both pro-Moscow and pro-Peking groups but currently led by pro-Moscow people.

Q. Have you any idea of the size of these groups? I have heard that the Student League claims 500,000 members.

A. That may be right, but it would include a large number in high schools as well as college and university students.

Q. What kind of activities are the two organisations pursuing?

A. Partly competing against each other to redress student grievances, trying to get curriculum changes, pushing for a more Bengali-orientated syllabus and so on. They have had quite a bit of success as far as the Bengali language is concerned. Student pressure has resulted in practically all lectures in colleges and universities being given in Bengali rather than in English.

Q. But you say that they are also involved in national politics?

A. Yes. The Student League actively supports the government, and so you find its leaders echoing the slogans of the government and denouncing both "reactionaries" and "ultra-progressives". The Student Union supports the government intermittently but its emphasis is on the need for class struggle, and it is always urging the government to be more thorough in implementing its own policy, more serious about socialism, tougher about purging collaborators and corruptors, and so on.

Q. Are the two groups in sharp conflict?

A. Not very much at the present time. In fact most of the current conflict seems to be within the two organisations. There has been a split in the Student League in the last few weeks between a right-wing group which talks about "Mujibism" and a left-wing one which talks about class struggle. And in the Union there is intermittent tension between the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking groups. If the pro-Peking or pro-Bhashani group became dominant in the Union that would, I think, sharpen up the conflict between the two organisations.

Q. You mentioned the Union people demanding more purges of collaborators. I thought collaborators were being persecuted pretty fiercely in January.

A. There is a lot less arbitrary and indiscriminate persecution now than there was in January and February. In fact the government has rehabilitated a number of people who were previously denounced and dismissed as collaborators. That has happened in radio and television for instance, partly because the indiscriminate sacking of everybody who had worked for the Pakistan authorities last year had issued in a drastic drop in the quality of productions. But there has also been a realisation that many of the people who stayed in Bangladesh or East Pakistan last year had a harder time than the ones who fled to India and later participated in guerrilla activities, and so the general feeling now is that one should look carefully at the circumstances under which people did things at the Pakistan authorities' behest before one makes sweeping denunciations. The Left-wing critics of the government say the Awami League people are protecting some quite notorious collaborators because they are members of their families, or otherwise connected — despite the fact that the people concerned were collaborators by inclination rather than necessity. And there are certainly cases of that. But I think most of the rehabilitation of so-called collaborators has been of people who were by no means wholeheartedly pro-Pakistan last year, or opportunistically serving the Pakistan authorities, but rather actively pro-Bangladesh in spirit but forced to compromise with the occupying authorities to survive.

BENGALIS IN WEST PAKISTAN

Q. Are the Bangladesh authorities still planning to hold war crimes trials?

A. Yes, they are. They want to try some of the Pakistani officers who are now in India as prisoners of war. But it is not at all clear how many of them the Indian government is going to hand over to Bangladesh. That will depend on the outcome of the impending negotiations between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Bangladesh has said that it has established prima facie cases against 1,500 of the 90,000 odd Pakistanis now in India and wants all of them to be sent back to Bangladesh for trial, but the Indians have been a bit evasive on whether they will send back as many as that. Actually, the first trials will probably be of people who are in Bangladesh at the moment, Bengali and some Biharis who are charged with collaboration. They are due to start this month.

Q. What is going to happen to the Bengalis who are now in the rump Pakistan? How many of them are there?

A. There are something like 400,000, and a lot of very highly skilled people among them. The Bangladesh government is very keen that they should be allowed to return to Bangladesh just as quickly as possible, partly because there are about 28,000 soldiers in the group — who would more than double the size of the Bangladesh army. But President Bhutto is using the group as a bargaining counter for getting his 90,000 odd prisoners of war out of India and therefore there will probably be no repatriation of Bengalis from Pakistan until there is some kind of overall settlement.

Q. Do you feel that the repatriation of the Bengalis from West Pakistan may cause trouble for Bangladesh itself, in view of the large number of skilled personnel who'll expect to get the good jobs?

A. There will be problems all right. As far as the army is concerned there are some very senior military officers among the group who are now in Pakistan, but it wouldn't be easy to put them into senior positions over the men who have been actually involved in the freedom fighting. I don't think anybody knows how that problem is going to be resolved. It could increase the group of radically dissatisfied people but my guess is that the net effect will be to strengthen the government by providing it with more administrative skills. The fact that the West Pakistan Bengalis have not participated in the freedom fighting will probably mean they are forced to play a low profile political role.

SECULARISM AND RELIGION

Q. The early emphasis which the Bangladesh government put on secularism as state policy — I gather it's one of the four principles of the state, along with democracy, socialism and nationalism — is this borne out in the way the members of the Hindu minority are treated?

A. Yes, I think it is. Hindus constituted something like 90% of the 10 million or so refugees who fled to India last year and they've settled back in their villages with fairly little friction. The fact that the whole return migration has gone as smoothly as it has is a measure of the commitment of the government to secular approaches. Of course, it also reflects the fact that the government is working closely with the Indians and so wouldn't be able to treat the Hindus as second class citizens if it wanted to.

Q. Is secularism an outcome of the fact that the Bengalis' struggle of 1971 was against a Muslim state which was always using the Islamic religion to justify its political stances?

A. I think that's right. That experience has certainly convinced a lot of Bengalis that religion and politics are best kept apart. And the symbolism of secularism is pretty important these days. For instance there are now no religious oaths when men are sworn in as public officials. But I am inclined to think that Bangladesh nationalism is the nationalism of the Bengali Muslim community in the first instance. To that extent Hindus are going to continue to be something of an outgroup minority, like the Biharis and the small tribal groups. But as long as they retain a fairly low posture, as they are likely to — partly because they are mainly very poor peasants — they will probably be accepted as part of the national community.



ROLLING THE POLICE ROLE

My original article was, I thought, fairly sympathetic to the police position. It saw the police as men trapped; men who as a consequence of their occupational role become the repressive tools of a social order which is increasingly under attack. They are its defence, enforcing its morality and its laws.

Certainly none of what I wrote was to deny the various socially necessary and beneficial activities carried out by the police (such as the controlling of traffic, the notification of deaths, etc.). These activities, like the less praise-worthy ones, are sufficiently publicised and praised by political and community authorities.

Yet certain recent trends make critical examination of the police an imperative. Most particularly, the contemporary challenge to the societal status quo has been met by greatly increased police powers. In addition, there have been attempts by Chief Commissioners to gain public acceptance of a "role of social guidance" by the police. One Victorian Chief Commissioner has described the development of the role this way: "Whereas once... the policeman was a tax gatherer, a messenger, a watchman or an executioner, he is today more than ever taking his place in the community as a guidance officer. This is brought about, to some degree, by the complexity of modern living. It is becoming almost impossible for the average citizen to understand the gadgets and machines which have become part of his human equipment; and even more impossible to remember all the laws and rules relating to their use... This all points to a gradual development of the policeman's role."

If the police have wide-ranging power, if they are to be our guides to the good-life, the question which immediately presents itself is: Who then, are the police? What sort of men are they? This was the basic question to which the "Police Politics and Personality" article addressed itself. It approached the question by a discussion of what sort of men are likely to be attracted

to police work in times of hysteria about "law and order" and what effects their occupational role is likely to have on policemen. The constable's rejection of my conclusion, that one expects and finds a high degree of authoritarianism in the force, is hardly surprising, even if he admits such attributes to himself. On the other hand, his personal rejection could conceivably indicate that he is an exception — conceivably.

The attitude of the constable to demonstrations and "disruption" is just too simple. Do I need to point out the Springbok rugby team is not any normal rugby team? (There was, incidentally, a simple tactic for "keeping the peace" at the match: stop it.)

Again the anti-Vietnam demonstrator is no "wrong doer" or "criminal or social offender". His crime is a social conscience — which in the case of Indo-China doesn't need to be terribly sharp. The police ability to devalue the reason for a demonstration is particularly great. The tone in Chief Superintendent Hickey's voice was what was significant when he said last week, "I've been through them all — the anti-war marches, the anti-American, the anti-apartheid". One wonders how strongly a man like Hickey feels Vietnam, if he knows where it is. My plea is that police not simply be tools, but instead think about social issues and their responsibility, not just as police, but as humans. Does that really clash with "service to the community"?

Here police education is significant. The constable and I can agree that police need to be "better educated". The minimum standard required for adult recruits to the Victoria Police Force, form two, is hardly im-

pressive. In terms of tertiary qualifications, the police force must be almost unique among government agencies, which mostly now employ only graduates in the higher echelons. There were at the time of the St Johnston Report (early last year) only two serving members of the Victoria Police Force who had university degrees; and moreover, only an estimated 1.6% of the force hold a Matriculation or Higher School Certificate (75 to 80 members). It would certainly be difficult to find another government, or non-government, agency employing more than 5,000 men which does not have a university graduate at its head.

There is, it is true, formal provision in the Police Regulations for members of the regular force or cadets to attend a university, technical college or similar tertiary institution to study for a degree, diploma or a professional qualification. However, very little use is made of this facility. At the beginning of 1971, there was no-one in the force who had obtained a degree or diploma by this means.

EDUCATIONAL CONTENT

But it is not level of education which is crucial, rather it is content. Policemen should be educated in subjects that encourage thought about the nature of the social system and social obligation, and which should be conducted, as far as possible, independently of the force. Police officers should come to understand their role in the social order. Does the constable really know what he is saying when he states, "I am fully aware of which side of the law and order debate I am on"?

In Victoria at present the emphasis in police education is to the greater extent on physical education and "police subjects" (e.g. law — what it is, not why, court procedure, finger printing, man-management, etc.) The "strong emphasis" placed on humanities subjects referred to by the constable, in the 20 weeks training course of adult recruits, consists of 3½ weeks allotted to English and Social Studies. Moreover, almost no career police are

educated outside the Police Training Academy and the Victoria Police College. Wrote the constable, "There is no such thing as police educational isolation".

Dissatisfaction with the system of promotion has been around for a long time. An ARGUS editorial of July 30, 1966 referred to "the stupidity of adhering to the system which makes seniority the royal road of promotion". While the Police Regulations have for many years paid lip-service to relative efficiency, in effect a system of relative seniority has guaranteed conservative internal leadership. Chief Commissioner Jackson has had a 39 year career in the force and made it to the top by outliving the competition. A new system of promotion boards has been adopted by the government, but judging by past experience there is no guarantee that it will greatly alter promotion practices.

POLICE UNREST

Police tend to play-down the extent of their own unrest (for one thing, they might be identified with the "wrong" sections of society). Last year saw go-slow action by some members of the force and at one point, prior to the Police Service Board's hearing of claims by the Police Association, Crowley (then secretary of the Association) exclaimed that "This is a last-ditch stand to save the force from decay both from within and without" (AGE Feb. 20, 1971).

My reference to a threatened strike on July 4 came from a front page story in, I regret to say "THE HERALD" (June 2, 1969) — hardly an underground source. The relevant section on threatened action read: "Some police privately nominated July 4, America's Independence Day and usually the signal for anti-U.S. demonstrations". Let me say that I find the suggestion by the constable that I need to invent a threat myself quite offensive. I agree that the proposal would receive little support, but I regard it as a promising sign of some degree in wider social awareness of the force.



by TERRY CAMERON

The "rebel" meetings to which I referred were held at various police stations throughout the state. The biggest at Carlton police station was attended by more than 400 police, risking discipline in order to attend. Crowley was apparently left out altogether. To quote the same HERALD report, "no one had invited him to attend the Carlton meeting."

"The only notice I got of the meeting is what I read in the Press". Many of the men from the meeting later gathered outside the Police Association building and Crowley spoke to these men from the steps then.

The verdict of the Collingburn manslaughter trial was not surprising. (Incidentally, constable, the verdict came on March 8: my article was published on March 6: so it is true that I "omitted to mention" the verdict!) There are limits on what I can say here without inviting prosecution, but many people will have read unauthorised, but well argued, leaflets which appeared soon after the verdict. It is a fact (clear, objective, value-free) that the main witnesses against Murphy and Stillman were policemen. Students will remember the Crown Prosecutor, Paul Mullaly. In one of Albert Langer's trials, the performance of that "most qualified" barrister resulted in his being replaced (nervous breakdown, they said): in the Collingburn case, Murphy and Stillman were acquitted. I hereby acknowledge the fact: they were acquitted of manslaughter by the due legal processes of this state. But why the need to state "no favours were asked or given," constable?

DISCRETION

Why do police insist that what they are enforcing is "the law"? Even in their own terms, in order to play the role of "peace officers", police selectively overlook much "law-breaking". As I suggested in my original article, there are often substantial incompatibilities between the ideas of "law" and "order", so that police often choose to "under-enforce" the law in the interests of "order". As one police-

man has put it recently, "On days like Anzac Day particularly there is a certain relaxation of the law" (Sergeant T. Barge, N.S.W. Police Force). Furthermore, research into the genesis and function of the use of violence by American police has shown that they accept and morally justify the illegal use of violence. What police tend to enforce is their good intentions, what they perceive as truth and social custom and, then, "the law". "The law" of course, seldom demands one and only one course of action from its enforcers in a particular situation.

If they believe it would be unfair to do so, police often refuse to enforce the law, even when it is clear. In relation to minor offences the general rule in western countries is under-enforcement, although discrimination towards particular groups often takes the form of unusually vigorous law enforcement.

POLITICAL WHIM

One example of this was the use by police of vehicle road-worthy examinations to harass demonstrators protesting against the Springbok tour. In fact, in his training the constable who tells me that all he does is enforce "the law" is encouraged to take into account specific circumstances in deciding whether to enforce the law maximally, whether to proceed by arrest or summons, whether to act under one statutory provision or another. Such discretionary power calls out for a critical examination of those who hold it.

"We enforce the law" is often simply not true. Indeed, the constable's reply to my article was, as he points out in his last paragraph, against "the law". Both of us think breaking it was a good idea.

The foregoing is a rejoinder to the article by an anonymous member of the Victoria Police Force published in the last issue of LOT'S WIFE. Terry Cameron's original article, "POLICE POLITICS & PERSONALITY" appeared in the March 6th issue of LOT'S WIFE.

PIZZ OFF!



To the Pizza Hut. You'll find the nearest one at 896 Dandenong Road.

It is one of that ghastly complex of fast food places that sit, like festering sores, along Dandenong Road.

Distinguished only by the fact that some clever dick keeps knocking off our "A" so that our sign reads "PIZZ HUT". Very smart.

We sell eleven different pizzas and a bloody awful collection of pseudo-American grub. The atmosphere, at best, is bourgeois, but the Pizzas aren't bad. For students, we are offering a 50% discount on all Pizzas, lunch and dinner, Monday to Thursday for the month of June only. Just flash your student ID card. We've got booze at 896 Dandenong Road (546 6166) but bring your own to the Surrey Hills Hut — corner Whitehorse Road and Laing Street (89 9888). And, if an offer like that doesn't grab you, PIZZ OFF!

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THE SICK SOCIETY

MICHAEL TANZER

(Temple Smith)

Reviewed by Graham Dunkley

The latest book by the author of the well known 'Political Economy of International Oil and the Underdeveloped Countries' is a rather remarkable work, for Tanzer is a critic of the capitalist system from the inside. He has worked for Standard Oil, for a management consulting firm and now has his own economic consulting firm. He is an economics graduate from Harvard.

The *Sick Society*, perhaps slightly pretentiously titled, is an economic analysis of the American economy modelled fairly much on Baran and Sweezy's *Monopoly Capital*. The first few chapters have virtually no originality, drawing heavily on Baran and Sweezy, Horowitz, Wise and Ross's *Invisible Government* and such recent works on the corporate economy and American Imperialist activities overseas, however it serves as an excellent summary of these issues.

There follows a section on Black Poverty and alienation, neither totally original, but with some interesting data on high unemployment in the ghettos and racial discrimination in employment, which all contribute to keeping the wages of blacks low. He shows how retailers and merchants keep many ghetto blacks perpetually in debt and how these in turn are controlled at a higher level by large profit-making corporations.

These three things then, are the first of two diseases which afflict the sick society, i.e. overseas political involvement in the interests of large corporations, black poverty and alienation. At the base of this disease is the profit motive, and he proceeds to show how this base

motive has pervaded public bodies such as the Federal Housing Administration. Such public and semi-public bodies frequently rely on loans from banks or other areas of the capital market, hence their ability to raise finance depends on their profitability which is as a rule rather low. Besides the obvious symptoms like urban discontent and negro rioting, he quotes some interesting figures on negro recruitment rates to the army — they make up 20% of combat troops in Vietnam (but are 10% of the population), an even higher proportion of elite fighting units and re-enlist at a much higher rate. This would indicate that they are venting their frustrations with their racist society on the Vietnamese.

The second disease of American society is what he sees as a rapidly developing domestic and international monetary crisis. On this disease he is considerably more original. At the back of the international aspect of the crisis as it affects the US, is the enormous export of dollars after the War, mainly to Europe, in the form of Marshall Plan aid, direct and portfolio private foreign investment and defence spending — especially the Vietnam war, which out-grew the US gold backing capacity. This was

satisfactory while there was general confidence in the dollar, but from about 1958 many people in Europe began exchanging dollars for US gold reserves which ran them down drastically. The high level of private US investment in Europe has given the Europeans vast supplies of dollars to exchange for gold, hence it is the major root cause of the problem.

In this process American capitalists are gaining real economic assets in exchange for the more ephemeral assets of money and gold. Nationalism in Europe is trying to reverse this trend. They have two weapons which they could use. They could try to bankrupt the US by demanding gold for their dollars or they could devalue their currencies which would increase the value of their gold holdings and possibly enable them to takeover much of the US investment in Europe.

Either of these measures would result in some degree of international financial chaos, disrupt trade and affect economic activity in the domestic sector of every country. Such an eventuality would bring a disastrous crisis in America, and the roots of the problem he traces to the decreasing liquidity of financial organisations. He produces statistics on the degree to which business has been taken over by financial organizations not under the control of the Federal Reserve System. He shows how through the growth of credit financing, a tight circle of indebtedness has arisen with the lower middle classes and working class being the most in debt. Any major economic

disturbance would set off a chain reaction which would leave a trail of bankrupt finance organizations and a mass of infuriated creditors and debtors. The millions would be thrown out of work and the legacy of black poverty and alienation would provide ready-made revolutionary material.

The book makes no attempt to study the degree of revolutionary consciousness which is likely to be induced by such a crisis, he has set as his task only an analysis of the mechanics of such a potential crisis. Recent events have of course been close to a potential crisis, which has not eventuated. The US has revoked the convertibility of dollars to gold. It devalued its currency effectively raising the value of gold and did not get the retaliatory devaluations which Tanzer thought might herald the crisis. Instead most countries obligingly revalued their own currencies by approximately what the US wanted. So it seems that most of the Western world realizes the need for the security of American capitalism.

Tanzer's crisis has its origins in the international sector. What he does not attempt to consider of course is the possibility of it originating in the domestic sector from growing discontent and revolutionary consciousness. This would then reverse the process by causing something of an international crisis. This would help revolutionary movements everywhere, but particularly in the third world. Nevertheless this book stands as a damning indictment of the Sick Society that is the United States of America today.

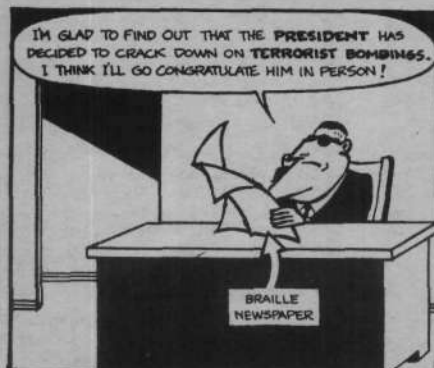


TRICKY PRICKEARS

THE BLIND,
DEAF COP.

CRIMESTOMPERS MEINKAMPF

RIOTERS
ROOKIES! REMEMBER, THREE OR MORE PEOPLE TOGETHER IS A POTENTIAL RIOT. BREAK THEM UP BEFORE THEY DAMAGE ANYONE'S PROPERTY.
CONSPIRACY
TWO PEOPLE IS MERELY A CONSPIRACY. ASK YOUR SUPERIOR WHAT THAT MEANS. *Tricky Prickears*



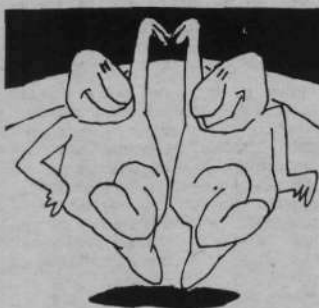
ANUCAL

GETTING STUFFED

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the GREAT AUSTRALIAN BITE 18 molesworth st., north melbourne tel: 329 9068. lunch, tuesday — friday, dinner, tuesday — sunday (that's right, sunday) byo.
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KENT HOTEL. 370 Rathdowne Street, North Carlton. Tel: 347 1084. BISTRO open for lunch Monday to Saturday. Dinner dance Friday and Saturday nights.
UNION HOTEL. 78 Fenwick St., North Carlton. Folk singing every Friday night with Danny Spooner and others from 8 p.m.
STATION HOTEL. Greville Street, Prahran. Live music on Saturdays 2 p.m.
POLARIS INN. 551 Nicholson Street, Carlton. Folk music every Friday; jazz every Wed. and Sat.

GENEVIEVE. 233 Faraday Street, Carlton. Tel: 347 4202. Open 8 a.m. until midnight for coffee, meals and snacks. Ice creams too.
GENOA BISTRO. 71 Nicholson Street, Carlton. Tel: 347 2992. Lunch Monday to Friday. Dinner Monday to Saturday. Genuine Italian home cooking. Private parties catered for. Licensed.
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CLARE CASTLE HOTEL. 421 Rathdowne Street, Carlton. Dining room with Australian and Continental menu. Open for lunch 12-3 and for dinner 6-10 from Monday to Saturday.
NAUGHTON'S HOTEL. 43 Royal Parade, Parkville. Leading University Hotel.
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Food for Thought. 541 Chapel St.: about \$2 for a health meal.
24 Hour pool tables and coffee and eating at Johnny's Green Room. Faraday St.
Claremont Theatre. South Yarra: coffee and folk singing Saturday nights from 10.30, Margaret Road: night and others. Admission \$1.00. Bookings 24 6405.
Manresa. 35 Burwood Rd., Hawthorn (nr. Glenferrie). Coffee. Craft Market: Groups.
White Elephant Coffee Shop. 148 Lonsdale St., City. Food, coffee, musicians, clubs and societies. poetry readings. Wed., Thurs. 8 p.m.-midnight; Sat. till 2 a.m.

ODDS & SODS

Carlton Flea Market. 325 Drummond St., Carlton. Fri. 5-9 p.m., Sat. 10-2 p.m. Communal Living Information Centre. 27 Rathdowne St., Carlton. Tel. 34 6726.
Existential Society Discussion Group meets every Thurs. at 8.00 p.m. in the Graduate Lounge, 2nd Floor, Melb. Union. Enquiries 42 6726.
Transcendental Meditation. 29 Drummond St., Carlton. A free introductory lecture is given at the centre each Wed. night at 8.00 p.m.
Poetry workshop for anybody interested in writing. Ivanhoe area, ring 49 2492.

People's Co-op. — cheap, wholesale, healthy foods at 6 Cressy St., Malvern or 217 Cotham Rd., Kew.

R.M.I.T. Midday Lecture Series 1972 — MAN AND HIS ENVIRONMENT June 1st: Sir MacFarlane Burnett 'The Concept of Ecology' June 8th: Prof. J. Jenner (ANU) 'The Pressure of Population'. All lectures commence at 12.20 to 1 p.m. at Storey Hall, 342 Swanston St., City.

Thomas Nelson (Australia) Ltd. are publishing a volume of short stories written in Australia, purportedly with the intention of giving new and unknown people the chance to gain some attention. All typescripts must be sent to Nelson's at 597 Collins St., City by 30th June. Details of the conditions of acceptance will be sent to anyone on receipt of an enquiry to that address (with a stamped self-addressed envelope) So there you are.

THEATRE

Pram Factory, 325 Drummond St., Carlton. **THE COMPULSORY CENTURY** an audience participation play about education and others, until July 15th. Further notes from the Pram Factory — a series of workshops have been arranged with the Creative Arts Department for 14 to 16 year olds.

These will commence on **Thursday 8th June** and will be held at the **Creative Arts Department**, 117 Bourverie St., Carlton. If interested, ring **Claire Dobbin**, on 34 9505 or 347 5466.

Monash Players, Lunchtime Theatre, presents the 'new' **SUDDENLY LAST SUMMER** by Tennessee Williams Thurs. 15th and Fri. 16th June at 1.10 p.m. in the **Union Theatre** — 'out with the old, in with the new'.

Alexander Theatre, Saturday June 10th at 8.00 p.m. **THE ENSEMBLE DANCE THEATRE** Bookings 541 3992 Adults \$1.50, students \$1.00. Commencing Mon. June 19th for the week, **STORK** comes to Monash, at 8.00 p.m. every night, \$1.50 and \$1.00 for students.

Melbourne French Theatre presents **LA GUERRE DE TROIE N'AURA PAS LIEU** by Jean Giraudoux: June 15th and 16th at the **Alexander Theatre** and 19th to 24th June at the **Prince Philip Theatre**, Melbourne University, all shows commencing at 8.00 p.m.

St. Martin's Theatre, South Yarra, **IT'S ALL IN THE MIND** a humorous look at "protesters", by John Hale. May 31st to June 24th. Bookings 26 2188.

Russell St. Theatre, MACQUARIE by Alexander Buzo. Nightly, plus matinee Fridays. Bookings 645 1100.

La Mama, Faraday St., Carlton. **THE QUEUE** directed by Paul Hampton & **SADIE AND NECO** directed by Peter Cummins at 8.30 p.m. June 2, 3 & 4.

Claremont Theatre, 14 Claremont St., South Yarra: **ROOTED** by Alexander Buzo. Thurs. to Sun. each week. Bookings 51 2373.

Union Theatre, Melbourne Uni. the **Australian Season 1972** presents **WOMEN!**, an adaptation by Jack Hibberd of Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* (whatever), directed by James McCaughey. June 14-17. All enquiries and bookings, 347 4186.

Metro, Bourke St. **BUTLEY** with Peter Wyngarde 8.30 nightly, also 5.30 Sat. Bookings 662 1100.

Comedy Theatre, **LAST OF THE RED HOT LOVERS** with Harry Corbett, and written by Neil Simon. Nightly, and matinees Wed. & Sat. at 2 p.m. Bookings 663 3716.

GALLERIES

McLelland Gallery, Boundary Rd., Langwarrin. Tel. 059 782504: still life and landscape paintings by **SIR WILLIAM DARGIE**, plus exhibition of drawings, from June 6th for three weeks. Open Tues. — Sun.

Ewing Gallery, Melb. Uni., Tel: 347 3811. Photography exhibition by students of Prahran Tech., until June 23rd.

Osborne and Pollack Gallery, 8 Avoca St., South Yarra. Tel: 26 5071 Prints and paintings by **GEOFF LA GERCHE**, until June 16th.

Munster Arms Gallery, 102 Little Bourke St., Tel: 663 1436. Paintings by **Wendy Jonas**, until June 7th.

MUSIC

Orchestral Concert Series, Melbourne Symphony Orchestra conducted by Fritz Reiger with violinist Miriam Fried, **Melbourne Town Hall** at 8.00 p.m. Mon. June 5th (Red Series) and June 7th and 8th. (Blue Series) Bookings at ABC Box Office 243 Collins St., Tel: 600 721.

Chevron Hotel, **MARIE MARLENE** — "who excites the blood like fine wine" opens a three week season from May 29th.

Jazz music for Melbourne for 1972: dates that have been set for the future are:

ERROL GARNER June 27 - 28
EARL HINNESS July 25 - 26
BRUBECK, MULLIGAN, BURREL, SMITH September 15 - 17.
All these concerts will be held at the **Dallas Brooks Hall**.

FILMS

Australia One & Two, with their long-running money makers — **THE DEVILS** (a thoroughly tasteless and worthless film if there ever was one) and **SUMMER OF '42**. Bookings 63 2837.

Albany and Rivoli Two showing **KLUTE**.

Rivoli, **TRAFFIC** and the continuing adventures of Monsieur Hulot. Bookings 82 1221.

Trak, **THE LAST PICTURE SHOW** Bookings 24 9333. There is no free list, therefore no student concessions, for the first six weeks of showing — if you can wait that long.

Roma, the **BEDROOM MAZURKA**, supported by bit of 'Perfumed Garden' still seems to be running: a bedroom story with a difference?

Elsternwick (Classic) **PAINT YOUR WAGON** until June 7th, then **CARRY ON LOVING** and **DOCTOR IN TROUBLE** until June 14th. June 15th to 21st **BILLY JACK**.

Dendy (Malvern) **SABRA** plus 'The Liberation of L.B. Jones'. Bookings 50 3135.

Dendy (Brighton) **JOE** Bookings 92 8811.

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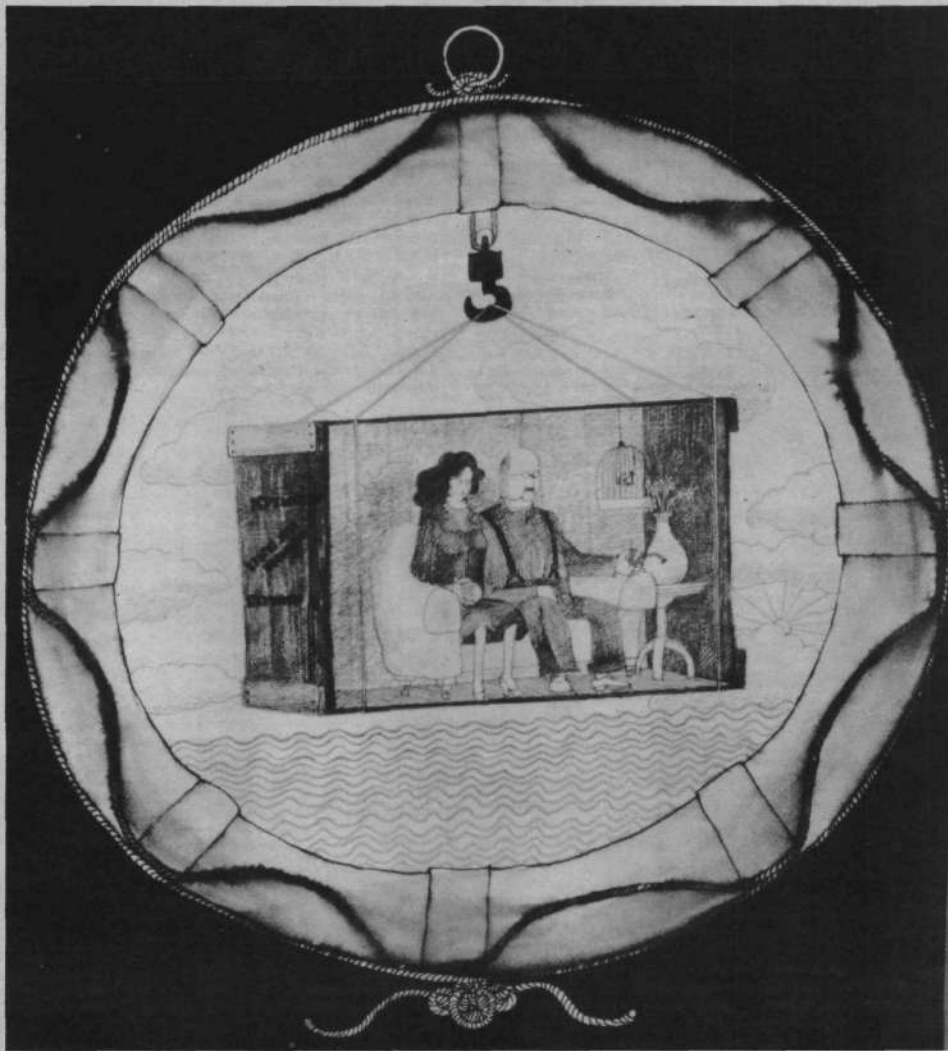
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THE ECONOMICS OF WOMENS LIBERATION

PETER RIACH

Some of the policies I'm going to talk about today will be familiar to many of you but I hope I can raise some policies that may not be so familiar. The basic objective I have set myself is to try and draw all these problems together in a co-ordinated framework in the way that an economist would.

The proposals I'm going to put forward today are firmly placed within the context of the type of modified capitalist society in which we live, and in which they live in Western Europe. In other words, a society in which the production of goods and services is basically organised by individual businessmen and by companies who have as their basic objective the maximization of profit and the minimization of costs for any given level of output.

In other words, the question I want to discuss today is: what modifications we might be able to make within the existing social and political system to provide for

greater equality for females. I'm not suggesting that it will necessarily be possible to achieve complete social and economic equality for females within the boundaries of the existing system. But, there is a great deal more support for modification of the existing system than for its replacement. I'm a pragmatist. I'm also rather impatient and I think we ought to be thinking of reformist as well as revolutionary solutions.

Now, there are several points in the analysis where we could begin. I'll start with the problem of inequality of pay. What, in fact, are the reasons why females may not get wage equality with males. I want to mainly look at what economists call the "overlap" area, which is that part of the labour market in which females and males are working side by side

doing identical jobs, teaching, for instance.

Various justifications are put forward to explain the cases where females are paid less than males. Firstly let us consider the possibility that social conventions are directly responsible. It may be argued that married females earn a secondary income, that it is the male who is the fundamental breadwinner in the family. Therefore, if we are going to protect our society and social equity then the married man must always earn more than the married woman.

On the other hand, if we talk about single females, it is argued equivalently that they don't have to bear the full responsibility for their upkeep — that it is males who buy their theatre tickets and their beer, etc., and so, once again, a single man must be in a better financial position than a single woman.

This attitude was perhaps most graphically demonstrated in a statement given to the 1945 British Royal Commission on Equal Pay.

One quite eminent British economist, since knighted, claimed that one social cause of equal pay is to secure "that motherhood as a vocation is not too unattractive

financially compared with work in the professions, industry or trade". Obviously if it is such economic factors which motivate some people to enter into motherhood we would be better off with them remaining childless.

This particular justification is distinctly less fashionable now, but still does exist. There is one important example in this country that you are probably not aware of. The Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission sets a minimum wage which only applies to adult males. Justice Moore, in the "Australian" July 27th 1971 said: "The minimum wage applies only to adult male employees" and this apparent discrimination arose from the wish to give a special lift to the family group. You might complain that this was a crude way to achieve our objective, but, as we constantly reiterate: we work in an area of imprecision and we constantly have to make acts of judgements.

Well, they certainly work in an area of imprecision and they have to make acts of judgement, but I consider that to be a particularly bad act of judgement.

Continued Page 22

WAGE INEQUALITY

Let's move onto the economic or efficiency grounds — the second basic group of reasons which is given to explain wage inequality between males and females. The basic justification here is that females, for certain reasons, are less useful than males to the employer. They are not as "good a buy", so our profit-maximizing neo-classical entrepreneurs will only be prepared, on economic grounds, to buy females at some sort of a discount.

There are five stock reasons trotted out before wage fixing tribunals and Royal Commissions. The first obvious reason is that females are not as physically strong and so not as productive. Of course, this is something that has diminished in importance with technical progress; and this is an important factor now in only a minority of instances.

The second reason: it is argued that females are less resourceful less flexible, less adaptable, more emotional etc. than males. Now, these are nothing short of euphemisms for saying that females are not as intelligent as males. A wise old Professor, I once worked under, demolished this very well by pointing out that: "IQ tests, whatever they measure, show that females have as much of it as males".

The third ground is legal restrictions and provision of special amenities — the sorts of protective laws that started with the Factory Acts. They set a maximum number of hours a female may work, specify that they have to have rest rooms etc. If these things are necessary they are equally necessary for males.

These first three factors are not stressed any more. It is the other two factors: higher turnover rate and greater absenteeism of females that are most stressed before any equal pay case today.

With respect to the higher turnover rate, it is argued that females stay for a lesser time in any job than males and, therefore, if any on the job training is involved, females are a less good buy. So an employer will prefer to employ a female for some immediately useable skill which she has. This particular attitude was stated very clearly in a report of the Careers and Appointments Board at Monash. "Because of the widely held point of view that women graduates are temporary employees only, that they cannot be given supervisory responsibilities over men, and that their work attitudes are somehow more emotional and less satisfactory than those of men, they are normally employed for the immediately useable skills they can bring to their jobs, rather than for their longer term potential for development. Many of them are used substantially under their capacities and there is a great deal of discontent amongst them. For these reasons suitable post-graduate vocational courses would be of special value to women".

ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY

One of the things that Monash has done to try and deal with that problem is to set up a special typing and secretarial course at Caulfield Tech, so that Arts graduates, in particular, will have some immediately useable technical skills. The other factor which is still put forward strongly today is that females have a higher absentee rate. I want to come back to these two reasons later on.

Whilst these two factors of efficiency and usefulness in some instances carry a significant responsibility for the lower relative wage of the female, it is often the case that

females receive lower rates of pay than males in situations where they are doing exactly the same job, with exactly the same efficiency. For instance, I always cite the case in my lectures of secondary teachers, certainly as it existed up until two or three years ago when they were finally awarded equal pay. Also even in cases where females may be less efficient than the males it is often the case that their wage is discounted by a higher percentage than any difference in their efficiency. This point was quite explicitly noted by the 1945 British Royal Commission. It has also been demonstrated in Australia: during the war there was a Womens Employment Board which enquired into female rates of pay in the metal trades industry and their efficiency. They decided that it would be reasonable for females to

as teaching, nursing, libraries and beauty shops. What this means is, that in the areas where they are acceptable their relative scarcity as compared to the males is reduced. What this does is to weaken their market situation and their bargaining position.

JOB INEQUALITY

If, 5 or 10 years ago, when there was a salary differential in state high schools of \$2,000 — \$3,000, male salaries had been cut back to the female level; what do you think would have happened? Of course a lot of males would have backed out and gone elsewhere. Therefore why didn't the females do the same? Because they didn't have anywhere near the same range of alternative job opportunities.



get 90% of the male rate, because, overall, they were 90% as efficient as the males. Yet at that time females were getting only 54% of the male rate.

So what is going on? Something else must be at work besides these simple factors of economic efficiency. We might think that in the neat world of the neo-classical economist, staffed by rational profit maximizing entrepreneurs, pay would be proportionate to efficiency in which case the businessmen would be indifferent in employment of males and females.

There is a very simple reason why this is not so: to keep the female the employer just does not have to pay her any more than he currently is. How can this situation 'perpetuate' itself? The obvious answer is that females are restricted to so very few areas of the labour market — they do not have same range of employment possibilities as males. Most of the females are captive in such areas

So, what I would argue is that this is the fundamental problem that females should be tackling: because inequality of job opportunity is the fundamental factor which is giving rise to the inequality of pay.

When we move away from the overlap area, towards all-female areas, such as nursing, we have to ask ourselves: What, meaningfully, is equal pay for a nurse? It will be far more fruitful to achieve equality of opportunity so that females are not concentrated in a few areas like nursing with weak market and bargaining power.

Let's get onto the important things: What are the policy implications of all this? When you discuss the lower representation of females in many professions with many people, be it a careers and appointments officer or a business man, they will often argue that this is a result of the fact that they are not as good a buy because of the higher female turnover and absentee rate — they don't

stay long in the business world because they leave, get married and have kids.

Alternatively, if you challenge them on that one and demonstrate that in many situations female turnover and absentee rates are no higher than for males then it is argued that limited female representation in the professions and trades is self-imposed — that they don't want these jobs. A third possibility is the one I obviously consider carries the key responsibility — the fact that there is just a lot of prejudice in the labour market which arbitrarily precludes females from taking jobs they would like to.

FEMALE STATUS

Let's go through some policies aimed at dealing with all three of these possibilities. In many ways these policies are interdependent — it may be desirable to implement them in an integrated fashion. This may be one of those cases where the effect of the whole is greater than the effect of the sum of the parts.

First of all — turnover. Do females, in fact, remain in a job on average for a shorter period than males? We have very little data on this in Australia; and one thing I would like to see here is a Royal Commission to look into the whole problem of role and status of females in our society. The Americans have had a Presidential Commission on the status of women in the mid-60's and amongst other things they found that when you classify job turnover data by age and occupational group any difference between the sexes is quite minor.

We had a seminar in the Economics Department recently at which the careers and appointments officers from Monash, Melbourne and LaTrobe were all present. They all indicated that on average female graduates stay on the job with their first employer longer than male graduates. In other words, their turnover rate is lower — the simple reason being, of course, that once the girls get a job, they are so bloody grateful to have it they do not want to go anywhere else — and have less opportunity to go elsewhere.

Now, the first policy I would like to see introduced is one of the Swedish provisions. The Swedes are by far the most innovative in this area. I am not sure whether some of these policies are still at the proposal stage or have been actually introduced. It is pretty hard to get up to date literature. But certainly they were talking seriously about introducing provisions for male post-pregnancy leave. Obviously it is the female who is going to have the kid, but there is no reason on earth why it should necessarily be the female who stays home and looks after the kid — if it is decided that one of the parents does stay home and look after it.

ABSENTEEISM

Now given that IQ is equally distributed between the sexes, it follows that in 50% of marriages it is going to be the female who is more intelligent and in a truly egalitarian society has the greater career prospects, so why shouldn't it be the male who stays home for these few months?

Another way of breaking down the higher turnover rate is to have adequate child-minding centres. As far as I understand it the only time that a female need be off work to have a child is a maximum of six weeks. My own wife happens to be pregnant at the moment. She goes to one of Melbourne's best obstetricians, who I hasten to add is female, and provided there are no special complications she is quite

happy for Lorraine to teach till the day she has the kid and she tells her that even if she had to have a caesarean she can go back to work after six weeks.

So that is the extent of the necessary difference in work force absence between males and females with respect to child-birth.

Now, what do we do about absentee rates? Once again Australian data are inadequate to enable a detailed comparative appraisal.

But to the extent female absentee rates exceed those of males in equivalent jobs it may be partly a vicious circle between higher absentee rates and unequal pay. If we have unequal pay and both male and female are working and one of the kids get sick, there is an economic motivation for the mother to say home because the loss of pay is going to be less. Consequently, she has a higher absentee rate which in turn is used as one justification for lower female pay.

How do we deal with this? Well, one thing that is fundamental and has been largely ignored by the A.C.T.U.

her career is going to be a fairly shortlived one and a fairly hazardous one. In other words, she accepts the fact that inevitably she will have to play the domestic role after working for 3 or 4 years and that only after a 10 year break will she be able to resume her career and that it might be difficult to do so satisfactorily after such an interval.

IN AND OUT

Females in this group are likely to be less deterred from pursuing their career desires if we implement the previous policies I have mentioned, because they will then realise that if they want to have a career, it is far more possible for it to be a continuous one.

The second situation is where the female absolutely lacks the basic desire for a career — we are getting well out of the realm of economics now into sociology and social psychology — but presumably, this is very much the outcome of the

seek employment and are arbitrarily excluded because of physical characteristics which are irrelevant to job performance.

MALE PREJUDICE

A reluctance to employ females may be the outcome of the employer's own personal prejudices, but it may also drive from the opposition of male employees to working as peers or subordinates of females — or from customers where direct contact with employees is involved. The eradication of such prejudices of course lies at the very heart of the problem which Women's Liberation seeks to tackle and I am afraid I have no simple quick solutions to what is basically a long term educational problem. However there are some policies which might set the educational ball rolling and which might break down some overt job discrimination.

Firstly a full-scale Royal Commission on the Status of Women, of the type they have had in the U.S.A., Canada

tising — as occurs in the 1964 US Civil Rights Act. Under such an act the notice board outside the Careers & Appointments Office on the first floor of the Union would be in contravention of the law — as would some of the job ads, which appear from time to time in Lot's Wife.

SINGLE SEX-SCHOOLS

But most fundamental is an educational system which treats its students as people — not as two distinct sex groups — no more single-sex schools (and I was one who suffered such a fate) — no more boy's yards and girl's yards (I note that there is some organization now called Panda's Liberation and having watched An An pace incessantly while Chi Chi skulked in her den, they have my full support). Also equal availability of subjects and encouragement to both sexes.

The above policies are aimed at improving the job opportunities of



in their pressure for revaluation in working hours in the most sensible FORM of hours reduction. Instead of working less hours per day, we might work less days per week or less weeks per year. For many reasons a four day working week would be more advantageous than a seven hour day. If the extra day's holiday for the male and the female were a different day there would be greater scope for dealing with any problem with the children; also for the male to play a full and equal share in the domestic responsibilities.

Another proposal which the Swedes have been considering is making it compulsory for an employer to grant leave to a male if one of his children is sick.

Now, to what extent is this low representation of females in many jobs self-imposed and what policies may be relevant here? It seems to me sensible to break this up into two categories.

Firstly, the situation where the female may have a basic desire to enter the workforce and have a career, but deliberately decides against it because she sees that within the society in which we live,

conditioning process as it takes place both in the home and in the school. One policy which is relevant here is again of Swedish origin. In Swedish schools there are compulsory cooking classes and compulsory child-craft classes for both males and females. **Everyone in Sweden has to learn to cook, everyone has to learn to look after babies.**

Another approach that is relevant here is consciousness-raising groups to try and counteract any role-playing imposed by the schools or by the family. From my own personal experience it seems to me that the 12-17 age group is a fairly critical group involved here, and I consider there is a need for a small booklet directed at this age group — aimed at making them aware of the confining role which society is imposing on them.

Finally let us consider the possibility that the small female representation in most professions and trades is the outcome of prejudice — that females meet barriers in some areas of the labour market in the way that others do because of their colour or religion or social background — situations where females

and several European countries in the last decade — this would at the very least bring to public attention the extent of discrimination which women face in our society. Secondly, the State and Federal Governments and their instrumentalities could, in their capacity as large employers, implement a completely non-discriminatory policy in both appointment and promotion. Thirdly, State and Federal Governments could follow U.S. practice and demand, as a precondition for the award of a government contract, that public companies follow equally non-discriminatory employment practices.

Fourthly, the Commonwealth Government could ratify Convention 111 of the International Labour Office which requires that signatories undertake appropriate educational and legislative programmes aimed at breaking down labour market discrimination on many bases including sex. More than 70 countries have signed this convention but Australia is not amongst them. Equal Employment Opportunity Commissions of the type they have in the USA would be relevant here, plus legislation outlawing sex designation in job adver-

menting — thereby improving their labour market situation, which will in turn improve their bargaining position. To extract maximum advantage from this though, women will need to unionize to the full and exhibit greater solidarity and militancy than has often been the case in the past.

REMOVING BARRIERS

Finally, may I stress that the proposals which I have put forward are aimed at removing barriers which females currently encounter in our society. It is in no way my intention to put pressure on contented housewives to go out to work — my objective is to create an environment where choice can be exercised NOT to remove choice. This will create a better society for both males and females.

edited by dianne minnis.
(From a talk given by Peter Riach, lecturer in Labour Economics, Monash.)

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