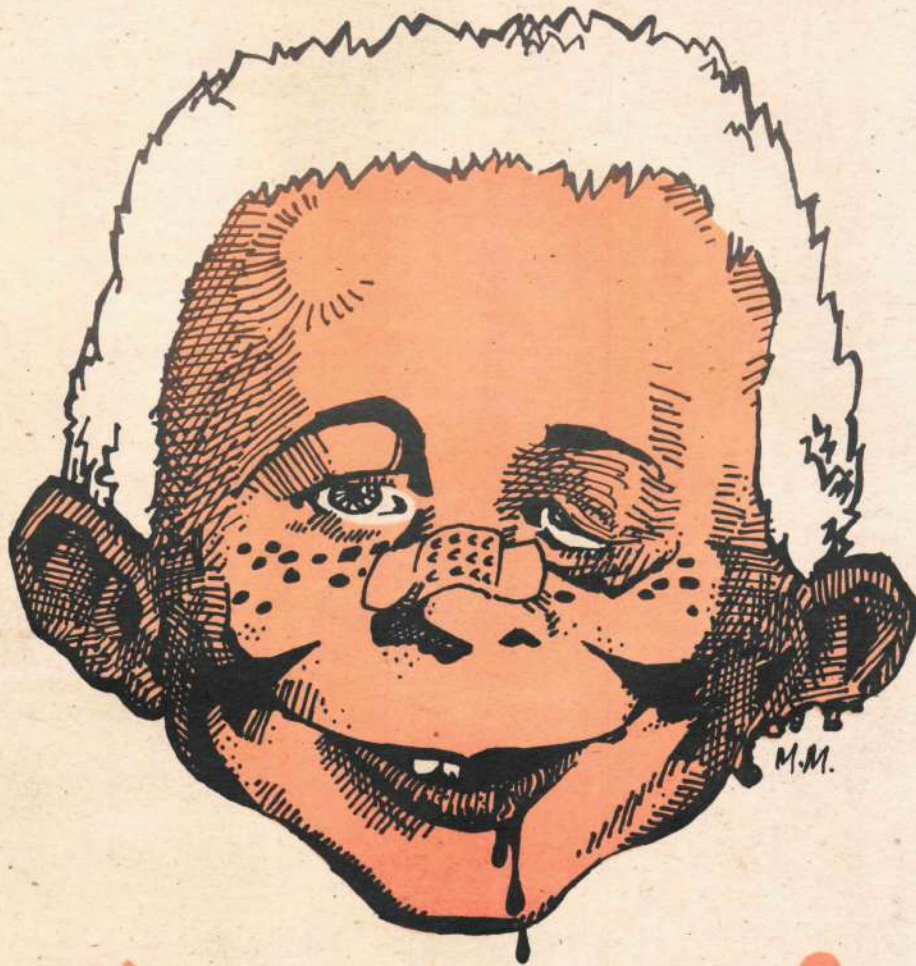


# LOT'S ★ WIFE

Vol. 13, No. 18 October 8, 1973



What, me bleed?

"Many if not most of the 150 bashings that occur every week can be attributed to small adolescent loosely-structured gangs, the skinheads being currently the most structurally cohesive".

## **DROOGS IN MELBOURNE**

**PAGE 7**

"We think that this is a dead-shot go by the University to break the power of the unions".

## **MONASH WORKERS CONFRONT THE ADMIN.**

**PAGE 5**

"By attacking the Works, Walsh hoped to discredit Digger, something which can only be categorised as a pretty piss-weak piece of work."

## **LIGHT, POWDER AND CONSTRUCTION WORKS**

**PAGE 6**



# news from outside

## HOWARD HUNT'S CONSPIRATORIAL FANTASIES

A third White House psycho case history

The last edition of Lot's contained the story of the strange behaviour of Gordon Liddy, one of the convicted Watergate conspirators. This week, Jack Anderson, the Washington "dirt job specialist", continues with an analysis of E. Howard Hunt, another of the convicted conspirators.

We have already written about the bizarre behavior of White House burglar G. Gordon Liddy. His partner in crime, E. Howard Hunt, is equally strange. The two men who tried to steal psychological data about Daniel Ellsberg seem more in need of psychological study themselves.

While Liddy acted out his daydreams by posturing with guns and threatening those who got in his way, Hunt found an outlet for his fantasies in the pages of his 45 obscure novels. He went by many names both as a spy and a novelist.

He was a romantic spy who ran about in a preposterous red wig, committing burglaries, conspiring to wiretap and engaging in intrigue. When he was caught, he allegedly tried to blackmail

the White House for \$1 million to keep his mouth shut.

### \$100,000 stashed away

Several large cash payments were delivered to him. But instead of sharing the money with his fellow defendants, he allegedly kept most of it himself. Prosecutors believe he still has more than \$100,000 stashed away.

Yet, five months afterward, surrounded by the wreckage of Watergate, Hunt was still telling friends: "I've spent a lifetime serving my country and, in a sense, I'm still serving it."

Much of his past is wrapped in the secrecy that surrounds all former CIA men. But this much is known:

He was one of the planners behind the Bay of Pigs,

although he withdrew from the operation in protest after Manolo Ray, a leader of the anti-Castro Cuban left, was included in the revolutionary council.

While the ragtag troops were training in Guatemala, Hunt sought to use them to defend the Guatemalan president against an uprising. He was overruled by Washington, which thought they should fight one counter-revolution at a time.

Earlier in Uruguay, as his tour of duty was coming to an end, he promised that country's president several U.S. helicopters if el Presidente would intercede to keep him in Montevideo. The ploy failed and the episode later kept him from a desirable post in Spain.

### Night in closet

As a burglar, Hunt attempted to reconnoiter the Watergate and slipped into a dining room. He found he couldn't open a connecting

door without alarming a guard. So he spent the night in a closet, waiting to escape in the anonymity of the daytime crowd.

### Wild schemes

Yet astoundingly, this neurotic pair, Liddy and Hunt, were brought into the White House where they were permitted to implement their wild schemes. They were supposed to be the James Bond specialists, who would handle "Mission Impossible" assignments for the White House.

They were paid higher salaries than the young White House aides who served as their nominal supervisors. Our White House sources say the young aides held Liddy and Hunt in awe and listened respectfully to their schemes.

If Hunt had written the Watergate story as one of his novels, it would have been dismissed as too wild to be believed.

— L.A. Free Press



## Skinny Dipping Comes to Olympics

Swimmers in the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal might be competing in the nude.

Western German female swimmers in Munich have been swimming without suits on and report that nude racing enables them to swim much faster. Western German swimming coach Gerhard Hetz says that he has timed eight of his best swimmers who raced while nude, and that all eight set their best marks ever. They found that their cloth suits slowed them down too much.

Coach Hetz adds that former Australian swimming star Dawn Fraser often swam in the raw because she found that she could move through the water faster.

Hetz says he will ask the Olympic Committee to permit nude swimmers to compete in 1976.

If skinny dipping is permitted, watch for a host of new records to be set, including at audience attendance.

— Zodiac

## MARCOS STOMPS ON "TROUBLE"

### Three million non-voters

The three million people who did not vote in the recent Philippines election had, until September 8 to "explain themselves", the Ferdinand Marcos regime announced late in August. If the non-voters don't have a good reason, they will have to pay a fine and may be sent to jail from one to six months.

The real reasons for the declaration of martial law last year by President Ferdinand Marcos are becoming clearer. Marcos has pushed through new regulations aiding foreign investors; allowing special investments via foreign exchange accounts which will facilitate the export of profits by overseas corporations; allow investors to enter the Philippines on a special, permanent non-immigrant status and by allowing the peso to follow the dollar in devaluation.

Marcos' inability to deal with the forces of the New Peoples Army in central

Luzon and with allied Moslem insurgents in the south has, however, kept many new investments away.

### Military draft

In a new move in the fighting, Marcos has announced the Philippines first military draft. University students will be required to serve up to a year after 18 months in mandatory military training. More than 10,000 members of Marcos' 60,000-member army have already been sent to the south.

— Guardian

## ECOLOGICAL AND ECONOMICAL

### California pest control

The city of Berkeley, California, has discovered that biological pest control is not only ecologically sound but it can save money as well.

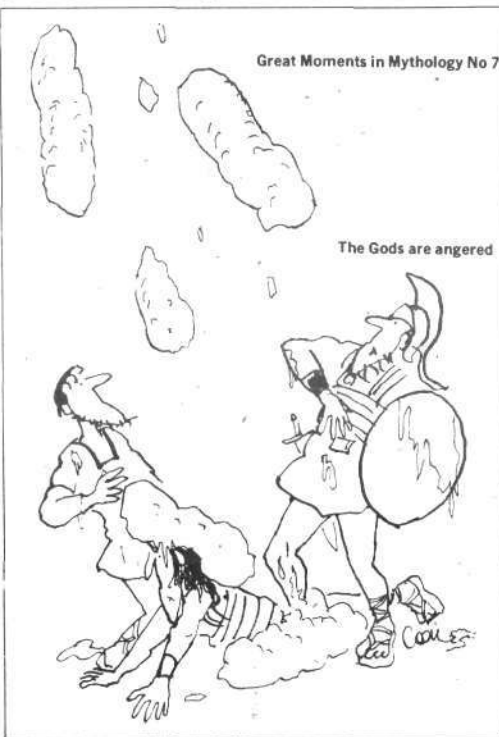
The annual pest control budget for the city dropped from \$7000 to \$2500 after chemical pest control was abandoned in favor of a biological control program developed by the University of California's entomology department.

The old program was based on the idea that all insects on the city's trees were harmful. Research uncovered the fact that only two insects actually kill trees — aphids and oakworms. A European wasp was discovered which lays eggs within aphid eggs,

thereby destroying the aphids. Oakworms were wiped out by the introduction of an insect disease to which they are particularly susceptible.

Biological controls appear to be the wave of the future. The U.S. Department of Agriculture is funding 19 universities in a study of six major crop systems to find effective biological controls. The USDA believes that pesticide use on these six crops could drop as much as 50% through this program alone.

— Environmental Action



Ted Kennedy lobbying

## U.S. TRADE BAN ON RHODESIA?

Senator Edward Kennedy is spearheading a drive in the Senate to have the United States reimpose a ban that would outlaw trade between the U.S. and Rhodesia.

The Senate, in 1971, voted to trade with Rhodesia again, on the grounds that banning Rhodesian chrome would make the United States dependent on Soviet chrome.

Senator Kennedy, and

Nixon's appointed U.N. Ambassador, John Scali, both state that the continuing trade with Rhodesia has severely damaged the image of the United States in the eyes of African members in the United Nations.

— Zodiac

## The Arms Race Goes On

"The year after the May, 1972, Soviet-American interim agreement on the limitation of offensive missiles provided little evidence of super-power restraint in that field," concludes the International Institute for Strategic Studies in its annual report just issued.

At the present pace, the U.S. could have 1000 land-based and 710 submarine-based missiles carrying well over 8000 warheads by the end of the 1970s, the report says. The Soviet Union "has also shown every sign of reaching the agreement limits."

Though still far behind, China is reported to be moving ahead with her nuclear program, developing a multi-stage intermediate-range missile sufficiently powerful to reach Moscow and an intercontinental missile "capable of reaching most major targets in the U.S."

The past year was marked with a tremendous arms buildup in the Persian Gulf, prompted by the big rise in oil reserves. Leading the spending splurge are Iran, which is spending more for arms than any country in the area including Egypt and Israel — and Saudi Arabia. Both these countries buy most of their weapons from the U.S.

— J.P.



## Wealth Words from Health Organisation

The President of the Australian Public Health Association, Dr. Richard Southby, last week said the Australian Medical Association and the General Practitioners' Society in Australia had been "highly emotional and dishonest" in their advertising against the proposed (federal) national insurance Health Scheme.

### Untrue criticisms

Dr. Southby, who is attached to the Monash University Medical School at the Alfred Hospital, said many of the criticisms levelled by both organisations, "such as the removal of choice of medical practitioner and the nationalisation of medicine, are simply untrue" because under the scheme patients will continue to have freedom of choice and there is no evidence that national ownership of health services is intended by the federal government.

Dr. Southby went on to say that the attempt of the GPS to associate the Health Scheme with Nazism (see *Lot's* 17/9) "is disgusting and irresponsible for a professional group. The public could not be blamed for concluding that both the Australian Medical Association and the General Practitioners' Society in Australia are more concerned with maximising their own economic rewards regardless of the health needs of the community."

### "Unworthy tactics"

In deploring "these unworthy tactics", he also pointed to a number of weaknesses in the proposed scheme. Firstly, there needs to be a clearer indication given as to what will be the situation with the care of the people who have chronic and terminal illnesses. Secondly, the proposed discount of 15% in return for doctors bulk billing the Health Insurance Commission is unlikely to prevent doctors from directly billing patients. And third, mental health and other services (e.g. Optometrists and dentists) are not covered by the scheme.

Although he made these criticisms, Dr. Southby said he hoped "the public will not be misled by organised medicine's attacks on a health insurance scheme designed to improve the community's system of financing a significant proportion of the health services."

# news from inside

## SLAUGHTER IN MARTIN PLACE

Uniformed poofster-bashers against Gay Lib. demo

The sky was grey and ominously overcast as 200 homosexuals gathered on the steps of Sydney Town Hall for Sydney's Gay Pride Week demonstration. Approaching from the other side of the city was another march — to commemorate the Battle of Britain. Destination: the Cenotaph in Martin Place, for a wreath-laying ceremony.

The Gay Pride demo had planned on going to Martin Place also — and then to Hyde Park to listen to gay poets. From the start the cops were hassling us to go straight to Hyde Park, even though the Battle of Britain ceremony wasn't due to be held until at least an hour after we got there. The spirit of the demo was determined and militant — so we decided to go straight up George St. — cop blockade or no.

The cops formed up in front of the curb — we surged forward. Many of us were pushed, punched or thrown to the ground; a few got through. There were no arrests — yet. The rest of us charged across the intersection and up to Pitt St. We were running through the traffic — yelling, chanting, shouting euphorically: "Out of the beats and onto the streets"; pink and black streamers and balloons bobbed along as we screamed out "Ho, ho homosexual, the ruling class is ineffectual."

At the next intersection a cop car screeched to a halt to form an ineffectual road block. Four cops jumped out as two hundred of us tore past, weaving in and out of the stationary traffic. Just after most of us were through the rest of the cops flooded in. They picked on Nancy who is small and slight and very frail looking. She was walking across the intersection, several cops grabbed her and shoved her in a cop car. She got out and before she could reach the curb at least six cops were onto her. She was bashed, thrown to the ground and kicked. Her arm was so badly wrenched it was lucky not to break, she had grazes on her back and arms; a sprained, cut and grazed ankle, bad bruises: oh, and she was slightly concussed also.

A photographer from Tri-

bune was taking photos of Nancy's attack. He was bundled into a paddy wagon, his camera and equipment were smashed, his shirt ripped and eye blackened. He was charged with unseemly words, resisting arrest and assault. Of course, he didn't do any of those things.

### Vicious attack

We got to Martin Place and formed up on the Post Office steps. Everyone was still pretty high at that stage. As we chanted a wreath was laid on the cenotaph to commemorate homosexuals murdered during World War Two in Nazi concentration camps. Just then four paddy wagons and lots of police reinforcements came screaming to a halt right in Martin Place. A wall of cops faced up ominously to the demo. They grabbed Paul Foss as he was speaking through a megaphone. Then it was on. Five cops at a time would charge into the crowd, grab someone — anyone — bash them and drag them over to a waiting paddy wagon. My glasses got broken — just a quick punch in the face from a passing cop. Twelve guys were arrested in the most vicious police attack I've seen.

We crawled off to Hyde Park utterly demoralized and cowed. When we got there we couldn't have a poetry reading — all our poets had been arrested. We seethed through a few mildly outraged speeches and calls for witnesses to arrests. Then a woman angrily grabbed the megaphone and urged everyone to march on Phillip St. police station to chant for our arrested sister and brothers. **Gay is proud became Gay is angry** — seething with frustration and anger.

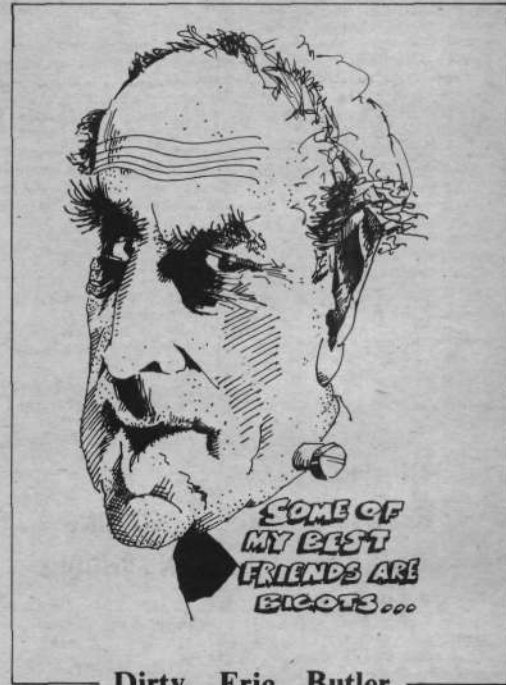
Eighty of us marched — arms linked, chanting solidly.

We milled around on the footpath outside, chanting. Anne and I were standing on either side of Gary, who was yelling, through a megaphone. Suddenly six or eight cops charged forward, grabbed the three of us and we were dragged off to a paddy wagon. The last I saw of the demo was through the grill of the paddy wagon door as it prowled slowly off to Central police station.

At central we were put through the usual mill — everything except our clothes and glasses taken off us, thrown into cells, fingerprinted, photographed then

back in the cells for another few hours. It is rumoured that one of us had a lump of hash on them when arrested, so they ate it and had a very pleasant stoned time in jail. Finally Macquarie Uni SRC bailed us out: three women and 15 men each on \$100 bail. We were all charged with unseemly words and resisting arrest. The hearing is set for October 16. Regardless of whether we did what we're charged with or not we'll be found guilty. It's going to be a political trial and we're going to give them a bloody good run for their money.

Diane Minnis



Dirty Eric Butler

No matter where he goes, the National Director of the (Australian) League Of Rights, **Eric Butler**, seems to associate himself with groups which are declared fascists or are uncomfortably neo-fascist in their orientation.

A recent League publication (*On Target* 7/9/73) notes that on his recent tour overseas, which included the usual obligatory stopovers in Rhodesia and South Africa, the National Director spoke at a rally in London's Trafalgar Square which was "organised by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of nations." (ABN).

Apart from a rather hypocritical aside on his part (he said he was proud to be in a city "whose people by their courage played a decisive role in the darkest days of the Second World War" — he didn't mention that during that same period he was considered a pro-fascist security risk in Australia) his speech contained nothing new. It is his association with the ABN which is the most interesting matter.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations is an international movement with its headquarters in Munich representing extremist emigres from Eastern Europe and the non-Russian territories of the Soviet Union. It is headed by former Nazi collaborators and stands for an intense hatred

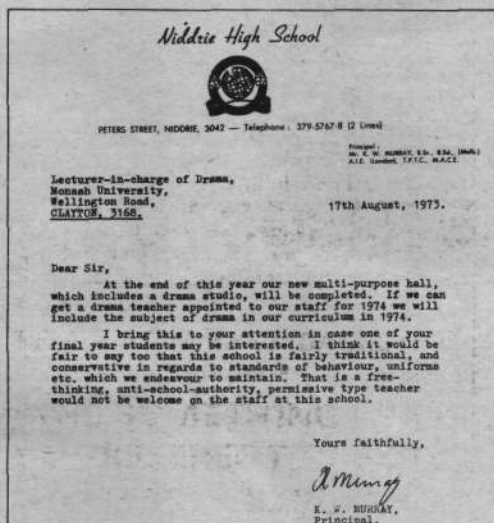
of all ethnic Russians coupled with an hysterical anti-Communism such as is found in the John Birch Society in the USA.

### "Nazi elements"

In 1954 the European Director of the American Jewish Committee, Mr. Zacharia Shuster, said the ABN was "a grouping of some of the worst fascist and Nazi elements of the emigre movements." And in Australia, two leaders of the ABN, Dr. Laszlo Megay and Dr. Constantin I. Untaru, have been declared war criminals. (The evidence for this can be found in *The Truth Behind Captive Nations Week*, by John Playford which is available in the Main Library.)

In view of the strange associates he keeps in his campaign against "International Communism", Butler's claim at the Trafalgar Square that he was "taking the offensive against the enemies of freedom" seems a little dubious, to say the least.

Lot's Wife, Monday, October 8, 1973 — Page 3



The letter reproduced here was sent to the Monash English Department. Apart from its poor punctuation, the second paragraph is interesting in itself. P.S.: The school motto, on the crest in the letterhead, is "Hope Springs Eternal".





## Lot's Wife

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## WHO THE HELL IS PETER BANNING?

Dear Sir,  
That renowned 'economic expert', Donald Cochrane, once said that 'a little knowledge is a dangerous thing', but he should have added that a complete lack of knowledge is totally disastrous. And reviewer (I use that term very loosely) Graham Dunkley proved that in his review of Papandreou's *Paternalistic Capitalism* in your rag (Lot's 10/9/73).

Dunkley's first bombshell comes in his discussion of the Pareto-optimal equilibrium model used by bourgeois economists. He says economists using this model "have usually been able to squirm out of making value judgements on matters such as distribution of income..." and goes on to dutifully repeat Papandreou's objections to the model viz. that it is historically invalidated, that there is a need to account for 'externalities' and that the Pareto-optimal solution "might not be entirely independent of ethical political judgements."

If Mr. Dunkley had any knowledge of the current disarray of mainstream economic theory he would know that the neo-classical model has been effectively demolished by the work of the Cambridge-Italian school (see the convenient summary in Schwartz and Hunt *A Critique Of Economic Theory*). Those economists e.g. Sraffa, Robinson and Nuti, have shown the model to contain an implicit bourgeois

# letters • letters • letters • letters

ideology ('value judgements' in Dunkley's terms) and that it is internally inconsistent.

Their criticism does not accept the model's essential framework, as do those which Dunkley repeats, and show the impossibility of the fact/value distinction which underlies the use of terms like 'value' or 'ethical political judgements'.

Dunkley's other major blunder is in his treatment of Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy. (One has to presume: here, since he doesn't mention it, that he is discussing their work *Monopoly Capital*.) I find his statement that the idea of oligopolists seeking cost-reducing technologies is simply a "marxist concept", a little puzzling since the basis of the bourgeois economists' models has always been that of the profit-maximizing (cost-reducing) capitalist firm.

And the claim that Baran and Sweezy's concept of the economic surplus is "equivalent to Marx's surplus value" and does not consider social overhead costs is plain hilarious since B and S spend their 'Introduction' clearly distinguishing their concept from that of Marx's and a number of chapters discussing social overhead costs. Faced with this sort of 'analysis' one doesn't know whether to laugh or cry.

In conclusion, just who the bloody hell is Graham Dunkley?

Peter Banning  
Economics IV (retired)

## NO KIDDING ON SCHOOLS

Dear Editors,

With reference to the series of articles relating to secondary schooling in your last issue (24.9.73). I feel that you missed the point! You seemed to picture the teacher as the 'bad guy' but the problem is really much deeper. As was noted, the teacher is human and as such represents the total society we live in. Thus I would contend, that lack of individual expression, subject problems, motivation and survival techniques are representations of the ills of society not the individual teacher.

If the teacher is conservative or a disciplinarian, the problem must be seen in the education of that individual. It would seem that the teacher education process either does not equip the teacher adequately or, as in most cases, is unable to counter societal induced prejudices, values or patterns of behavior. Further, while teacher training remains a process that, at the least, stresses societal values and while society itself expects a particular stereotype teacher these problems will remain!

I was distressed to see an extract of 'Dept.' regulations (which incidentally, I agree discriminate against the individual student) that stressed the role of teacher-student rather than a more balanced approach of how the 'Dept.' regulates the teacher. Further anyone familiar with the Dept. will realise that the teacher and/or principal is legally accountable to parents for the

security of the student 9-4 p.m., including lunch time? Both the student and teacher are regulated by society!

In relation to the article on Community Schooling, I feel again that stress should have been placed on why such 'alternate' schooling are now appearing. Also, perhaps the article did not draw enough distinction between the objectives of such a school (individualism etc.) and the rather stereo-typed and traditional achievement orientated school system. It can be noted further that problems may result in trying to fit a community school individual into the traditional society where such liberated individuals may counter accepted values.

I stress again, the problems of secondary schooling must be sought in the wider context of society. If you wanted to give some insight to the student about the 'system' perhaps more value could have been made in illuminating what 'education' equips them for: the tools of society!

It is rather short sighted to see the problems of schooling in the teacher, it is society in the end that must be changed!

G. Clark,  
Arts P/G



## SEMESTER SPAGHETTI SOURCE

Dear Sir,

Once again a classic lack of communication appears to have developed in relation to the trend toward semesterisation.

This is clearly demonstrated by the inability of either an individual faculty or the university in toto, to conclusively 'decide the best approach. In the past four years, the university's vacation dates and arrangements have been significantly changed annually — as regards what were once the term breaks (i.e. May and September holidays).

Acknowledging that AUC has ruled that all university vacations must coincide by at least a week, we can see no reason why Monash should be the guinea pigs in any experimental manoeuvre in university curricula. What is required is a concerted effort to establish a consistent, and lasting policy attitude to this problem.

Melbourne University and La Trobe seem to have avoided any such conflict, and are still running efficiently! There are many reasons why the semester system should not be adopted, such as some students genuinely needing the break at the time, or having to re-organise their notes and 'catch up' with other work. Many a student, or member of staff, whether married, or simply a

brother or sister, appreciate being with the rest of the family for these breaks, but because our holidays finished before school ones started in September, this was not the case. It is unfortunate too that many faculties regularly require assignments to be done over such breaks, and often to be handed in during them.

A give-and-take concept is not necessary, the length of the summer vacation is totally irrelevant to the argument involved herein. The majority of the student body should be made aware that next year, only a week at May and September is provided for — a loss of two weeks which has been vitally and strategically placed in the past, with the addition of only one to the mid-semester break, and an extension of the examination period at that time, also anticipated. This only serves to worsen the problem as some students were so rostered for exams at mid-year (1973) that they had just one or two days break before second semester commenced.

We urge those interested to let their protests be known, and sign the petition at the CONTACT office. Don't believe the claim that only the State government has powers on this matter — its the university administration who advises them.

Signed (most urgently),  
5 disgruntled students

## PULLING OUT A FINGER

Dear Sir,

A reply to Keith McKenry (L. W. Sept. 29, '73). I was not aware that Sweeney was President of the Bushwalking Club. Another finger in the pie?

Gerry Butcher  
Law

## SUBTLE AS A BUCKET OF SHIT!

Dear Sir,

If Rob Hardy finds "Coriolanus" so much better than everything else on at the moment, why produce so many picky little criticisms? He dislikes the direction, and points as an example to people "not moving" for long periods. Surely the stillness in contrast to the violent movement of, for example, the battle scenes, is a subtle piece of direction which points up the contrasts in the play. The battle scenes themselves were skillfully directed to provide the utmost excitement and surprise. Should actors move all the time? It is strange that Rob Hardy keeps qualifying all his criticisms, yet feels that the play ultimately failed. Why? He admits that the acting was good, his criticism of the directing leaves much to be desired. He fails to mention the set, the music, the costumes, the constant interest all these and the production evoked. Far from a failure, "Coriolanus" was a success.

Stephen Lee  
Ruth Sturgess

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

Dear Sir,

Re: The Hazards of Commuting

Your readers may be interested in the impressions of a citizen recently returned from the U.S. as to the hazards of commuting, and the suggested precautions.

Monash — Elwood

(a) By bus: 3 accidents in 5 months.

(b) By car: 8 accidents in 5 months within 50 feet of observer, who, for obvious reasons, does not drive.

(c) By train: train from Clayton always arrives at South Yarra just as connecting train to Balacava pulls out of the other platform. Discussion (friendly) with Station Master brings out that this is the way God and Victorian Railways intended it. Schedule allows 1 minute for change, but train from Clayton is always exactly 14 minutes late, whereas train from Flinders Street arrives at South Yarra on time and is allowed to wait only 20 seconds.

Sydney — Melbourne

(a) Monash-Tullamarine: trains may be on strike (e.g. recently when drivers objected to lack of space in the new silver cars).

(b) Tullamarine-Mascot: (1) Radar technologists on strike at present, airport closed; (11) "Equipment", in any case, did not arrive from Adelaide ("equipment" — plane)! (11) After 8.30 p.m. at Melbourne end there is not a solitary buffet or snack-bar open either near Franklin Street bus terminal or at the airport.

(c) Spencer Street-Grand Central (by rail): connecting trains from country run late, Southern Aurora delayed. On arrival, further delay due to non-availability of a platform.

(d) Mail: if you obviously are not going to make it in person, try the P. M. G. The last 5 letters to Sydney took 8 days. This week there is a full stoppage.

(e) Telephone: The P. M. G. does not recognize the existence of areas outside the Metropolitan area; e.g. the happy little township of Glenorie, N.S.W. could not be found by the operator, her Supervisor, or the Supervisor's Supervisor. This despite the fact, that area code and full number was supplied. Enquiry from the Assistant Director General elicited the fact that I was supposed to know Glenorie was on the Windsor exchange!

(f) Walking: very hazardous on arrival in Sydney, due to the blackouts caused by power-strike and increased risk of mugging.

## SUGGESTED SOLUTION

Make trip by pack-horse. Fuel: hay. Hay is a by-product of A. Economics (overheard in corridor: "Australia must make hay while the sun shines"). Costs: carry petrol side-saddle to Sydney (petrol strike) and bring back beer to Melbourne (brewery strike). Equipment: batteries, candles.

I hope your readers (and those being copied) will find my comments constructive.

George E. Ferris,  
Senior Lecturer in Economics.

# news from the sheltered workshops

## CAMPUS WORKERS STRIKE IN CLASH WITH ADMIN.

Indefinite stayout likely

Security staff and drivers employed by the University went out on indefinite strike last Friday week, and were joined by the cleaning staff last Tuesday, in a confrontation with the University Administration over the closed shop principle.

The strike was provoked by the persistent refusal of two men, one in the security staff and the other a driver, to join the Miscellaneous Workers Union and the Transport Workers Union respectively.

Initially, the matter arose when a recent pay rise, which had been fought for by the unions to which the employees pay dues, was also received by a non-unionist security staff member, causing irritation over the fact that he was willing to gain the benefits of unionism without joining in the responsibilities.

### No reply

Letters to the Admin's Non-Academic Staff Officer, Mr. R. H. Harle, in late August over the issue were not even replied to, so further personal approaches to the men concerned were resorted to. Things came to a head soon after one of the non-unionists was asked last Saturday fortnight why he wouldn't join, and replied, "I'll let them go on strike for a couple of days and then I'll think of joining

...". A total of nine security staff and 16 TWU members are out at present, and refuse to go back until the two men have been dismissed. As one unionist explained to Lot's Wife: "We've lost a week's pay over them now and we're damned if we'll have them back."

At present, only two men are attending to the security of the University: the non-unionist security officer and the Admin's favorite hatchet man in times of trouble, Chief Parking Officer Ron Berry.

### "Two-faced"

Berry is not highly regarded among campus workers. One striker referred to him as "two-faced" and another explained: "He's alright if you don't turn your back on him — if you do you'll get a dirk in it."

TWU members, mean-

while, have been picketing the entrance to the University, stopping all commercial vehicles and explaining the strike situation to their drivers, who usually show their support by not delivering their loads.

### Cleaners out

Support for the strikers among other campus employees has grown steadily. Last week the cleaning staff, who are in the MWU like the security men, voted seventy-five to four to go out in support of their fellow unionists. They showed a willingness to give up one week's pay — despite the fact that they are the lowest-paid workers on campus — in support of a principle that involves no immediate personal gain for themselves. They will return on Tuesday, Oct. 9, to meet and consider the continuation of the strike.

By last Thursday there was a strong likelihood of maintenance staff going out

as well, with a possibility of support by gardening staff.

The reason for the high level of support for the strike by campus employees is that it is regarded as a showdown between the unions and the University, which has consistently backed up non-unionists against unions fighting for a closed shop. A notice issued last week by the security officers' section of the union to all on-campus MWU members went as follows: "The university, regardless of the fact that they were given one month's notice as to strike action, have stated their intention to support this man, and have done so ... Are they using this as a test case?"

### Break the unions.

As one striking worker told Lot's, "We think that this is a deadshot go by the University to break the power of the unions."

University Council will be meeting today (Monday 8) to consider the strike and the issue it raises. Whether or not the Administration is prepared to continue a confrontation with its own employees will be decided then.



## Political Sects in Family Squabbles

Monash political history was made last week when Maoists battled Trotskyists in a no holds barred tag-team match for ideological supremacy.

Billed as "The Great Debate", an audience of 150 potential revolutionaries lost their faith in the left, after two hours of semantic antics by its heavyweights.

In the red corner, leading the Maoist team, who are in intensive training for their cross continent long march, was Albert Langer, a trifle overweight.

Albert's team mates, Pat Delmaestro and Len Hartnett faced off against a team on the extreme right of the theatre, comprising Trotskyists of all seven local factions.

Both sides totally ignored the fact that the theatre was filled, making it about the best attended meeting the left has called all year. Hopeful new supporters of the left departed in disgust as the "debate" rapidly degenerated to shouts of: "Who supported the invasion of Czechoslovakia, eh, Dave, come on tell us!"

To which there came the snappy comeback: "All right, so I did support the invasion of Czechoslovakia, but that was five years ago; and anyway I was a Maoist then. Anyway, Albert who supported the invasion of Hungary, eh, come on tell us how you justify that."

Having alienated potential support by mudslinging and shit canning every one else, the protagonists further alienated many environmentalists by polluting the atmosphere by constantly smoking; and deliberately insulting gay liberation and womens liberation for not following the pure Maoist path to salvation.

Langer, his wife at his side, denounced gay liberation as "decadent and camp", and then got stuck into womens liberation.

Saying he disagreed with the attack by radical feminists on the nuclear family as the cause of sexism, he continued "I'm not attacking the nuclear family. I've got a wife and a kid, and I don't want outsiders coming in".

While the Maoists insulted everybody in sight, the Trotskyists merely patronised them, by saying "the gay liberation movement is one of the most exciting developments we have seen in recent years."

Although lacking Jack Little to provide a commentary on the game, many people left feeling that the Boy Revolutionaries Light Heavyweight title should go to neither side, as the score was nil all.

From our Sino-Soviet correspondent.

Lot's Wife, Monday, October 8, 1973 — Page 5

## Union Fees Up, Up ...

At the Union Board meeting last Thursday, it was decided to raise the Union fee for 1974 by \$13.50.

This means that the total fee for full-time students in 1974 will be \$72.



## NEW LOW QUORUM FOR M.A.S. MEETINGS

In a constitutional change of major importance, M.A.S. was rendered accessible to the average student at a general meeting last Thursday week. With important safeguards to protect against abuse by minorities, the quorum for a student general meeting was lowered to 100 students, instead of the previous 600-plus.

Initiated by a group of students who were disturbed at the increasing level of alienation of M.A.S. from large numbers of students, the move was designed to allow for greater participation.

Effectively, the change means that groups with an interest in getting student support for a particular policy or issue are not automatically barred from doing so by the prohibitive size of the previous quorum.

Although it was argued by some speakers at the meeting that the reduced quorum would permit dominance of MAS by small minority groups, this was refuted by others, including the mover of the motion Jim Falk, who pointed out:

(a) that the change also provided for other groups, by

petition of one hundred signatures, to raise the quorum to 600-plus (5% of student body) if they so desired, and (b) that anyone who wanted could come along to the meeting to put their own viewpoint — and precisely because there was now greater likelihood of things happening at MAS meetings more people would turn up to either support or oppose motions.

The 622 students present at the meeting were apparently more convinced by the latter arguments. They voted 428 for and 198 against the motion, thereby satisfying

the requirement of having a two-thirds majority for constitutional changes. This count was taken on a formal division.

At the same meeting also, there was a unanimous vote in favor of a motion to incorporate the Student Welfare Action Board into MAS, thereby including all bodies concerned with student welfare under the one structure.

### DLP

#### back-stabbing

Subsequent to the meeting, some DLP supporters, who had opposed the lowering of the quorum at the meeting proper, attempted to override the constitutional decision by enlisting the support of the University Administration.

Last Monday they went to see the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Matheson, to try to get him to over-ride the constitutional change (which needs the approval of Council). According to some reports, Matheson's reaction was to quietly

leave by the back door in order to avoid seeing the DLP Club members waiting outside for him, but apparently did not succeed.

Whatever the case, they eventually managed to get a hearing from Pro-Vice-Chancellor: Swan, who recently was involved in a dispute with MAS representatives over his method of chairing Union Board meetings, and who since then has displayed some animosity towards MAS. Accordingly he seems to have been taken in by the DLP club's pleadings. He wrote a letter that same day to MAS Chairwoman Mary Bluer in which he echoed virtually all the arguments put by the DLP Club, especially concerning the amount of notice which was given for the meeting.

According to MAS Secretary Ian Fehring, all constitutional requirements were met in publicity for the meeting. "The meeting was announced in the Union Daily News Sheet 10 days beforehand, and MAS posters were prominent in the Union to advertise it," he said.



# THE LIGHT, POWDER AND CONSTRUCTION WORKS.

BY DICK WELSH

"Our greatest resource", says Peter Britton, "is the people we collectively know", since "we want people to bring in ideas which would otherwise not be acted on."

Peter, with Virginia Fraser, Allen Smith, Helen Garner, and Bill Garner, works for the Light, Powder & Construction Works which began operating in July out of the old A.U.S. Office, at 350 Victoria St., North Melbourne.

Although only a couple of months old, it has already been the subject of media coverage on G.T.K., and, of course, *Nation Review*. The latter story consisted of a muck-raking article by Michael Morris (on which see below).

The people at the Works view themselves as full time 'propagandists' (although the obfuscatory Britton insists they're "usually part-time only"), operating a resources centre for information distribution, and a clearing house for ideas.

It's open to the public with a library of periodicals, pamphlets (and some books) covering a wide range of areas. The Works people are consciously critical of Australian society, and couple this with an expressed need to work out alternative views for what would be a freer, more rational social order.

## OPPOSITIONAL GROUPS

The Works has wide contacts with what might be called 'oppositional groups' and hopes to promote interaction between them over a wide range of issues. It's for this reason that you can see anarchists, Maoists and childcare activists working in the same room as video-freaks — something unique in itself.

They want people to bring in ideas for projects which might otherwise receive any attention — and they are developing projects such as a film on Nuigini, research into the corpora-

tions which dominate Australia and a pamphlet on how to handle the baffling legal system — how to deal with the courts etc.

The Works has a photocopier, duplicator, electric stencil cutter, and a typewriter available for use by people who can't get use of them elsewhere. The only cost involved is for paper and the typesetter (some small typesetting jobs, may, however, be done for free).

## BUSINESS IN ASIA

The L.P. & C.W. acts autonomously but is funded by Community Aid Abroad. In early 1972 the 'business arm' of C.A.A., which runs the "Handicrafts of Asia" shops, initiated investigation into the problems of the underdeveloped countries, or the so-called Third World.

The project aimed to delineate the nature and causes of mass poverty, and to define the meaning of 'development' as it used for those countries. The research (which was to place emphasis on the economic relations between rich and poor countries), was also expected to place some recommendation for action which C.A.A. could follow.



L. to r.: Helen Garner, Virginia Fraser, Bill Garner and Allen Smith (partly obscured)

The paper which grew from that research (by Alan and Geoff Currey) argued that the wealth of the rich industrial countries and the poverty of the Third World are inextricably connected — "The rich countries presently intervene in the Third World in ways which inhibit any improvement in the living standards of the majority of its inhabitants and ... the motives behind this intervention arise directly from the sort of 'development' being pursued by the rich countries."

## IMPERIALISM

The paper thus analyses the process of "underdevelopment" in the Third World in a way which dovetails with the analysis of imperialism as presented by people such as Paul Baran (*The Political Economy of Growth*), Harry Magdoff (*The Age of Imperialism*) and Teresa Hayter (*Aid as Imperialism*). The paper is very interesting in itself and a copy of it can be obtained from the Works.

Its important recommendation, however, was that the main way in which the problem of poverty in the Third World can be overcome is not so much through emergency relief or community development projects, which C.A.A. had previously concentrated on, since "this does nothing to change the international system which is preventing the masses in the poor countries from solving their own problems." The most effective action which can be taken is thus to change the "goals, values and institutions" of rich countries like Australia — "to change its perception of its own development."

It therefore recommended the establishment of an autonomous agency to help the movement towards a "total transformation of Australian society".

The paper and its recommendations were presented to the National Executive of C.A.A. in February this year, and surprisingly, some thought, approved. So the L.P. & C.W. ("Light upon the problems of our time, Powder with which to confront established values and institutions, Construction of possible alternatives") began operating in July.

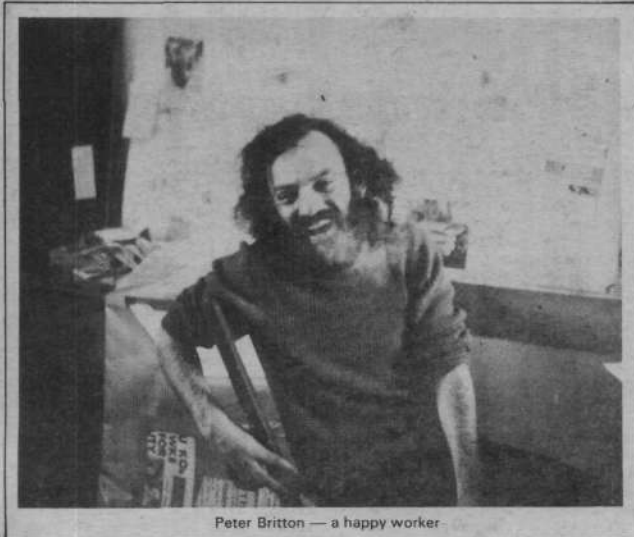
## DIGGER WALSH

One of the things the Works has done is to help the *Digger* newspaper — which was in dire financial straits — with free rent and phones. It's because of this last factor that *Nation Review* tried to smear the works (see "The Band Aid Comes Off" by Michael Morris, N/R 20/7/73). Although the Handicrafts of Asia network can very properly be criticised, the main aim of publisher Richard Walsh was to attack *Digger* which he sees, quite accurately because of its high quality, as a threat to the junior *Nation Review* edited by Richard (Playpower) Neville, and mooted to appear very soon.

## PRETTY PISSWEAK

By attacking the Works, Walsh hoped to discredit *Digger*, something which can only be categorized as a pretty piss-weak piece of work. He had to put 3 journalists on it eventually, because two of them (including Chris Hector) obviously thought the idea of the L.P. & C.W. itself, and helping *Digger*, was an excellent idea, and were going to say so. So Walsh put young Michael Morris on the job.

Be that as it may, the Works is proceeding apace. The atmosphere there is incredibly friendly and it's worth going round there just to experience it. The L.P. & C.W. is in Victoria Street, the phone number is 329 0977, and their postal address is Box 1806 Q, G.P.O., Melbourne, 3001.



Peter Britton — a happy worker

**Politics is the story of falling and rising stars. In this tradition are the hybrid of Melbourne gangs.**

Politically bypassed, their expanding impact strangely misjudged, they sit on the periphery of Australian politics like a mutant phoenix.

Now, after a long decade of feeding from the carcass of failed Liberalism, they are returning to the centre stage.

Both The Herald and The Age first gave real top billing to delinquency problems in early July, when W. D. Crowley (Crime Commissioner) revealed that Melbourne assault figures had increased 20% over last year's total. On July 4th the Hamer Government appointed a task force to examine bashers and bashing, with this report published on August 20th. It showed that last year's rise in the assault level had been matched by similar increases for the last 13 years.

## THE SKINHEAD DROOGS

This belated press and Government discovery that a serious delinquency problem exists is still not matched by any recognition of the importance of gangs and their relationship to delinquency, or any adequate debate of all the broad casual elements explaining gang delinquency.

In terms of delinquency theory, current overseas and our own historical experience, emerging Melbourne delinquent gangs are central to the "assault issue". A look around certain hotels and bistros of North Melbourne, Fitzroy, Richmond or Collingwood confirms this.

Here the "droog" or "skinhead" stereotype can be found, with their fur-lined, short checked jacket, high heeled round-toed shoes, and crew cut

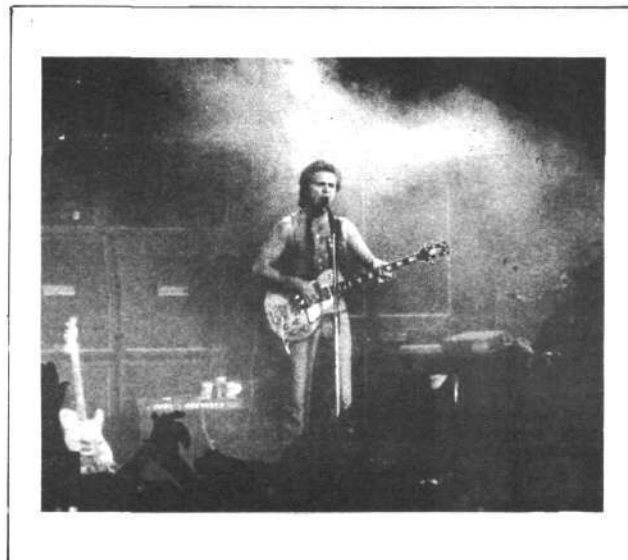
every week can be attributed to small adolescent loosely-structured gangs, the skinheads being currently the most structurally cohesive.

The foundations for this growing delinquent gang strength and impact, fall back into the 1950's. Philosophically large "L" Liberals gained and retained power on both a Federal and State level, perhaps allowing the broad socio-economic processes operating in Victorian society to follow their own directions more freely.

Governmental infrastructure fell behind residential expansion as a direct consequence of the Liberal philosophical constraints on Government involvement, laying the base for the "urban crisis" of the 1960's and onwards. Federal Labor's recognition that these urban problems were Federal problems so became a factor in their return to power.

## LIBERAL MIS-MANAGEMENT

The implications of Liberal mismanagement, however, run even deeper. The less measurable effects of inadequate social services, public housing, and Governmentally tolerated inbuilt class bias coinciding with financial deprivation in the education system, helped set the direction of social forces well into the 70's.



urban ecological forces shaping sub-social forces behind delinquency, but also the impact of relative social position.

The open class system operates to promote high aspiration for success, yet politico-economic forces deny equal opportunity for the achievement of these aspirations. The reaction to this status deprivation depends on the differing availability of illegitimate means to meet the status problem, explaining the variations in delinquency adaptation.

Application of this kind of casual analysis produces gloomy prediction for Melbourne. Wide areas of the Western suburbs, with their incredibly unregulated urbanization/industrialisation mix, are ideal ground for delinquent gang formation.

above processes.

Politically, gang delinquency is not an issue at this time. Assault rates are. Available theoretical and empirical evidence suggest both are heavily inter-related. Operating processes discussed possibly mean this will become clearer.

## THE ASSAULT RATE

All efforts to lower the assault rate so far have not been based on recognition of the centrality of the process of gang delinquency to the issue. Gang delinquency, in a word, is not generally understood.

It is unlikely that any specific action will alter its broad formulative

# THE DROOGIST PHOENIX



## Jim Ensor looks at Melbourne's gangs

with long hair at the back not covering the ears. Here too, small groups of roving skinheads are directly linked to the assault rate, as is confirmed by bashers' self-reports, and press reports of bashing incidents.

This is not to say that all "bashers" are "skinheads", all "skinheads" are "delinquents", or all "delinquents" are "bashers". It is, on the basis of available evidence, arguing that most bashers (including skinheads) are low income adolescents, who, from observation in factories with poor conditions, or at certain types of pop concerts, or in terms of "official delinquency" statistics, include, as a sizeable proportion, those associated with gangs. It is arguing that many if not most of the 150 bashing that occur

This Liberal philosophy of contented negligence, combined with the rapidity of post-World War II increases in mass media influence, living standards, effects of mass production and mechanization techniques, continued suburbanization, and the rise of consumerism — to effectively accelerate the processes of gang formation, and importantly, set new directions for those processes.

## URBAN ECOLOGY

We are only beginning to pay the price for the inadequate Government of the last twenty years.

The casual generality in discussing delinquent gangs so far reflects the fact that their emergence involves both

This is not to say future gang delinquency is in some way "determined" by present Metropolitan development patterns. It is saying that broad development processes must be redirected in order to limit the potential gang problem.

Even assuming remedial Governmental actions are taken, the wider factors of consumerism, production line alienation, and status deprivation still operate in Australia beyond legislative imagination, let alone practical remedy or political feasibility.

The recent ending of the Housing Commission high-rise flat program is a start, but will be unlikely to alter the level of juvenile crime or the process of delinquent gang formation in Melbourne alone, given the scale of the

processes. It is likely that in the absence of adequate handling, it will increase as a problem.

In such a situation, perhaps the political points to be scored by successfully reducing assaults will more often be scored by creating a myth that a program is achieving results, or by usage of fear tactics to artificially divide the community on a revamped "law and order" theme.

This is not far from the "Clockwork Orange" politicians' more extensive usage of gang delinquency as a political issue. The foreboding future extent of gang delinquency, and the question mark over the political processes reaction to it, has transformed that fictional account into an alarmingly real political possibility.



# about halls

By Boris Frankel

*Boris Frankel, was, until last year, a tutor in the Politics Department at Monash. He is at present overseas — this article was sent from Rome.*

In an early edition of *Lot's Wife* this year (26th March) it was reported that Roberts Hall's position "as a non-governed Hall remains unique, whilst still offering the amenities available in the other Halls", and that Roberts residents "preferring self-organised anarchy to disorganised rule" have kept Roberts "the only Hall in Australia with no form of governing Society".

I would like to make a few belated comments not only on the situation within Roberts, but on university residence halls in general. While it is true that almost every year some form of discussion or complaint emerges in reference to life within residence halls, the general quality of discussion has sadly missed the essential nature of the lingering sickness and crisis which characterizes university residences.

As one who was instrumental in preventing the establishment of the traditional Hall society government at Roberts, I would like to congratulate the present students on furthering the concept of self government rather than resorting to the "democratic oligarchy" prevailing in other residence halls. However, it would be equally premature and self illusory for Roberts residents to think that genuine "self organized anarchy" prevails.

## UNTOUCHED

The Monash Left has always had a tradition of proclaiming superficial "victories" while self congratulatory rhetoric has left the elitist structure and functioning of the university untouched. Most radical criticism of the university has focused upon the assembly-line production of graduates, false neutrality, and the instrumental and positivist quality of education which all serve late capitalism's needs. This critique has been completely justifiable and is more than ever necessary. But what of the critique of existence which many students and staff find operative in the hallowed halls of domesticity?

It is precisely within residence halls that both the blatant and more subtle contradictions of contemporary bourgeois life — that is, those aspects of bourgeois life which go beyond university conditions — reveal themselves. It is precisely the finely packaged ideology of life in residence halls (that administrators would have us believe), which exhibits the dilemma of bourgeois ethics forced to confront the actual practice of advanced capitalist society. In short, radicals should look at the social structure of residence halls (such as Roberts) in order to comprehend developed microcosms of bourgeois social relations. For anybody who has lived in residence halls, or continues to live within them, the following observations may appear only too familiar or mere clichés. Yet a cliché only remains a cliché as long as people unreservedly accept its descriptive value; it becomes a moment of truth when it is incorporated within a total analysis which pushes the "self-evident" facts beyond their normal context of reference. In other words, most people experience residence hall life will be able to list numerous items of grievance — from the quality of food to the various restrictions placed upon social movement. But let us look at these same isolated items of grievance in a broader, more total context.

## IDEOLOGY

Residence halls are actually conceived of as the highest and most fulfilling means of acquiring a university education. As inheritors of the college tradition of old European universities (mainly British), residence halls perpetrate the ideology of a total university existence of study and lived companionship. But whereas the teaching faculties of modern universities have been able to adjust their ideology and practice of education to mass consumption, residence halls have encountered more

complex problems in trying to live both within the spirit of their tradition and yet simultaneously trying to escape from this tradition.

It must be remembered that the early pre-capitalist universities were quite small and the dominance of the church saw residence instituted in a style which was largely monastic. With the growth of the Italian city states and the nation states of Europe, universities became increasingly secularized but the substantial tendency was still one of on the spot residency. Universities were almost exclusively for the wealthy and the student population was made up of non-commuting scholars who functioned in the form of elitist educational and social enclaves. Even today the colleges at Oxford are small in population compared to many modern universities.

## ELITISM

What is important to note is that the university as a "community of scholars" was based essentially on residential students and teachers who constituted a theological and later, secular social elite. The contradictions between this pre-mass education form of university and the contemporary educational factories is apparent to most people. In fact residents at halls are quick to recognize the fundamental pomposity of elitism of traditional theological and aristocratic-hierarchical vestiges such as the high table. Where it is not abolished, the high table exists as a ceremony bereft of quality and full of obnoxious selective favouritism; it bestows upon the warden the power of dubious patronizing via the means of invitation to sit with the "elite". The point is not to "democratize" the selection procedure of who may sit at the high table, but rather to abolish that which in its essence is undemocratic. Fortunately the image of the warden and guests eating the same lousy sausage rolls dished out to the "masses" on the lower tables is treated by the latter with the contempt and ridicule it deserves.

However, the vestiges of traditional hall life with high table, tutors rooms and a hierarchical class order can be misleading objects of student resentment. One thinks back to the time when Albert Langer waged a successful campaign at Deakin Hall to abolish the special privileges given to tutors. Such campaigns are quite popular with students (and can have limited success) but clearly fail to comprehend or tackle the real nature of modern residence halls.

## COVER UP

Attacking traditional vestiges in residence halls has some affinity with peasant attacks on the first and second estates of ancient regimes. The oppressive hierarchical residence halls such as Mannix reap their own rewards in the form of high student turnover. On the other hand, the newer non-religious halls such as Roberts come into existence without a lot of hierarchical nonsense; yet the more "progressive" informality of places such as Roberts merely covers up more successfully the basic contradictions which characterize places such as Mannix or Howitt. One could say metaphorically that Roberts has abandoned many of the "feudal" vestiges of residence life but is a long way off from the "socialist" revolution. Just as one does not change bourgeois society but merely replacing the bourgeois authoritarian state with a Stalinist "socialist" state, so one does not solely campaign against hierarchy (e.g. the Langer campaign at Deakin) while leaving the status quo almost untouched.

The fundamental class nature of residence life in sophisticated halls such as Roberts is not to be found in the straw men of hierarchy.

At this point it may be legitimately protested that in fact many people do enjoy hall life, making new friends,



etc. This is undoubtedly true. But one partial truth does not invalidate the fact that we all endeavour to make friends, seek happiness, etc. despite the obstacles provided by our environment. No other social system so successfully endures us to compromise, modify and transform interpersonal relations as capitalism does. We are all burdened by the necessities of competitive commodity existence and our interpersonal relations are the direct and indirect products of this market system. It is only in the realm of art that pure love and friendship triumph or are destroyed by bourgeois relations, just as it is only in the ideology of residence halls that true and universal companionship exists.

## SELF-CREATED

Just as individuals in the larger social structure struggle to break impersonality, so too, in residence halls, do students establish the minimum sociality needed to make the constant pressures of university life bearable if not pleasant. Instead of merely taking credit for feeling content that they have made friends in residence halls (compared to the numerous acquaintances made in university classrooms), students in halls should reflect on why their relatively happier situation prevails. Closer examination would establish that the close proximity of constant human interaction is responsible for the self-created happiness found in residences rather than the institutionalization of genuine community life which remains merely as an abstract concept in wardens' speeches.

When I said earlier that residence halls such as Roberts are microcosms of modern bourgeois life, I was thinking largely in terms of the contradiction between human welfare and happiness and the functional, profit motive criteria which residence hall management has to subscribe to in order to exist. This is not to say that residence halls are in operation to make profits. Rather, they are governed by prevalent socio-economic costs and ethics which operate in society as a whole.

## BASIC PATTERNS

Whereas university teaching departments are often related indirectly to capitalism via such things as government funding through taxation and instrumental educational programmes (which tend to obscure their real relationship with capitalism), residence halls are confronted by the daily intercourse with basic patterns of bourgeois life — an intercourse which literally screws up whatever professed ideals they have, or increasingly pushes them to the borderlines of commodity prostitution.

Most wardens and managers can be divided into two types.

The first type can be characterized by genuine concern to stretch the meagre budget resources to the point where human happiness is maximised. This type of warden has constant problems with his business manager who merely sees students as "things", that is, the same as heating, food, cleaning and other objects; calculation is supreme as in all bourgeois enterprises and human welfare emerges as a production/labour cost by-product of managerial skill.

## CRISIS CONTROL

The other type of warden is one who has cynically abandoned once held ideals and becomes ethically and practically indistinguishable from the business manager. Instead of trying to maximize human enrichment, this warden becomes adept at crisis control, seeing that his residents are administered into docile subservience and compliant tenure. Just as in small businesses one has the occasional fortune to come across a more "humane" boss, so too in residence halls the individual warden struggles against the external pressures of commodity existence. The two types of wardens are found in both hierarchical/authoritarian residences, as well as in the newer, less authoritarian places; the latter and more imper-

sonal the business (as in outside private enterprises), the more likely the warden will be merely an impersonal manager.

The problem of modern residences is not related so much to their individual management but rather to the inbuilt logic of their founding and operation. Even before the residents move in, their "communal" home is burdened and distorted by bourgeois society. Architecturally very few residences are designed for community living let alone securing reasonable privacy. This is because as in all large housing projects constructed in present society, cost factors reign supreme over the needs of the people. Buildings are largely aesthetic disasters and the building materials used are scandalously inadequate, e.g. walls and doors. (It is little wonder then that Howitt Hall was known as the "abortion").

To compound the already functionally designed cells for inmates, universities have inevitably been forced to delay the opening of residence halls because of criminally dubious "problems" created by private construction companies. Consequently, halls begin their life in the middle or end of academic years and add quantitative and qualitative costs to an already mutant creation. The present trend of spiralling inflation which characterizes all capitalist countries has only added to the already near bankrupt financial situation of residence halls. Students are continually faced with yearly increases in fees with reduced services or reduction in quality of services. As institutions existing within the pressurized market world, residence halls are slowly but surely being forced out of existence or being transformed into pseudo-hotels, e.g. some halls are even taking in non-students.

## EUROPEAN STUDENTS

Yes this pattern is not the same in all Western countries. In Europe, residence halls are very hard to get in to simply because their rents are significantly lower than outside housing costs. Moreover, residence halls such as Cite Universitaire in Paris or the Otto Monstedts house in Copenhagen are miles away from campuses and are not conceived as pseudo-colleges in the Australian sense. In most European residences students do their own cooking or eat meals with very cheap coupons. As housing is the crucial cost factor for European students, many are pleased to be able to live in large functional concrete "bar-racks" out of necessity. In Frankfurt and other German cities this housing crisis has given rise to the student occupation of old buildings in an attempt to prevent them being pulled down for business speculation. Hence the cost factor of housing is the crucial variant which keeps residence halls popular in Europe rather than any sense of community living.

## DORMITORY LIFE

In the United States there has been a revival of the dormitory life of the 1950's. This phenomenon is not related to cost factors being overcome (education is very expensive in U.S. residences and has always been so.) The revival of traditional dorms is related to the re-establishment of tranquility on U.S. campuses and the desire of many students to participate in pseudo-community living — a consequence of the counter-culture ideology of communes. These partial attempts to break the previous college life of party raids, etc., has only resulted in the reintroduction of old patterns in fashionably new bottles. But there are exceptions such as the present tension in Radcliffe College where many women (resenting the business and administrative decision of Harvard to keep 50% of the residences occupied by Harvard men) have expressed the desire to run their residences on women's liberation principles. In short, the present trend of residence halls is largely determined by the local configuration of capitalist development and cultural tradition.

Having briefly stated some of the larger socio-economic factors which the residence halls very closely to the

dominant private enterprise commodity form of existence, let me also briefly draw attention to the interpersonal relations which characterize hall life.

Just as most bourgeois societies have gradually moved from a position of religious puritanism to one of genital exploitation or repressive desublimation, so have most residence halls adapted their mentality to this new phase of late bourgeois ethics. **Residence halls quietly look the other way (except for some puritan zealots) when sex is involved:** concerned parents are placated by wardens who point out that there is still a midnight curfew on the statute books. So young Susie or Tommy can fuck away without any real worries so long as they don't complain about living conditions and remember to get up and sit for exams. **The sexual element is in fact a great drawcard for prospective residents** — all secretly hoping that they're going to have a ball (and many do). Yet, just as the myth of sexual promiscuity is attached to an actually repressive Australian society, so in most residence halls can one find a significantly large element of self-imposed chastity.

## REPRESSION

But the sexually active are not immune from the other forms of repression. These take the constant form of study pressures, family problems mixed with identity crisis. Those who do not conform to the accepted routine of dutiful study, boozing, drugs, or constant pranks and buffoonery, are socially ostracised or considered queer. In this respect the halls are not microcosms but actually exaggerated forms of interpersonal behaviour in bourgeois society. The evenings and weekends are periods of meaningless entertainment or killing of time in order to prepare for work during the day. Conformism is more pronounced and the close proximity of living quarters makes gossip and group pressure a constant element to contend with. There is little that eludes the group about an individual's living patterns — except when the occasionally rare suicide confirms the essential fragmentation and loneliness of mass bourgeois living, and impersonality which momentarily shakes the group's consciousness and informs them that they really don't know their fellow residents.

Moreover, many students live in residence halls for a few years not because they continue to enjoy it, but rather because they are psychologically or financially incapable of moving. Security and dependence (rather than freedom) are fundamental traits of bourgeois society and receive ample manifestation among hall residents. Furthermore, in bourgeois society there are periodic institutional "circuses" which serve as safety valves to release pent up energy and frustration. Residence halls are no exception. There is the annual end of the year aggressive behaviour which is paternally supervised by the wardens and even patronized in the form of the sublimated orgy called the champagne breakfast. Neurosis becomes an accepted form of hall life so long as it is only confined to the pre-exam period.

## NEW METHODS

It is interesting to note that the growing personal problems of residents is forcing administrators into new methods of operation. Rather than act as continual watch-dogs as well as worry over mounting operation costs, the trend is towards less responsibility while maintaining social control. Many students in Australia and elsewhere have asked for student apartments rather than residence halls. This object is in fact ideologically compatible with the modern corporate university's needs. Only traditional puritans object to leaving students to look after their own "moral welfare". Practical-functionalists support the idea of individual flats but can't go ahead too rapidly for lack of finance.

Nevertheless, the ultimate consequence is clear. Instead of running increasingly difficult residence halls,

administrators disperse the student population in to functionally atomised living quarters like the non-student population. Students receive privacy and hopefully universities receive continued productivity. The "moral problems" of sex and drugs are thus tolerated under the guise of non-invasion of privacy and greater student "freedom". Anybody who has seen the large impersonal, multi-storied student apartment buildings in places like Toronto, will soon realize what a successful bourgeois co-optation this proves to be.

Australian university residence halls are generally quiet institutions with a minimum of political activity and a maximum of atomised apathy. Their residents are usually of a fairly homogenous background, mainly first and second year students. (Asian residents suffer from all the ills listed above, plus the extra problem of cultural alienation). Australian students are generally younger than their European counterparts and there are few post-graduate students in residence halls to create a varied experience. In fact residence halls give preference to first year students in order to supervise their initiation into orderly student behaviour. **On the whole, Australian residence halls are innocent places compared to the foreign residence halls in Paris or Strasbourg.** Of the many foreign pavilions, the Spanish house is closed, the Iranian and Moroccan under constant threat of closure and the Cambodian house being the most recent to join the ranks. Such is the level of political activity in these residences that early this year the constant clashes between the *Sihanouk* and *Lon Nol* factions resulted in the killing of a *Sihanouk* supporter.

While it is hoped that political violence will not intrude into hall life in Australia, it is desirable to see the residents more involved in challenging the system. One does not need blatant contradictions in order to organize political activity. There are numerous subtle methods of repression which have to be revealed and awakened to in the student consciousness. The hypocrisy and latent or overt authoritarianism should be exposed for what it is. In 1967 the French radical Boris Frankel introduced to the students at Nanterre the theories of Wilhelm Reich and Marcuse dealing with sexuality and class rule. The response was overwhelming. It was here that Cohn Bendit and others liberated the residence halls and paved the way for the events of May 1968.

## ALTERNATIVES

Instead of prematurely speaking about self-organized anarchy, students at Roberts and other places should realize that true individuality through communal existence is far from being attained yet. Students should discuss and organize ways to minimize the intrusion of bourgeois commodity existence and false individuality. This is by no means an easy task and may actually prove to be impossible as long as residence halls are financed and administered in the present manner. However, instead of merely taking pride in having no student hall society while everybody continues to live the same private, non-cooperative life as in other halls, residents should raise the level of consciousness about the reasons why their food, buildings, rules of behaviour, etc., are inseparable from the larger repressive social structure. It is not within the walls of residence halls that the disease was born, but outside them. It is also outside the university that the real fight has to be waged. Continual contrast should be made with the present way of treating human beings as objects, and the alternative possibilities of reaching what Agnes Heller calls "an abundance of values", that is, maximization of each individual potentiality as Marx called for long ago.

If students do nothing more than become aware of the class contradictions affecting what they thought were isolated residence institutions, then this in itself will be a valuable step forward. But if students actually create a self-organized community of people this will be even better.

# DECEIVING THE

## -on political prisoners in

Numerous documented reports in U.S. newspapers and on television have aroused public opinion about South Vietnam's civilian political prisoners.

Many Americans, appalled about how their tax money is being used, have written the Saigon Embassy, the U.S. State Department and Congress.

As a result of the growing public pressure and increasingly insistent Congressional inquiries, the Saigon government has taken a series of minor but well-publicised steps to try to defuse the political prisoner issue.

For example, after five years of imprisonment, the runner-up in South Vietnam's 1967 presidential elections, Truong Dinh Dzu, was released (just before Thieu's trip to the United States). In addition, due to growing concern in the international Catholic community (including Pope Paul VI),

The United States funds 90% of the Saigon government's costs. The U.S. continues to provide the bombs, ammunition and other war material that are used by the Saigon army; and American taxpayers still pay for the operation of the prisons and the Saigon police that arrest Vietnamese citizens. Thus, not only do we permit the Saigon government to mistreat their own citizens, we assume the cost of it. The U.S. government is condoning the torture of Vietnamese by its silence, while at the same time it is lying to both the American people and Congress about what is really happening.

Askew's legal reasoning is subtle but misleading. Article 11 of the same Agreement guarantees democratic liberties for the South Vietnamese people. The U.S. pledged itself to the fulfillment of this provision in the original Peace Agreement and reaffirmed its commitment in the June 13th Paris Communiqué. The virtually total financial dependence of Thieu's government on the United States makes talk of non-intervention hypocritical. Moreover, a double-standard is revealed by U.S. threats to bomb North Vietnam for non-compliance with the Agreement while refusing to take even the small step of controlling the use of its own funds to assure Saigon's compliance.

"At present, U.S. support to the South Vietnamese police force is confined to commodity assistance on a one-for-one replacement basis and support for police training outside Vietnam."

— Marshall Wright, Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State, April 23, 1973 (letter to Senator Lawton Chiles).

In fact, millions of dollars have been budgeted for police activities in South Vietnam for fiscal year 1974. "We found", Senator Edward Kennedy said, "that public safety is now called technical support, public administration and public works... They total some \$15,217,000 for public safety purposes in South Vietnam — and presumably there is more buried elsewhere — including the American plaster support for Saigon's national budget... On February 21, for example, the U.S. Embassy in Saigon obligated plasters valued at more than \$100,000 for prison support." (1)

Matthew J. Harvey, Director of the Office of Legislative Affairs of AID (Agency for International Development), wrote to one U.S. Congressman on June 12, 1973 that \$9.3 million of this is Department of Defense money "for the National Police to replace worn out equipment." That's a lot of replacement — especially considering the fact that there are another six million dollars spent on public safety from other U.S. sources.

Concealing U.S. involvement in public safety has often been a matter of omission. For example, Robert Nooter, an Assistant Administrator in the Agency for International Development, wrote Susan Sieckler of Chevy Chase, Maryland on March 16, 1973 that the Public Safety Directorate of CORDS (Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support) had been dissolved and had no further role in South Vietnam. What Mr. Nooter did not mention was that many of the activities were just transferred to AID.

The Administrator for AID, John Hannah, clarified what actually happened in a letter to a Congressman two months later:

"The CORDS Public Safety Office has been disbanded and its residual civilian elements, including the Telecommunications Project, were transferred to the USAID in Saigon."

"Participant training at the International Police Academy in Washington, D.C. is expected to continue", Hannah said. Vietnamese claim that this participant training encourages mistreatment in the jails. On May 5, 1973 a delegation from Women Strike for Peace visited the International Police Academy. While in the library they saw the thesis by Vietnamese Policeman, Nguyen Huy Thong, in which he wrote that threats and violence against prisoners being interrogated were sometimes a necessity. (2)

"It is inaccurate to say that U.S. funds have been used to still political dissent in Vietnam."

— Marshall Wright, Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State, March 5, April 11, April 23, 1973 (letters to Congressman William Broomfield, Senator Adlai Stevenson and Senator Lawton Chiles).

Yet in reporting on the effectiveness of American aid to the Saigon police force, John Mossler, Director of USAID in Vietnam wrote on January 1, 1971 in Report to the Ambassador:

"During 1970 the police continued to improve their capability in traditional police functions. Their timely and positive action effectively contained civil disturbances involving war veterans, students and religious groups, thereby preventing the spread of violence."

American funds have paid for a variety of other police projects and material. Tear gas, made in Salzburg, Pennsylvania, is part of American aid, and is used primarily against non-violent demonstrations by Buddhists, students and workers. The salaries of the police that arrested the runner-up in the 1967 Presidential elections and National Assemblyman Tran Ngoc Chau were paid for by the United States. The ID cards, designed to show whether Vietnamese citizens voted or not, were designed with the help of U.S. advisers and printed with U.S. money. As of June, 1972, 9,068,811 ID cards had been issued, as well as 502,000 biodata documents and 3.1 million dossiers. (3) All this was paid for by American tax dollars.

The Public Safety Directorate (mentioned in the preceding section) provided conventional and paramilitary training for Thieu's Field Force. "During 1971, the Field Force conducted 27,788 operations against subversive elements... The force expanded patrols in rural areas, and detained 33,558 persons for non-Viet Cong related offenses." (4)

"The law in South Vietnam does not permit the arrest of a person merely for his opposition to the policies of the government. The people are freely expressing their opinion in South Vietnam."

— Public Communiqué No. 06-73, Embassy of Vietnam, Washington, D.C., May 29, 1973.

In fact the Saigon government has issued a series of laws and decrees that have resulted in thousands of citizens being arbitrarily arrested. These laws include the following:

Article 2 of Decree Law 93/SL/CIT: Shall be considered as Pro-Communist Neutralist a person who commits acts of propaganda for and incitement of Neutralism.

Article 3 of Decree Law 004/TT/SLU: In the war or martial law situation all form of labor disputes, even those that have gone through a process of mediation, and even if its only purpose is to provide mutual support to resolve a labor conflict, will be strictly forbidden.

Article 19 of Decree Law 004/66

makes it possible to administratively detain a Vietnamese citizen for up to two years without trial or charge. This sentence is renewable. In a telegram of April 5, 1973 from the Prime Minister's office, provincial authorities were urged to use administrative detention "if you don't have enough evidence to bring the person before a military tribunal."

On September 16, 1972 a new press law went into effect. On that day, according to the Los Angeles Times: 92 South Vietnamese publications were shut down. Information Minister Truong Buu Diem, when asked if papers could criticise the government, said: "Sure, if they do it right." (5)

On January 22, in preparation for the impending Paris Peace Agreement, Thieu issued strict new edicts, including:

"1. All police and military forces are permitted to shoot to kill all those who urge the people to demonstrate, and those who cause disorders or incite other persons to follow communism..."

"6. Arrest and detain those persons who incite the people to create disorder and confusion, or to leave those areas controlled by the government in order to go into the communist controlled zones or vice versa. If they protest, they will be shot."

"7. Detain those persons who are neutralist and those persons who publicly side with the communists, and who are active politically. They will be taken before a military court as soon as possible."

"8. Implement quickly and thoroughly rules and regulations concerning reporters and political parties in order to stop illegal activities on the part of politicians..."

"There is no widespread or systematic mistreatment of inmates. The simultaneous existence of a very low ratio of guards to inmates, comparatively insecure prisons, and the low escape rate would seem to indicate this. With regard to the crippled prisoners, we have a very detailed report of their history compiled by Dr. Brown who formerly served as medical adviser to the GVN Corrections Directorate. We will be happy to forward a copy to you if you feel it would be of use to the Committee."

— Ray Meyer, Second Secretary, U.S. Embassy, Saigon, April 3, 1973 (letter to the Investigation Team of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Refugees).

Dr. Brown's reports were requested twice, but the Subcommittee on Refugees has received no answer. According to Barnett Zimmerly, Deputy Assistant Administrator for AID, reports by American doctors on what they have seen in the prisons have been classified. (6)

To maintain that there is "no widespread or systematic mistreatment of inmates" is contrary to the reports of released prisoners and U.S. news sources. In March, 1973, after 104 prisoners were released from Con Son, their condition was described by Time magazine (March 19, 1973):

"It is not really proper to call them men anymore. 'Shapes' is a better word — grotesque sculptures of scarred flesh and gnarled limbs."

The London Times (March 4, 1973) wrote:

"Their bodies, bearing the marks of irons and chains, are like skeletons. Their legs are paralyzed. They are political prisoners who were released by Saigon authorities at the end of last month from the infamous 'tiger cages' on the island of Con Son."

One reason for the low guard ratio and low escape rate is that a very substantial number of Vietnamese prisoners are shackled. Also, in addition to official guards, the South Vietnamese prisons use criminal prisoners to control the political prisoners (as Hitler did at Auschwitz and Babi Yar).

Congress does have sworn testimony of one American doctor who has examined dozens of people immedi-

five Catholic priests in Saigon who were sentenced to imprisonment for opposition to Thieu's policies, have never been jailed.

But the overall situation remains unchanged. Along with these few cosmetic efforts, the lies and half-truths continue to flow from U.S. and South Vietnamese officials. Following are some examples of the false and misleading statements used to cover up both what is happening in Saigon's jails:

"Article 4 of the (Peace) Agreement which says that the United States will not 'intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam' precludes us from compelling President Thieu to 'guarantee' democratic liberties..."

— Laurin B. Askew, Department of State, Washington, D.C. March 13, 1973.



# PEOPLE

## south vietnam

By Don Luce

Don Luce worked in South Vietnam for twelve years and was the first correspondent to break the story of the notorious Tiger Cages at Con Son. He is now with the Indochina Mobile Education Project. This article first appeared in the U.S. magazine "Win".

ately after release. Dr. John Champlin testified to the House Foreign Affairs Committee on June 11, 1973 that:

"The prisoners I examined were all partially or completely paralyzed at the knee joint and completely paralyzed below the knees. The patellar reflexes are decreased or absent and Achilles tendon (ankle) reflexes are absent in all cases. Considerable atrophy in muscle contracture was present in the legs of all prisoners, often to the extent that I could encircle the prisoner's leg above the ankle with my thumb and index finger. These facts present an objective medical evidence that the prisoners' paralysis was organic and real."

"Two-thirds of the prisoners I examined had clinical signs of symptoms of tuberculosis. All had symptoms of vitamin deficiency and other serious internal diseases. These prisoners told of being in tiger cages for periods of two and one-half to seven years. During that time they spent months and years without interruption in leg irons while subsisting on a diet on only three handfuls of rice and three swallows of water daily."

"The prisoners with whom I talked said they had all been examined more than once by American military physicians while in prison but they denied having received so much as an aspirin during their confinement."

"All the detainees in government prisons are treated humanely at all times in accordance with international practice. The International Red Cross which has visited them many times has confirmed their good living conditions in all places where they are held."

— Tran Kham, First Secretary, Embassy of Vietnam, Washington, D.C., April 30, 1973.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has repeatedly denied giving its seal of approval to Saigon's jails. Yet the Thieu government keeps using the ICRC to "prove" that they have provided humane treatments. The last public statement by the ICRC denying this was issued March 21, 1973:

"The ICRC repeats its earlier statements that it was precisely because of the restrictions imposed by the South Vietnam government — particularly the prohibition of private talks with detainees — that in March 1972, it discontinued visits to interned civilians."

This statement was expanded upon in a letter of 28 May by the ICRC:

"We regret that some of the dispositions of the protocol concerning the POW's annexed to the Paris agreements have not been implemented, especially regarding the protection granted to civilian detainees."

"With regard to the ICRC, the visits to civilian detainees camps have been discontinued more than a year ago, due to the restrictions imposed by the government of South Vietnam, in the development of those visits."

"It has been alleged that there are hundreds of thousands of political prisoners; however, we have seen no evidence to substantiate any such number. According to our latest information, the civilian prison population is about 25,000 to 30,000."

— Marshall Wright, Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State, March 2, 1973 (letter to Senator Robert Griffin)

Many other organizations, whose figures are available to the Department of State, disagree drastically with this:

— 181,000: South Vietnamese Committee to Reform the Prison System, June, 1973.

— More than 240,000: Anglican News Service (Canadian), December 14, 1972.

— 200,000: Ngo Cong Duc (who got his figures by adding up the numbers of prisoners in each prison. As a former Vietnamese National Assemblyman, he had access to this type of information), reported in the New York Times, September 7, 1972.

— Hundreds of thousands of civilian political prisoners, who are not affiliated with a military side, Buddhist Peace Delegation to Paris of the Unified Buddhist Church of Viet Nam, March 30, 1973.

On November 9, 1972, Hoang Duc Nha reportedly told a group of Vietnamese publishers that 40,000 "communist agents" had been arrested in "the past few weeks." (7)

Thieu's 1973 budget, according to one Vietnamese legislator, provides for 400,000 prisoners. (8) And by official count, one U.S. program alone in Vietnam, the Phoenix Operation, has detained at least 100,000 people. (9)

Most U.S. government reports only include a small percentage of the prisoners when giving the number of prisoners. A recent "fact sheet" on the prison system in Vietnam states: "The present correctional system of South Vietnam consists of four national prisons, one national juvenile correction center and 35 provincial prisons." (10)

A letter of May 29, 1973 from John Hannah, Administrator for AID, to a U.S. congressman shows how incomplete the AID Fact Sheet was. He listed the number of prisons as:

National Police Detention Facilities	44
National Correction Centers	5
Provincial Correction Centers	35
District Police Detention facilities	250
Facilities at Autonomous Cities	
Police Headquarters	17
Detention Centers in Rural Village	
Police Stations	250
	601

Even these figures do not include the military prisons where conscientious objectors, draft evaders, etc. are kept. Many of the Buddhist monks, Cao Dai priests and other religious leaders are kept in the military prisons.

"There are no political prisoners in South Vietnam. There are only two kinds of prisoners: 21,007 of common law and 5,081 Communist criminals."

— Nguyen Van Thieu, President, Republic of Vietnam, April 9, 1973, (to Pope Paul VI)

After his Easter Week 1973 trip to South Vietnam, Auxiliary Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton of Detroit wrote, "I can state unequivocally that there are political prisoners in Saigon's jails and in jails throughout the provinces. They are in jails not for any crime, but simply because they are in political opposition to the present government. The proof is overwhelming. And it is clear that these prisoners are subject to inhumane treatment, including deliberate and prolonged torture." (11)

The Vietnamese National Assemblyman, Tran Ngoc Chau, who received the most votes in the 1967 National Assembly elections remains in jail. The Vietnamese Buddhists have a list of 626 Buddhist monks who are in jail, including locations and prison numbers.

In order to decrease the number of political prisoners the Saigon government has been simply changing their status to common criminals. The United States Embassy in Saigon wrote to Senator Edward Kennedy that:

"Before and since the ceasefire, the GVN (Government of Viet Nam) has been converting detainees to common criminal status by the expedient of convicting them of ID card violations or draft dodging." (12)

The Embassy also acknowledges that Thieu has jailed "non-communist dissidents, such as Madame Ngo Ba Thanh and her group and various student leaders." (13)

George Herman: "Would you allow an American Red Cross examination, or an International Red Cross examination, or a French team including, perhaps, Monsieur Debris and Monsieur Menras, to go back and examine freely those prisoners and make a report to the world on them?"

President Thieu: "Yes, yes."

George Herman: "You would then, you say, welcome a team to inspect from, say, France, or from the world Red Cross, or some reputable organization?"

President Thieu: "Anyone, even yourself, if you would like to go through Vietnam right away."

— Face the Nation, CBS, April 8, 1973.

Yet one week later, Bishop Gumbleton was refused permission to visit three specific prisoners or the prisons where they were kept. (14) Nor has the U.S. Senate fared better. Senator Kennedy explained what happened when the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees requested permission for its staff members to visit specific prisons in March, 1973:

"A March 19 letter from Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker to a staff member of the subcommittee — and for the usual bureaucratic reasons — the subcommittee's study mission to South Vietnam was officially denied

U.S. officials have known about and condoned inhumane conditions in Vietnam for years. The story of the Tiger Cages is typical. On October 1, 1963, Frank Walton, Chief of the U.S. Public Safety Division in Saigon, issued a signed report which described the Tiger Cages:

"In Con Son II, some of the hardcore communists keep preaching the 'party line,' so these 'Reds' are sent to the Tiger Cages in Con Son I where they are isolated from all others for months at a time. This confinement may also include rice without salt and water — the United States' prisoners' equivalent of bread and water. It may include immobilization — the prisoner is bolted to the floor, handcuffed to a bar or rod, or legions with the chain through an eyebolt, or around a bar or rod." (16)

Yet in July, 1970, when the existence of the Tiger Cages was disclosed, Mr. Walton denied any knowledge of them to two U.S. Congressmen, Augustus Hawkins and William Anderson.

In 1971, an employee of the U.S. construction consortium of Raymond, Morrison, Knudsen-Brown, Root and Jones made available the letter of agreement between their firm and the U.S. Department of the Navy to build new isolation cells to replace the Tiger Cages (the new cells are two square feet smaller than the former Tiger Cages). On February 22, 1971, Robert McCloskey, State Department briefing officer, said that the \$400,000 for the construction of the new cells was Government of Vietnam funds. In March, 1973, however, Mr. Ray Meyer, Second Secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, made available to the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Refugees a report entitled "Enquiry on USAID/CORDS Support of GVN Civilian Prison System", which shows that the money for the construction of the new "isolation cells" was indeed part of U.S. economic assistance to Vietnam in a category called "Assistance-in-Kind".

The greatest tragedy of all this deception is what has happened to the Vietnamese in the jails. Hundreds are permanently paralyzed. Some, like Nguyen Ngoc Phuong, have died as a result of torture in the prisons. Thousands remain in jail — in a system still maintained by U.S. money.

Many brave south Vietnamese have publicized the plight of political prisoners in their country. Most of them are now in jail. Despite the form letters sent out by the State Department and Saigon Embassy, there is evidence that concern for individual prisoners does make a difference.

The purpose of the torture and repression in south Vietnam is to quiet Vietnamese protesting their lack of freedom there. The purpose of the deception by U.S. and Saigon officials in America is to quiet Americans objecting to the use of their tax money to perpetuate the mistreatment of the political prisoners.

### FOOTNOTES

- (1) CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 4, 1973, p. S10206.
- (2) "Misuse of Tax Funds for Saigon's Police and Prison Systems," Women Strike for Peace, Press Statement, June 11, 1973.
- (3) Project Budget Submission, FY 1974, Public Safety Sector, AID, Department of State.
- (4) Summary Public Safety Programs Vietnam OPS/VN 4/24/72.
- (5) NEWSDAY, August 7, 1972.
- (6) Letter to Washington Area Women Strike for Peace, May 11, 1973.
- (7) WASHINGTON POST, November 10, 1972.
- (8) LE MONDE, March 18, 1973.
- (9) CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 4, 1973.
- (10) U.S. Assistance to the Directorate of Corrections, FACT SHEET, AID, April, 1973.
- (11) NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER, May 11, 1973.
- (12) CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 4, 1973.
- (13) Letter to Jerry Tinkler cited by Kennedy, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 4, 1973.
- (14) NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER, May 11, 1973.
- (15) CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 4, 1973.
- (16) "The Rehabilitation System of Viet Nam," Public Safety Division, United States Operations Mission to Viet Nam, October, 1963.

permission to inspect civilian prison facilities." (15)

"U.S. assistance to the South Vietnamese police force in the past has been designed to help the Government of the Republic of Vietnam develop a more humane correctional system. Under the guidance of professional U.S. penologists, significant improvements in the fields of sanitation, health and housing have been realized. Progress also has been achieved in alleviating crowded prison conditions and in separation of inmates by categories. Through this assistance, prisoners are better fed, housed and medically treated."

— Gregory Gay, Chief, Public Inquiries Division, Department of State, June 13, 1973 (letter to Robert Langfelder of Isla Vista, California).

# STRAWBERRIES, CREAM AND DEMOCRACY

The winter skies of Fisherman's Bend hang, opaque and rotting. For 25 minutes after 4 p.m. we move obediently, past G.M.H.'s smiling armed guards, through the infallible punch-clock, and down Kafkaesque corridors to our machines, benches and boxes.

It is a routine which we cannot escape for we, also, need money to exist. For \$73 a week I fill to the brim with Holden and Torana parts a never-ending stream of boxes bound for G.M.H.'s far-flung colonies in Thailand, New Zealand, South Africa, Indonesia and South Korea.

Momentary relief from my boredom comes when, in isolation but under close supervision, I count, bag, and label screws, nuts, bolts and pipes in mind-stretching multiples of 24, 72 or 96. On Plant Eight's cement floors my legs ache, but the leading hand warns me not to sit on my arse. It doesn't look good, he says. And so I, number 086832, begin the nightly countdown for my meal break — 30 generous minutes, 10 of which are spent in walking to and from the cafeteria, with its bare walls, queues, and lukewarm food. Many of my workmates munch their sandwiches amongst the pallets, cartons and boxes.

Of course some, mainly white collar, workers at GMH find their jobs to be intrinsically satisfying. But many more discover that to work for fat-cat GMH has nothing to do with personal development and everything to do with domination. Faced with a "daily nightmare" (Laurie Carmichael's term), we apply personal and immediate "solutions" (sometimes mistaken as embourgeoisement of workers): we daydream; waste time; vent our feelings by arguing with, or picking on, some immediate workmate; or we feel the thrill of pinching G.M.H. parts, or of turning out slapdash work. Or better still, we simply piss off and "leave".

It is little wonder, then, that terms like "worker control" and "industrial democracy" are again on the lips of many critics of western capitalism. The "new unionism" is a kind of trade unionism now emerging throughout industrial societies. Essentially socialist and emancipatory in thrust, and based on demands for worker control over present managerial prerogatives, it "will ask a working man or woman, as did the eight-hour campaign, what a man's life is for. It will

hold out human horizons beyond the sums of production statistics. It will challenge the power of one man over another, in order to develop the social capacity of all men within nature. It will call for the establishment of democratic forms everywhere in industry." (p.38).

## INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY?

The *New Unionism* contains some usefully condensed, though hardly new, background information — for example, on the historic Great Dock Strike of 1889; on the German practice of *Mitbestimmung*, or worker co-determination (largely pseudo-worker control, as Coates and Topham stress); and on the growing threats from multinational corporations, bureaucracy, technocracy and market concepts in Yugoslav Socialism. But there are more goodies. Coates and Topham make some attempt to define terms like "worker control", "industrial democracy" and "self-management", a good move considering that even G.M.H.'s management might say that they, too, believe in industrial democracy.

The authors deal savagely with Clegg's view that the necessary and sufficient condition of democracy in the workplace is the right of the union opposition to the decision-making powers of the bosses. Clegg's views (to be found in his *A New Approach to Industrial Democracy*, 1960), of course, is a shining example of how, during the Cold War, Anglo-American social and political theory almost died. The method used was simple. Using a positivist, and thus a historical, theory of knowledge, redefine and sterilise classical theories and concepts. The result: we have the good society itself

in operation before our very eyes. For Clegg, thus, industrial democracy has been achieved throughout the West! Tell that to my G.M.H. workmates: they would spot, correctly, that this sort of "democracy" is a sham, amounting to a "right" of unions and shop committees to say what they like, provided they do as they're told. Furthermore, I might add, the implications of Clegg's model negates his very argument. As Coates and Topham argue, "if he (Clegg) regards trade unions as an opposition party, he ought to expect them to behave like one. In other words, trade unions should be straining every nerve to overthrow the existing "government" of industry and replace it with their own representatives!" (p.43). Clegg's model, in short, is based on a crude and false analogy with textbook parliamentary politics: those in the higher circles of industry and commerce are just not subject to any process of elections from below.

Then what of the claim that joint consultation (staff-student committees are a good example) approximates real industrial democracy? While it is true that workers can manipulate joint consultations for their own ends, Coates and Topham argue that, overall, joint consultation is to management's advantage, for it can provide a sort of early warning system when worker grievances are nascent, and can be used by management to sound out proposed decisions. In this light, then, it is extremely doubtful whether joint consultation really does what people such as Clyde Cameron (who is now calling for the implementation of works councils in such multinational giants as G.M.H.) claim for it. In Britain, for example, joint consultation, after some initial popularity, fell into disrepute during the 1950's because many worker representatives rightly came to see through what were little more than chit-chat, tea-drinking committees.

Much the same can be said for those devices known as "participation", and best understood as a variant of joint consultation. Such techniques, as Coates and Topham stress, usually come in the form of management contrived offers (as in Volvo's famous

assembly-line experiments) to grant workers some say in certain low-key decisions. Again, workers may be able to salvage some benefits from such schemes (see especially p.54 for some hints), but "participation", like joint consultation committees, is often used to create the spirit of democracy without in fact significantly redistributing power. As the French students eloquently put it:

*Je participe  
tu participes  
il participe  
nous participons  
vous participez  
ils profitent!*

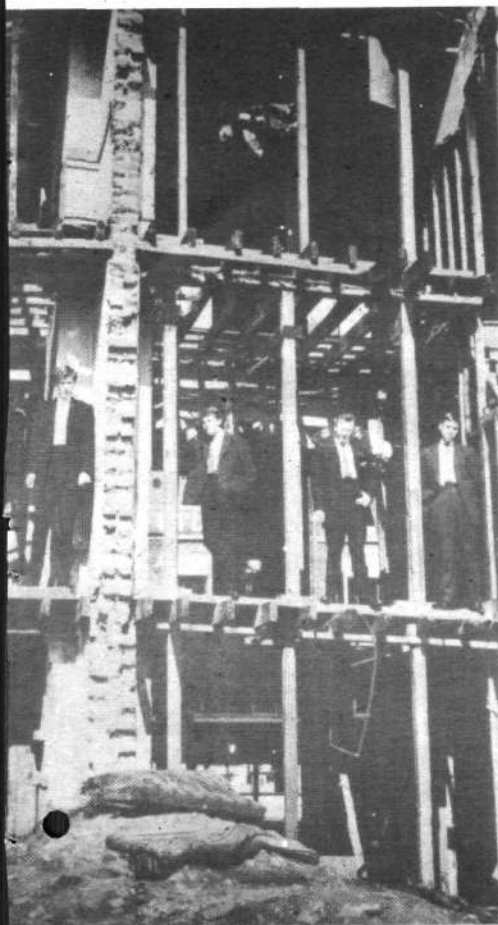
Coates and Topham's treatment of the terms "worker control" and "self-management" is less thorough. But the general point — that strategies of worker control and self-management in industry are on the right track leading to real industrial democracy — is clear. The aim of workers' control is "to establish control, by workers, over the hitherto unfettered decisions of the ruling party in industry, namely the employers and their managers," (p.55). Not only decisions concerning wages (as, for example, many North American trade union leaders seem to think are the *raison d'être* of unions), but those concerning the right of hire and fire; labor; safety; product type, mix and quality, job enrichment and investment. Understood in this sense, the seeds of worker control are present in every conflict between unions and workers on the one hand, and bosses on the other. And, of course, demands for worker control may lead ultimately to self-management, by bringing into question the very nature of bureaucracy and the private ownership and management of industry and commerce. Echoing Marx, Coates and Topham speak of workers' self-management "to indicate attempts to administer a socialised economy democratically." (p.58).

## TOWARDS INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

From G.M.H.'s dirty shop floors all this sounds too simple, for it is from there that one tastes what power, domination, bigness and bureaucracy is all about. How can such conditions







# A Review of Ken Coates and Tony Topham's "The New Unionism"

Peter Owen London 1972

be changed? Not by opting out of the system and directly establishing self-managed, co-operative factories or offices (there are numerous European examples; the best Australian example is that small Whyalla glove factory operated by women). "The trouble with this", as Coates and Topham remark, "is that the system outside the ideal factories goes on as before, and because of its scale and its financial and technical resources, the outside capitalist world remains much more efficient in purely market terms than utopian islands of democracy." (p.70).

The continuing and frustrating problem for the prophets of industrial democracy in Western bureaucratic capitalism is that most of its subjects believe in it. There is, so to speak, a mental police force which shapes, twists and deforms the lives of workers. A friend of mine told me recently about how a Melbourne-based theatre group wrote and produced a short lunch hour piece of factory theatre entitled "Dr. Marx's Cure". The play didn't go down well. No wonder, because for these workers it is natural for companies to be privately owned and autocratically run. Any movement for industrial democracy will therefore require extensive worker education, and not necessarily of the ritualised classroom type. **Workers will have to come to see that they are the source of power whose abuse they currently bemoan;** that, as the following anecdote from the *New Unionism* shows, power can pass from the hands of management to workers:

"On an assembly line the men were scheduled to produce 96 engines, although they had only the men to produce 90. Management brought pressure to bear, the lines started to go faster. Production leapt to 106 an hour, until this increase was noticed by one of the workers, whereupon he stopped the line. The charge-hand remonstrated: 'What's wrong? Why has the line stopped?' The man told him: 'The speed. We're making up to 110 per hour.' 'Up to the office' said the charge-hand (prelude to suspension and sack). As they walked towards the office, the charge-hand noticed that the whole section (minus a few arse-creepers and company men)

were following. 'All right, forget it', he said. 'Back to work!'"

But learning will have to be an active process, as above. Talk about, and theories of, industrial democracy will not be enough: theory needs to be tested in practice by workers pushing demands to gain access to company information, to impose vetoes on arbitrary authority, to gain the power to reconstruct and reshape their working lives.

## SOME CRITICISMS

In some respects this is an important book though, especially considering its outrageous price (use the Main Library's copy), not a patch on Coates and Topham's earlier work, *Worker's Control*. It clearly lacks imagination. Their final chapter ('Towards Self-Management') contributes nothing to the theory of worker control and self-management at all, despite the fact that the authors flirt with a number of interesting and exciting points. For example (p.200):

"A democratically run sand foundry is a far better place than one run by orders: but in a world where some men ride round the moon or sing in Fidelio, a foundry-man is not a free man". Here it seems Coates and Topham are alluding to the fascinating possibility that a strategy for worker control and self-management will involve notions of progressively abolishing work as we know it. But the authors venture no further. Is such a dismantling of the productive apparatus of Western capitalist societies now feasible? If so, which industries are to be abolished, retained or created? What are the implications for a strategy of worker control?

Similarly (p.58) Coates and Topham speak of a self-managed society as "... a system of self-managing, accountable and elected councils, reaching outward and upward from plant and school, factory and hospital, depot, mine and mill to the central administrative and planning bodies of the whole society." A pregnant, though hardly fruitful suggestion, for the question of how self-managed units will relate to one another is still problematical, as Rousseau long ago pointed out in his discussion of "general" and "particular wills".

## In other places Coates and Topham are namby-pamby in their analysis.

They say nothing about the problem of commodity fetishism and possessiveness in Western culture (I, for a start, could not consent to the demands of self-interested Concorde workers in Bristol to continue production of the Concorde. That destructive project needs to be dismantled, Concorde employees being re-employed elsewhere). Similarly — and I don't mean to be derogatory — most of my workmates presently like the power, comfort, shininess and status of G.M.H. cars. They think Holdens and Toranas are worth producing, but I don't. The costs — of raw materials, labour, environmental damage, atomization of human relationships, and loss of life — are too great in my opinion.

And on the question of a strategy for worker control, Coates and Topham are naive. True, they are aware that full worker control of industry will not result from workers simply making demands on managers. They speak, accordingly, about walking on "two legs" (p.185):

"What is now necessary is the evolution of a practical set of policies which can 'walk on two legs', in the words of Mao Tse-tung. That is to say, we need socialist activists in Parliament to work in concert with other socialist activists in factories, trade unions and neighbourhoods, in order to be able to reach into the very heart of the working population and prepare for change among the people who alone can either make or benefit from it."

Perhaps. But Coates and Topham, like Marx, seriously underestimate the prospects for counter-revolution and violence; they are, as others (e.g. Humphrey McQueen) have pointed out, utopians. As the Chilean example showed, Coates and Topham need a dose of Machiavelli.

Finally, I wonder about Coates and Topham's real intentions, about whether the "new unionism" of which they speak is really so new. Ostensibly, their call for a "new unionism" based on slogans of worker control is concerned with the liberation of people's lives; for example (p.15):

"The imaginations of working people, their ideas of what they hold in

potential, their notions of what they have it in themselves to be, can only develop fully when they are able to create organisations in which they can see effective means for changing their conditions."

Now, while they do speak harshly of the "Americanization" of some British unions (i.e. the growth within already bureaucratized unions of a "professional" elite of lawyers, academics and business consultants), Coates and Topham soft peddle on the crucial issue of union democracy. Too often (e.g. pp. 29, 44), it is implied that trade unions "represent" all workers; indeed, at one point (p.58), Coates and Topham treat "workers' control" as a synonym for trade union encroachment on managers' powers! This is nonsensical and highly misleading for, in the first place, the labour force in Britain (and in most other countries) is only partly unionized. And, anyhow, many workers have no say in "their" union's activities, as evidenced by low levels of participation in union elections, and the periodic wildcat strike (factory occupations, for example, usually occur against the advice of union elites.)

Many of my Fisherman's Bend workmates couldn't give a stuff about the V.B.E.F. And why should they when union officials seem to be such soft peddlers, out to feather their own nests?

Coates and Topham might just be like the revolutionary orator who promises his audience: "Come the revolution, and you'll have strawberries and cream every day." Replies a puzzled spectator: "But I don't like cream." But the orator is emphatic: "Come to the revolution and you'll have to like cream." Coates and Topham's "new unionism", in short, might be aiming at more of the same bureaucracy, oligarchy and inequality that currently causes us so much misery. And to find out what that's like, we need only try a stretch at G.M.H.

By: JOHN KEANE

The strike at the Ford factory at Broadmeadows in June this year (see Lot's 23/7) served to draw attention to the inhuman conditions the Ford company imposes on its workers.

The following article was written by one of the workers on the Ford assembly for "whip" line at Broadmeadows. For obvious reasons, he wishes to remain anonymous.

That multinational corporation, Ford Motors, is the third largest company in the world (behind General Motors and Standard Oil of New Jersey). In 1970 its gross annual sales totalled \$14.98 billion dollars. And it is literally true that the "success" of Ford has been built on the sweat and blood of its workers.

In 1927 Dearborn (U.S.A.) was Henry Ford's city. A city inside the city of Detroit — the heart of America's auto industry. Harry Bennett, Chief of the Ford Service Department, was Henry Ford's right hand man. His job was to see to it that Ford's men were never unionised.

Bennett was appointed by the Republican State administration to the parole commission of Michigan. He persuaded the prisons to parole prisoners, of his choice, to him. He promised to put them to work in the Ford Plant to make them "good citizens through honest labour". He received such paroles at the rate of 5 a week, until, at its peak, Bennett had under his direct control an army of over 8,000 ex-prisoners. They included men with every criminal skill on record — he had experts in every field.

Henry Ford certainly had the right attitude to employ men like this. He once said "The very poor are recruited almost solely from the people who refuse to think, and therefore to work diligently... The average man won't really do a day's

work unless he is caught and cannot get out of it."

Ford also published the anti-semitic newspaper, the "Dearborn Independent". As early as 1924, after Hitler's unsuccessful beer hall putsch of the year before, the vice-president of the Barbarian Parliament charged that the parliament "long had information that the Hitler movement was partly financed by an American anti-semitic chief, who is Henry Ford. Herr Hitler has openly boasted of Mr. Ford's support." And when Hitler came to power he showed Henry just how to handle the Unions. He cleaned out Ford's German plants of all the "communists" his Gestapo could lay their hands on.

After the economic crash of 1928, Ford had thrown 85,000 men out of work to preserve his profits. A Hunger March was organised by the Unemployed Councils of Detroit and Dearborn, along with the Auto Workers' Union, to march on Ford's River Rouge factory, demanding jobs for all laid off Ford workers, a seven hour day without reduction in pay, the abolition of secret servicemen, (spies, police etc.), and the right to organise.

There were clashes with the police who threw tear gas and fired on the march to stop its progress. The police were driven back with a hail of stones, and, under fire, the march went on for another half mile. They reached Gate 3 of the Ford factory and there the gangsters, Harry Bennett's private army, were waiting for them.

They opened fire on the march. It was a massacre. Four men shot dead and many were wounded. At their funerals, 70,000 people marched. That was in 1932.

Ford was finally unionised in April 1941.



## THE LINE

# Working for Ford....

I have to begin by describing what it is like to work on the assembly line at Ford.

The line dominates the lives of those who work on it, and I think that it is the conditions on the line which to a large extent account for the behaviour of the Ford strikers, first of all, in going out and staying out despite the Union, and secondly, in their behaviour in the Wednesday rebellion.

An accurate picture of the car assembly line is important if only to prove the inhuman conditions that man will subject each other to in search for gain.

What is the line like? First of all the setting is overwhelming: an enormous factory the size of several suburban blocks all under the same roof. Inside three thousand men at work on a mass of machinery, streets running through the factory with buggies, scooters, bicycles and motor bikes rushing along them frantically weaving around men and forklifts.

Everywhere men at work, some in grey smocks with the green or red lapels signifying foreman, general foreman or supervisor status. And everywhere wending back and forth, snaking relentlessly along, the never ending chain of cars which is the line.

### THE PRESSURE

It is difficult to describe the cars coming down the line because there is a psychological dimension to the scene as you brace yourself for your assault on the next car. I have always pictured the car coming down the line as being like a great queen bee cruising down, as the workers swarm over it, servicing it and then jump off as they move onto the next, only to be replaced by other workers repeating their jobs 54 times an hour, 400 times a day, two and a half thousand times a week.

How can I explain the pressure of the line? The fact that you have calculated your actions literally down to a fraction of a second; that in the one minute in which you must complete your job and get in position on the

next car there is not a single motion that you have not considered or calculated; that you are continuously aware that the obstruction of any motion will cause you to fall behind the line, to lose the sequence of the other men's work which interlocks with yours and so causes you to work frantically, sometimes having to run in order to catch up. The pressure to keep up is so great that men are often ready to fight each other over a single action such as shutting the car door or leaving it open, which, repeated once a minute as a hurdle in the steeplechase race against the line, assumes gigantic proportions. (In fact such fights are common).

Every man is constantly striving to minimise his work load, not because he is lazy but simply in order to survive. For there is nothing surer than that if you were to do as much work as your foreman required of you then you would work yourself to death because the quota is open ended — you are required to do as much as you are capable of doing.

### HUMILIATION

Even when you go to the toilet you are actually aware that if you take too long i.e. more than 8-10 minutes then everyone will start to watch their watches, the relief worker is counting the cars, seven or eight OK... nine will earn a nasty look and tardy relief next time, ten a warning, eleven a complaint to the foreman.

Trying to get relieved can, and often does, take on humiliating dimensions. You are supposed to be relieved once in the morning and once in the

afternoon. Usually you are relieved in turn in a sequence. However if nature doesn't conform to timetable then you must engage in negotiations with one of your mates to try to exchange relief times. Nobody likes doing this (could you ever imagine management working under these conditions) especially as it often leads to the sort of conversation such as: "I have to go badly" — "I'm sorry my friend, but I need to go more." — "But I'm desperate..." If you can't negotiate an earlier relief you have to attract the foreman's attention and get him to find you a relief from further up the line. This is easier said than done. Firstly the foreman is up and down the line and it isn't so easy to get hold of him. Even if you succeed in doing that it will usually take him at least half an hour and sometimes up to an hour and a quarter till he will get a relief for you and all the time you have to keep working, you have to keep up with the line.

### SCORN AND SACKING

Of course you may not leave the line, if you do you'll be chewed out, and if you do a second time you'll be fired. It was a new spectacle for me to see men being screamed at and told off, threatened with the sack, a new experience for me to be treated as some sort of inferior something, less than a human being. Moreover it seemed to me that there was a constant element of "racist" scorn and contempt whenever the foreman or whatever was Australian and the worker (and this is **always** the case) a migrant.

Why do they put up with it? Why do they consent to such work and treatment? Nearly all the men are new arrivals. They are prepared to take the first job they can get. With the eight hours, Saturday work, virtually guaranteed overtime, and provided they get their punctuality and attendance bonus intact, the money is marginally better than that available to

unskilled labour elsewhere. When you are trying to get established with your family in a new country you're prepared to work hard. These men are accustomed to hard work; it is only after they have committed themselves that they learn that this work is in a category of its own...

### TEA CONCESSIONS

In the five hours before the 45 minute lunchtime, apart from the one toilet break, you get the only other rest you will have all day — morning tea. Originally morning tea was served to the men as they worked and they were charged 3 cents for it. After a ten-day strike in 1969 among other concessions in conditions the workers managed to extract from these magnanimous benefactors was "adequate" time to drink it. When the men returned to work they discovered how much time was adequate to drink a cup of tea — six minutes.

The siren goes and a mad scramble takes place as the men rush to get out of the cars and run down the line to where the tray has been placed. There they may jostle for over a minute before they get their cup of tea. Quite often the line keeps moving for a half minute or so after the siren has gone. You are then faced with the choice of continuing to work in the car and missing part of the only break in the day, or leaving the moving car knowing that when work recommences you will be behind and that you will have to work furiously and literally run from car to car for up to an hour before you can catch up and settle back into a comparatively relaxed (though by no means leisurely) pace (and incidentally perhaps more importantly, be able to rejoin conversations with your workmates which, even though it must be shouted intermittently against incredible din of hammering and drilling is about the only thing that makes the work bearable.)



# DISOBEYING THE LAW

This book is concerned with what sort of claims the law has on our obedience in a democratic society.

The author constructs a series of models, including one meant to illustrate the ideal features of democracy, as a "decision-procedure". Considering democracy in its ideal aspect, there are two sources of political obligation.

The first arises from the (ideal) nature of the decision-procedure as one of "fair compromise": one ought generally to accept a "system of government (which) operates as a fair compromise between competing claims to power", and which operates "fairly as well, in that the majority does not use its votes to the constant disadvantage of the minority." To accept the decision-procedure means both to participate in it, and to abide by its results.

The second source of obligation lies in the fact of participation itself: "participation in a decision-procedure, when others are participating in good faith, creates a *prima facie* obligation to accept the results of the procedure". By participating, one's behavior gives rise to the reasonable expectation in others that one has accepted the procedure as suitable for reaching a decision, the results of which one is thereby tacitly committed to accept as well.

This second form of obligation has its roots in the first form (fair compromise), which is in itself a reason for participation in the decision-procedure. The "results" one is committed to accept through participation are the policies for which the successful party sought electoral mandate, or at any rate, government action generally consistent with the mandate sought. No obligation to accept the results of the decision-procedure arises through compulsory participation, as, for example, in Australia.

Having argued for these forms of obligation on the basis of a simplified and ideal view of democratic procedure, the author now considers their force in the actual circumstances of democratic government. If the orthodox political science judges these circumstances correctly, the author argues, then "the specifically democratic reasons for obeying the law which applied in our model democratic community apply only in part to the societies in which we live. The discrepancy is a serious one. Many

the government of one's community." This neglect on the part of the theorists reflects, of course, a denial which the system of government itself accomplishes in the suffocation of dissident interest, whether through oligarchical party-structures, disproportionately influential pressure-groups, the absence of any real opposition between major parties, and so on.

Not unsurprisingly, the people may seek to make good this neglect — the system does not operate as a fair compromise, voters are not faced with significant alternatives, genuine opposition is denied any articulation. The contracted, virtually arbitrary forms of

at quite minor issues" as well, not only those, like the war in Vietnam, which involve an evil "so great as to outweigh even democratic reasons for obeying the law."

The author meets the complacent, time-serving apologists of elitist democracy — the electoral statisticians whose practice is merely to document the popular apathetic disregard of political institutions, disinterest in which is a foregone conclusion from their make-up — with the judgment that their "studies (are) simply ... an indication of the distance still to be covered in realising (democratic) ideals."

His own work is interesting in proceeding from a discussion which is traditionally conducted in general terms, and is almost always tediously dry and abstract, to one involving concrete political realities. While the critical moment of the earlier discussion (using models) only fully reveals itself in the second part of the book, historical considerations significantly enter into the question of what is going to be discussed in general terms in the first part of the book. In this sense, the two discussions react on one another, though this is not immediately evident from an opening section which very misleadingly appears as another depraved exercise in recent political philosophy.

The work concludes with a brief discussion of Northern Ireland from the standpoint earlier established; it is a clear, economical account, though it might have been more generous.

The (expatriate) author provides some local colour by including in his gallery of monstrous views that of the much-lamented patron of pillar-box democracy, J. G. ("commiserating") Gorton — who referred all opposition to the ballot, but is better known for urging "tolerance" of dissent when it was "ineffective".

**Richard Teese reviews**  
**Democracy And Disobedience**  
**by Peter Singer**  
**(Clarendon Press, Oxford 1973)**

groups and individuals, not having an equal share of power either through pressure-group politics or elections, cannot be urged to obey, or even to participate in elections, on the grounds that the division of power in our society is a fair one."

The author lays into the purveyors of orthodox (i.e., elitist) democratic theory, especially Dahl, for having made "virtues out of necessity". They have ignored the critical import of traditional democratic theory, in particular, with Mill, the "aim of self-development through participation in

participation to which the people are condemned can hardly be said to provide any occasion for self-development through political community. The people are, in general, denied any significant influence over the decisions which most significantly affect their life.

In this context, the author considers it "possible that the weakness of the arguments for obedience ... is a factor in the amount of disobedience which now meets controversial decisions in many (Western) societies." Disobedience is now "often directed



# INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY: YUGOSLAV STYLE

BY ICHAK AIZES

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY AND THE FREE PRESS

REVIEWED BY GRAHAM DUNKLEY

Yugoslavia is a politically and economically unique country.

During the war it was one of the few European countries to successfully resist Hitler, and after the war it was the only Eastern European country which was able to resist the Red Army and the Stalinist secret police, thereby remaining relatively independent of Soviet influence. Although President Tito was initially a Stalinist and Yugoslavia adopted the classic Soviet model of economic planning during the late 1940's, this independence enabled the Yugoslav Communist Party to retain a measure of flexibility in adapting its economic policies to local conditions.

Under central planning economic progress was remarkable — some 130% growth of GNP between the early 1950's and 1965, with an average annual growth rate of over 10%. Nevertheless, the stultifying effects of bureaucracy soon produced demands for some form of decentralisation. The earliest reforms were in 1950, but these left the main planning and investment decisions in the hands of the central bureaucracy. Over the next fifteen years there was a gradual, often de facto, development of decentralisation, and a reformist wing of the Yugoslav Communist Party grew with it. By the mid-1960's the reformers included President Tito himself and the result was the epoch making reforms of 1965.

The most important principle which was enshrined in the 1965 Constitution was that of 'market socialism'. The function of major economic decision-making was devolved to the enterprise level and the market system was set in

operation, much as under capitalism. Private enterprise was not re-introduced into the major sectors, however, but instead a new concept of participatory democracy was instituted.

In reformed Yugoslavia 'shadow prices' were no longer set centrally according to growth and investment targets officially set by the party-bureaucracy nexus; instead prices and production targets were set by the individual companies in accordance with market indicators. Banks were given a good deal of latitude to decide on the allocation of investment funds, restrictions on the importing of goods and capital were relaxed, and Communist Party interference in the decision-making process of enterprises was almost eliminated. The initial effect was chaotic, as the hitherto arbitrarily set prices proved to be vastly different from those adduced from the market in many cases. But stability came quite quickly.

Perhaps the most far-reaching reforms, however, were in the decision-making structure at the enterprise level, which are the subject of this book, one of the first and most thorough to be yet published in English. Under Yugoslav industrial democracy the workers theoretically and constitutionally make the main economic decisions. All enterprises in the country are divided into Economic Units; the basis of industrial democracy consists of the general assemblies of all workers in the enterprise (*Zbors*). These *Zbors* elect Economic Unit Councils and the Cen-

tral Workers' Council, which are the main decision-making bodies of the enterprise. Workers elected to the councils usually hold tenure for two years and are ineligible to stand for consecutive terms.

The rules of enterprise government are contained in the *Statut* (or constitution) of the company which must be initially accepted by the workers through a referendum. Further changes must be by referendum. The only constraints on the drawing up of the *Statut* are that it must be consistent with the constitution of Yugoslavia.

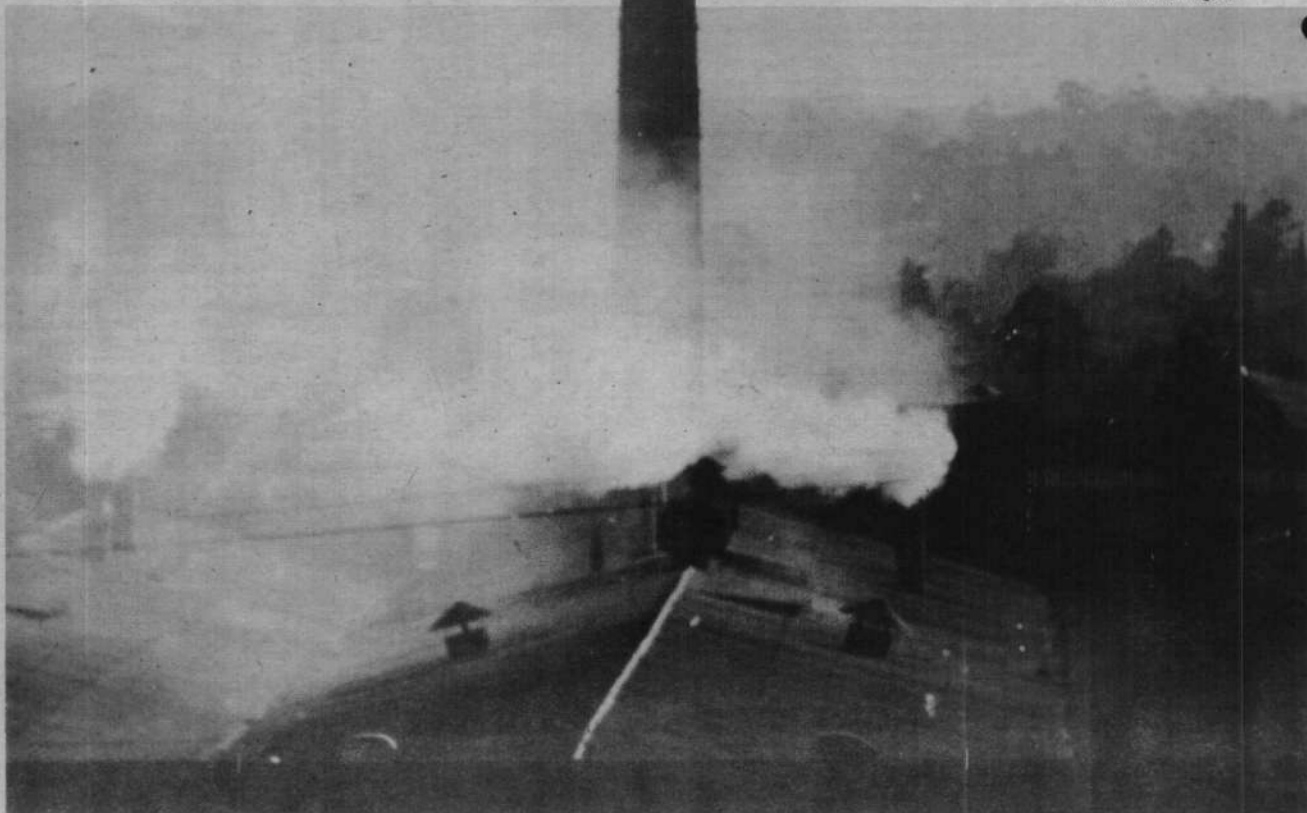
The final source of authority is the Workers' Council which handles major decisions such as pricing, marketing and investment policies, ratifies production plans, establishes personnel recruitment, income distribution (i.e. wages and salaries payment), and executive appointment standards. The Economic Unit Councils make decisions on smaller matters relating to their own sections of the plant, and makes certain recommendations to the Workers' Council — on the firing of workers for example. They consist of about ten workers who work part-time, and the Workers' Council consists of upward of this number, depending on the size of the enterprise; Workers' Council members are more or less full time legislators.

A Governing Board, which is also elected by the workers, acts as an executive of the Workers' Council and is the go-between for the Workers' Council and the Administrative section. The Administrative section consists of a Director and a general

administrative staff of accountants, market consultants and perhaps technical experts. In the final analysis it is responsible to the Workers' Council which is responsible for the appointment of the director, sets his salary, decides what special leave, or overseas study tours he will make, and generally circumscribes his functions. In turn the Administrative section draws up the annual plans in accordance with the overall plans of the central government, submits whatever data the Workers' Council might require, and makes recommendations about relevant technological changes.

How effectively does this system work? Initially critics on both sides of the Iron Curtain were sceptical about its prospects, but after eight years it is still surviving. Professor Aizes, an American of Yugoslav descent, has examined the structure of industrial relations in two particular companies (or enterprises), both of them in the textile industry, and both having been established long before Yugoslavia became communist. The main difference between the two was in the personalities of the Directors, who, even under the self-management system tend to remain the leading individual in the company. The Director of 'ABC' company was a dominating character who had a powerful position in the Communist Party and had played a major role in the setting up of the communist state in Yugoslavia. The Director of 'XYZ' was older and more easy going, and as such he worked more closely with the Workers' Council.

Continued on Page 17





# CAPITALISM'S BAG OF DIRTY TRICKS

## a review of "SECURITIES AND OBSCURITIES"

by R. J. CHAMBERS

GOWER PRESS (AUSTRALIA) \$10.50

Although the system formally worked according to the principles of self management, in practice the Director of ABC exercised something of a coercive influence over the members of the Workers' Council, while at XYZ there was a harmonious working relationship. This difference was illustrated by the process of major decision-making. In the first case major technological change and annual plans were quickly passed, whereas in the second these vital decisions were passed backwards and forwards between the decision-making levels for long periods of time. At one stage such indecision caused XYZ to take over a year to endorse an annual plan, by which time it had become partly obsolete.

The overall impression is that where the self management system works properly, with a balance of power between the various groups, then the sense of responsibility declines at all levels and the factory somehow or another stumbles through. On the other hand the climate of industrial relations was much better at XYZ. There was less frustration among the workers at all levels owing to the fact that they always feel that they have recourse to the representative institutions of the company whenever they wished to express an opinion. During the period of Professor Adizes' research there were few signs of fights among workers and no signs of a strike at XYZ, whereas there were frequent fist-fights at ABC and at least one strike. He concludes that there is a trade-off between harmony and efficiency.

He examines the power structure of the enterprise in minute detail and finds that participation has greatly reduced the power of the *Politikale Aktiv* (the outside bodies such as the Party and the trade unions), the technical and administrative staff, and the more skilled workers. The informal power structure sometimes results in a disproportionate influence by the skilled sections of the workers, but this often depends upon personality factors.

Despite the dysfunctional aspects of the system, the effect of spreading the burden of responsibility has been to make it much easier to make unpleasant decisions such as reducing wages when the profits of the company decreases. Certainly self management has brought anomalies, such as the discouragement of recruitment for Directorships as a result of the frustrations of dealing with Workers' Councils; to rectify this higher salaries have to be offered to attract administrative staff and thereby reintroducing income inequalities.

However, the system does work. Although the rate of increase in GNP slowed down markedly in the first few years after self management was introduced, it has since recovered. Industrial production fell from an average of over 10% (annual increase) before 1965 to a 0.4% decrease in 1967, but by 1969 had recovered to show an 11.2% increase in that year.

Unfortunately unemployment has also grown. Nevertheless, the concept of industrial democracy Yugoslav style has arrived to stay. Despite its anomalies it has reduced the alienation of workers from their work process. It is continually changing by trial and error and is an experiment which no country, whether capitalist or communist can afford to ignore.

The sub-title of this book, by a Sydney Professor of Accounting, "A Case for Reform of the Law of Company Accounts", indicates a limited approach of the book, and indeed the main purposes of the author is to warn small investors of the dirty tricks businessmen can get up to, and to point out to the accounting profession some of the weaknesses of their art. Nevertheless, in doing so he raises some very important questions which should be of concern to economists and governments alike.

Although according to the laws of most capitalist countries company annual reports have to give a "true and fair view" of the company's business, he points out that this rather naive provision is only very vaguely defined both in the laws and in the generally accepted principles of accounting. He attributes this to negligence on the part of law makers and accountants, and does not consider any conspiratorial reasons for this; but interestingly, he notes that there were times, as recently as the 1920's, when the laws of certain states in the USA specifically exempted companies from having to disclose full details about their financial affairs. One need not look far for a political explanation for this. He points out that in all the voluminous literature of accounting theory, there is virtually no precise definition of the main terms used for financial accounting.

The first important trick in the capitalists' bag is the problem of valuation of assets. It is very important to the investor to know what the current assets of the company are, yet many companies, even today, have not had assessments of the current market value of their assets made. Hence in annual reports companies often quote their assets at cost price, property values being perhaps in terms of 1920 pounds, capital equipment in 1961 pounds, money borrowed in 1960 pounds, and profits expressed in 1970 dollars. Hence the reader of the report will not have the slightest idea of the real value of corporate assets. Although this can backfire by lulling the directors into a false sense of security, the more usual risk is that the small investor can be caught up in a full scale collapse before he knows what is happening; for one of the indicators upon which many rely, perhaps naively, is the earnings to net assets ratio, which directors can render quite meaningless.

Another dirty trick is the rigging of stated profit levels. By using several alternative methods of disclosing costs, revenues, at different times, companies can obtain book profits varying by as much as \$125 to \$275, depending upon the methods used. Some American accountants once showed that using different methods on the same data, reported incomes per share could be varied by between 80 cents and \$1.79.

The next dirty trick is the jiggling of depreciation costs. There are several different methods of recording depreciation, the most common being the "straight line method" and the "accelerated depreciating method", the latter of which involves depreciation costs being charged over a much shorter time period. By switching between the two, companies can greatly vary the book value of their assets and net returns.

A very important facet of company business, inventory (stock of the product) valuation, opens up a whole bag of dirty tricks because there is a large range of permissible methods of assessment. By regularly switching between methods a company can increase or lower their reported income, depending on which suits them most at the time. In 1957, for example, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company (which makes Camel cigarettes etc.) switched methods, resulting in a \$15 million tax saving. In other cases reported net income has been up-valued so as to keep shareholders happy and prevent disastrous share-price falls.

What are some of the evils which can result from all these tricks? Professor Chambers points out that, considering the number of permutations and combinations of possible methods of valuing assets, profits, depreciation and inventories, the chances of obtaining fully comparable figures for any two companies, or for one company in any two years, is several million to one. The main use to which companies put these tricks, he believes, is for the purpose of "income smoothing"; by understating net income in good years and using different methods so as to overstate it in bad years, companies can avoid the appearance of instability, one of those dreaded phobias of the stock market.

He is not so concerned about tax dodging because, he says, what they gain in one year they will lose in next year's tax bill. The greatest problem he sees is the continual falsification of reports for a long period of time so as to conceal an impending collapse, for this often lures in the unsuspecting small investor; the Reid Murray collapse in Australia is a typical case. But cases have been recorded of companies dodging the taxation officers for long periods of time, and Professor Chambers himself notes occasions in various countries when tax laws have been changed after certain pressures have been applied by companies. It would be surprising if some companies did not get away with little (or not so little) bonuses on such occasions.

What can be done about this rather deplorable situation? Professor Chambers is to some extent urging accountants to set their house in order. But he points out that independent auditors (the law requires that companies have annual audits by independent accountants) are dependent upon the information given them by the directors of the companies, and often they are as much in the dark as the frustrated stockholder. Governments have not always been anxious to do anything about it. Although disclosure laws have gradually become tighter, the absurd situation still exists today in both Australia and Britain that banks and insurance companies are exempt from general disclosure provisions of the law. In other words, they are not obliged to reveal their real profits or reserves. A similar situation in the USA has led the Monopolies Commission to remark that this has led to a decline in the efficiency and competitiveness of banks and insurance companies.

It should be a sobering thought for economists that whenever they assess that business revenue is running so low that a price increase is justified, or that a wage increase cannot be granted, neither he nor anybody else might know what they are talking about. It must also shed grave doubts on the viability of prices justification tribunals and incomes policies which are to be based on information supplied by companies themselves. But good luck in your economics exams anyway.

GRAHAM DUNKLEY

## Elizabethan Trust Melbourne Orchestra Blackwood Hall

Mozart's A Major Piano Concerto (K. 488) is one of his most beautiful and structurally unique works in this genre, contrasting the sunniness and brilliance of the first and last movements with the magnificently expressive F sharp minor slow movement.

However the edge of excellence which could have been achieved by the Elizabethan Trust Orchestra (during its 20th September performance) was lost in all three works by a common problem, more noticeable in the Haydn and Schubert than in the Mozart. The orchestra had a tendency to begin the works excellently with immaculately clean ensemble-playing, phrasing and tone; however by the end of the work, they seemed exhausted of this freshness of approach. This was not as noticeable in the piano-concerto, since the soloist held it together.

Ms. Romola's performance of the slow movement was exceptional, with its subtle emphasis on its hauntingly unusual harmonic progressions; however the first and last movements were lacking in direction and substance. Her playing was technically good, but did not assert itself as much as it should in these movements. Consequently she was often overshadowed by the orchestra which was too loud itself. As well as this, some of the rapid passages, in the violins especially, were muffled and indistinct.

The Haydn symphony (No. 57 in D major) too was almost excellent, for similar reasons. The mellow tone of the orchestra, generally clear phrasing and time-perfect, broad pizzicato of the Adagio movement distinguished the performance from the ordinary, but again towards the end, the fineness seemed blunted.

Despite my love of Mozart, the great Schubert 9th Symphony was the success of the evening. The orchestral tone, especially that of the woodwinds was broad and smooth throughout. This "casiness" of texture suited perfectly the peripatetic feeling of the Andante con Moto movement with its alternation between the slightly nostalgic march-theme and the song-like strain in contrasting keys.

Robert Pikler's achievement with the orchestra, if not technically perfect, embodied something often relegated to a subservient role despite its equal importance — musicality. His performance was both beautiful and memorable.

— Peter Morgan

## Bill O'Shea looks at "A Sea For Yourself" (Soundtrack from Hal Jepson's film)

Surf films have always run to a fairly predictable formula: waves, waves, sick humor, and more waves. The soundtracks for these films, when not a pastiche of popular rockbands albums, have also been predictable, and on the whole, second-rate. Apart from two or three tracks on "Morning of the Earth", and some work by Taman Shud and Tully on Bob Evans' films, there has been a dearth of good surf film music. **A SEA FOR YOURSELF** doesn't alter this.

The group for this album is basically **Farm** from the **Innermost Limits** album, without Denny Aaberg on guitar, but with a host of unnamed and mostly untalented friends. **The Dragons**, as they call themselves (Dennis Dragon once toured with the Beach Boys as their drummer, no less) create an album which reaches none of the modest heights of the **Innermost Limits** album. (High points being the soothing acoustic songs like "Crumple Car" and "Inner Space"). **Instead the album emerges as little more than a collection of formless instrumentals, interspersed with amateurish blues imitations.**

The first side opens with some rather facile electronics, rumbling behind a simple organ melody. With the exception of "Drain Pipe" which sounds like just what it is — an accompaniment for something more important — the first five tracks follow a similar formula, producing a sometimes melodious, sometimes cacophonous nothingness. "Tyson Road House" is the first of the "bluesy" numbers, with the group sounding very like **Free**. The lead breaks are a blatant lift from Kossoff, but some nicely subordinated slide guitar redeems the track slightly.

The first side points to the weaknesses of the whole soundtrack. The group are far more confident and competent within the more rigidly structured songs. The longer, more experimental pieces meander into a directionless maze after a short time.

Side two opens with one of the better songs, "Zorro's Revenge", with some quite beautiful descending lead phrases. The electronic effects work with the track to produce a number

that would have been innovative had it been recorded eight or nine years ago. "Everybody Needs" is also one of the better tunes, with a melodic bass adding some depth to the rather simple tune and lyrics. This side also has Karma Cue, a full-on surfing instrumental in the Ventures/Surfaris mode. It is "updated" (and almost spoiled) by the effects, which blur the clarity of the lead lines.

The third side is the same formula again, with a couple of fairly good songs amidst a heap of mediocrity. "Fair Thee Well", with slide guitar and "matrimonial" organ, opens out well after some lonely piano, with repetitive bass chords, and a rippling melody in the treble. The piano is then used in unison with the bass and drums to give the song a solid rhythm base, over which the organ scatters stray notes. This track and Urantia Plains, the last on the side, are two of the more successful instrumentals. Their shortness stops them degenerating into formlessness.

Side four contains a simple song which embodies one facet of the surfing credo: a bit of materialism to escape materialism:

"Gonna put a new engine in my Volkswagen car" etc.  
... "when the money comes".

"Power Jams One and Two" best captures the eeriness of big surf. Its heart-pounding rhythm recalls from the film the vertical drops of Barry K. at Sunset. Admittedly it is not giving justice to a soundtrack to listen to it without the accompanying images. With the film, the music did come together a lot more, but as it is released as an album it should stand on its own. It doesn't. Perhaps record companies could soothe their consciences (if any) by releasing locally some of the fine never-released overseas albums, instead of works of far lesser note such as this.



For the benefit of those people who keep appearing at our office with flick knives at the ready and cries of "Where's that bastard Hardy?", the gentleman on the left is Rob Hardy, reviewer extraordinaire.

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# Tragic Waltz Of Modern Man

Mark Matcott  
reviews

## "Last Tango In Paris"



Why review **Last Tango in Paris**? It's been done to death surely? There was a nice big stir when it first came out and all the chain rattling fatheads said their bit — which of course brought out the ghoti-and-corduroy-jacketsets who screamed "artistic freedom" till their eyes near popped. The girls at the door tell me they still get the perennial biddy poking the air with her forthright finger and expounding on the evils of modern theatre.

Perhaps because Portnoy had gone before, or perhaps it was the beguiling smile of Don Chipp and the demise of Rylash and Bolte — there was nevertheless less of a stink over **Last Tango** than might have been expected. Foetal murder was keeping them out on the streets and away from the cinemas?

Many people have been to see **Last Tango**, but on the other hand many have not; so this essay is dedicated to both. To those who are not interested at all, I can say little... (why did you read this far?). To those who think it's dirty (having or not having seen it), I can say even less.

### SEXUAL DILEMMA

**Last Tango** is indeed sensational for the sexually repressed. But unlike **Tropic of Cancer** it was not made in order to sensate the less liberated among us. Today's audiences being what they are however, in order to place great art before the masses and get them to see it, you've either got to avoid legit theatre, or be incredibly cheap or be sensational. Even Brecht, the people's playwright, is patronised these days by the top hat and baubles set. **Last Tango** is not the world's first rude film but it is a pioneer attempt to place a complex sexual dilemma visually before a large public.

The film is technically superb, with a now legendary performance by Marlon Brando as Paul and a beguiling

one by Maria Schneider. Visually it is magnificent, with a sense of colour and form that seems like three dimensional Magritte. Grey and blue exteriors surround light-filled gamboge and wood interiors. The dialogue is an interplay of American French and French-American.

### PARISIAN PIGS

But more importantly it is a seething attack on both America and France, politically and sexually. The America of billboards and pop mania backdrops the play of a formerly "noble" American through Paul. The France where every streetcorner is covered by black, shiny pigs (by which I mean the gendarmerie) and the everlasting mythic parisian easy-lay is played by Jeanne.

Jeanne is the new *Madame Bovary*, she lives on romance and fantasy while being drawn by a stange compulsion to live out a highly sordid and abused sex-life. In Flaubert's time the illusion was a post-aristocratic Romanticism. Today it is the absorbed mass-media idea of the "liberated" woman, i.e. the fuck. The ability to easily live out such an ethos is open most easily to the daughters of the well-to-do-but-not-quite-rich (the rich have always done it) such as Jeanne.

Brando is the proud American male, symbol reduced to cruelty and destruction by the oldest of human expe-

riences, the absurdity of death. His wife has committed suicide, for no reason that anyone can discern. The relationship does not seem to have been crash hot (indeed it was as downright alienated as the world that surrounds it), but Paul is plunged into a limbo which he can only cope with by leaving all meaning behind and experiencing basic feeling as intensely and unmitigatedly as possible.

### SORCERER'S APPRENTICE

His first sexual encounter with Jeanne would be rape were it not for her willingness. To be sure it is a strange willingness. He assures her that she will return and she does, the only proviso being that there be no mention of names or the past. For Jeanne, Paul in his melancholy and dark self-confidence is an initiator, a magician and she the apprentice. He embodies the unlit side of sexuality she has not come to grips with.

Paul abuses Jeanne as an act of revolution against the absurdity he has faced. He himself has been "down into the very ass of Death" and mocks her ingenuousness from his new vantage point, thereby enslaving her more and more. She finally succumbs to an intense sexual relatedness which is as close and binding as unlove can be. Her fantasy, and her boyfriend, have finally become inadequate.

### TURNING ROUND

But Paul breaks his own rules. In reconciling himself with his own past and his dead wife, by a visitation to her bier and to her lover, he has turned his own tables around.

Suddenly he can love again. The kinship of Sex and Death is as old as mankind — and Paul's reconciliation with Death is simultaneously a reconciliation with sexual intimacy.

### POIGNANT TANGO

He goes to Jeanne, now an innocent himself again and clumsily makes his pledge of love. But is it too late. He may have passed his turning point but Jeanne is still in the limbo he dragged her into (and without him to hold her hand while she's there). She cannot, deprived of her former innocence, love him innocently all over again. Here Bertolucci places the most poignant scene of the film, the tragicomic last Tango, which leads to the tragic and eminently inevitable conclusion.

Throughout the film there are images of warm light straining translucently through black or grey bars and perennial fast trains which rattle past with a rush. The light symbolises trapped and thwarted love-energy and the trains symbolise the movement of transformation which is Paul's heavy burden, plight and knowledge.

### TRAGEDY AND FINALITY

Bertolucci has accurately and honestly portrayed the human logic of the world which made Jeanne and Paul. There will always be those who see the inevitable element which is of the essence of tragedy as its statement of finality. But the world which made Jeanne and Paul was not made by inevitability, it was made by people and it needs without end to be remade in its maker's image... more and more human. It is in every sense our world.

# WHAT'S ON?

## THEATRE

**CYCLES** — An exploration of the causes, implications and auras of death — directed by Marg Couits — presented by Monash Players — Union Theatre — Tuesday to Friday (October 9-13) this week — 8.00 p.m. Admission 50c. Players members 30c.

Last production in the Bourverie Street theatre **THE HOUSE OF BERNARDA ALBA** by Federico Garcia Lorca. 117 Bourverie St., Carlton, Oct. 9-12 at 8.00 p.m. Students 80c, non \$1.00.

**ALEXANDER BUZO'S "ROOTED"** presented by Waverley Theatre Co. Union Theatre 8.15 p.m. Oct. 15, 16, 18 and 20.

**HAPPINESS STAN** at Wonthaggi Town Hall, 12 and 13 October, 7 p.m. A pop opera put on by the young people of Wonthaggi and the slightly older people of "whale".

**CULT** — A satirical look at the future. Original pop musical by Burwood teachers College. Oct. 11-13, 16-20.

**NOVA THEATRE** presents Hello Dolly at the Alex Theatre, Monash, 11-20 Oct.

**THE PLAYS THE THING** by Ferenc Molnar. Featuring Frank Thring, Edwin Hodgeman, Peter Curtin, Terry McDermott. Starting Oct. 17. St. Martins Theatre, St. Martin's Lane, South Yarra.

**EVENT** — La Mama, Faraday St., Carlton. Oct. 12-14.

**HAMLET** presented by Nimrod Theatre, Pram Factory, 325 Drummond St., Carlton. Sept. 28-Oct. 21, 8 p.m. Tues.-Sun.

**SAMUEL BECKETT** — Act without words. Play, Imagination Dead, Imagine. Oct. 11, 12 8 p.m. Guild Theatre Melbourne Uni.

**NUTCRACKER** — Melbourne Ballet Co. Union Theatre Melbourne Uni. Adults \$4.00, students \$2. Oct. 11, 12, 13 8 p.m.

## FILMS

**BANANAS & EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT SEX** — Oct. 12, Alex 1.30 p.m. Members 60c, non \$1.

## NATIONAL FILM THEATRE OF AUSTRALIA

Oct. 16 — Animal Crackers, Marx Bros. — You're telling me, W. C. Fields, Dental Theatre.

Oct. 23 — Viridiana, Bunuel, Tristana, Bunuel, Carlton Theatre.

Oct. 30 — Exterminating Angel, Bunuel, Carlton Theatre.

Nov. 7 — Bell De Jour, Bunuel, Cul De Sac, Polanski, Carlton Theatre.

Nov. 14 — Peter Ibbetson, Pandora and the Flying Dutchman, Dental.

Nov. 28 — Paris N'est Pas, Orphee, Dental.

## INDIAN FILM SEASON—

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Screenings commence at the Carlton Theatre on Wednesdays October, 17, 24, 31 at 7.40. MEMBERSHIP NECESSARY.

**FAT CITY** — Union Theatre Melbourne Uni. Oct. 10 1.30 p.m.

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On Impotence, and when it Invalidates Marriages, &c.

**DECAMERON** — Union Theatre Melbourne Uni. Oct. 12, 1.30 p.m.

**HOURS OF THE FURNACE** — Free film with audience discussion. Five hour documentary. Agora Theatre, La Trobe Uni. Oct. 10, 8 p.m.

**HIDE AND SEEK** — Children's film. Alex Theatre, Monash Uni. Sat. 12 Oct. 11 a.m.

## MUSIC

**LUNCH HOUR CONCERT** — presented by Tanya Hunt (cello) and Margaret Schofield (piano) free admission. Robert Blackwood Hall, 1 p.m. Oct. 15.

**CHAMBER MUSIC CONCERT** — Presented by German Bach soloist, featuring 'cellist Janos Starker. Works by Bach, Vivaldi, Mozart, Boccherini. Admission \$4 and \$3. Robert Blackwood Hall, Oct. 9.

**HARDWARE CLUB** — Hardware Lane Melbourne. "Jeremy Kellock and hiss Ree Boppers" modern jazz from 1-5 p.m. every Saturday. 50c entrance fee.

**THE COMMUNE** — 580 Victoria St., North Melbourne. Experimental sound and movement with Crucible every Sunday evening from 9-12 p.m.

**POLARIS INN** — 551 Nicholson St., Nth. Carlton. Bushwackers and Bullockies. Wed. 8-11.30 p.m. Fri. 12 p.m. The Plant with Shirely Read. Sat. 8-12 p.m.

## EXHIBITIONS

**NATIONAL GALLERY** — Blake and his contemporaries till 14th Oct. Constable — Nov.-Dec.

**PINACOTHECA** — 20 Waltham Place, Richmond. Exhibition of paintings and drawings by Jack Neeson, till Oct. 10. Wed.-Fri. 12 p.m.-7 p.m. Sat. 10 a.m.-5 p.m.

**EWING GALLERY** — Melbourne Uni Union. An exhibition of the works of Leonard Breen. Until Oct. 12, Mon.-Fri. 10-6 p.m.

**REALITIES** — Lawrence Daws 3-20 Oct., 60 Ross St., Toorak Village, Mon.-Fri. 10-5. Sat. 10-2.

**NATIVE PLANT & FLOWER SHOW** — At Glen Waverley High School, O'Sullivan Rd., Glen Waverley, 13-14 Oct. 11-6 p.m.





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The Preliminary Final was set for a close game after the Material Engineers had defeated the Misfits by one point in the last game of the season, but unfortunately Material Engineers top player Ilmas Pucurs was ill and the Misfits were able to win comfortably 72-38.

The Grand Final was a very exciting game with a full strength Misfits pushing the Basketball Club all the way. At half time they were one point down but a couple of lapses in the second half proved costly. The Basketball Club, led by Bruce Graham's 28 points proved too strong in the final stages and won by 10 points 61-51. Top Basketball Club players were Graham Gerry Knight (14 points), Maris Verdins in defence and for the Misfits Rick Armitage (22 points) and Jenkins (13 points).

### VOLLEYBALL

The volleyball competition went for 9 rounds for 19 teams with the Athletic Club just missing out on the finals.

The first semi-final turned out to be the closest and most exciting game of the finals. The Volleyball Club had to fight for every point against the M.U.M.S.S.U. 1 side. M.U.M.S.S.U. 1 easily won the first set and had match point twice in the final set. Brilliant court play and blocking by M.U.M.S.S.U. nullified the power game of the Volleyball Club who managed to narrowly win in a very skillful and exciting game. 9.15, 15.8 16.14.

In the second semi-final the undefeated Basketball Club defeated the Electrical Engineers 15.7, 15.13, and the Volleyball Club defeated the Electrical Engineers in the Preliminary Final 15.4, 15.5.

The Grand Final was the same as last year except that the Volleyball Club defeated the Basketball Club this time to salvage their dented pride for last year's defeat.

The Basketball Club started too slowly committing costly errors. They desperately fought out the second set before they went down to a skillful and powerful Volleyball Club. 15.6, 15.11.

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Sports Supervisor

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The Wetherfarkarewee and The Last Tangle in Carlton Balls were both sold out on the first day bookings opened.

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## STATEMENT OF PLANNING POLICY NO. 2 (MORNINGTON PENINSULA)

## CONSERVATION PLAN

The Western Port Regional Planning Authority is presently engaged in a study of natural systems on the Southern Mornington Peninsula as a basis for the preparation of a Conservation Plan as required by Statement of Planning Policy No. 2. An invitation is extended to any interested person, group or organisation having scientific information relating to natural systems in the section of the Peninsula generally to the south of the existing urban settlement of Mornington and Hastings, which may be of value in the preparation and implementation of a conservation plan, to contact the Authority or its Consultants, Environmental Resources of Australia, at the addresses shown below.

Western Port Regional Planning Authority,  
235 Queen Street,  
Melbourne, 3000.  
Tel.: 602 0111  
Environmental Resources of Australia,  
302 Bay Street,  
Port Melbourne  
Tel.: 64 3269

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# GOVERNMENT SPIES

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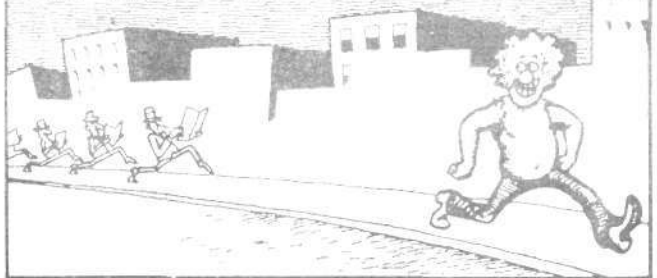
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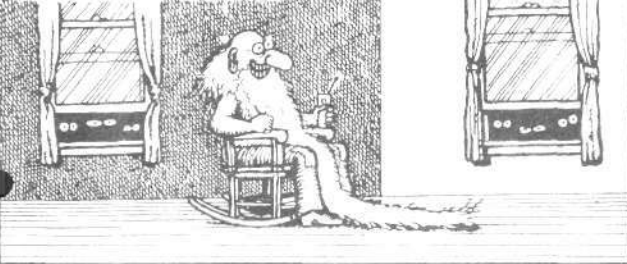
GOVERNMENT SPIES ARE EVERYWHERE,  
IN YOUR HOME AND IN YOUR HAIR,  
LURKING IN THEIR SECRET LAIR,  
COUNTING DOLLARS;



THEY KNOW EVERYONE YOU KNOW,  
THEY SEE EVERYTHING YOU SHOW,  
AND EVERYWHERE YOU GO  
THEY SLOWLY FOLLERS.



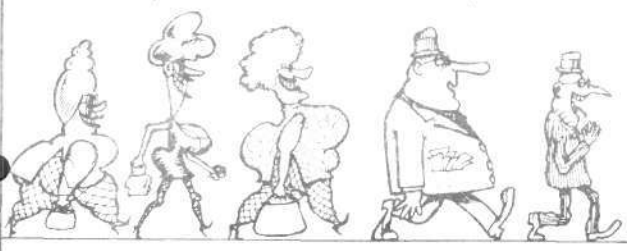
GOVERNMENT SPIES WILL COME TO YOU,  
AND THERE'S NOT MUCH YOU CAN DO,  
CEPT TO SIT THERE 'TIL THEY'RE THROUGH  
WITH THEIR SPYING;



THEY WILL COUNT UP ALL YOUR CASH,  
THEY WILL GO THROUGH ALL YOUR TRASH,  
THEN THEY'LL CONFISCATE YOUR STASH,  
AND LEAVE YOU CRYING.



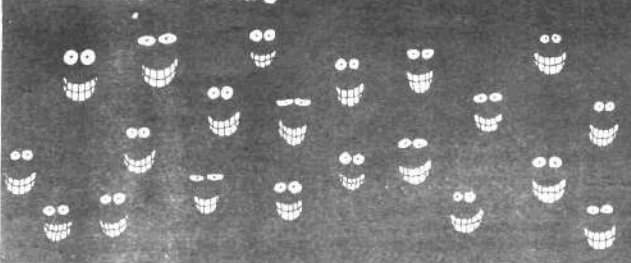
WELL, THEIR LEADER IS A WIMP,  
HIS ASSISTANT IS A SIMP,  
WHO ALSO FUNCTIONS AS A PIMP  
SOMETIMES, DOWN IN MIAMI BEACH;



"SECRET SOURCES" PAY THE TAG,  
AND THEY PAY THEM BY THE BAG,  
IT'S ENOUGH TO MAKE A GROWN MAN GAG  
AND SCREECH.



GOVERNMENT SPIES ARE EVERYWHERE,  
IN YOUR HOME AND IN YOUR HAIR,  
LURKING IN THEIR SECRET LAIR,  
COUNTING MONEY;



THEY KNOW EVFRYONE YOU KNOW,  
THEY SEE EVERYTHING YOU SHOW,  
THEY GO EVERYWHERE YOU GO,  
AND IT AIN'T FUNNY.



- GILBERT SHELTON: 6-73

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CAT



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"THE COVER-UP"



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THURSDAY  
FRIDAY

BETWEEN 9 A.M.-5 P.M.  
BETWEEN 9 A.M.-8 P.M.  
BETWEEN 9 A.M.-5 P.M.