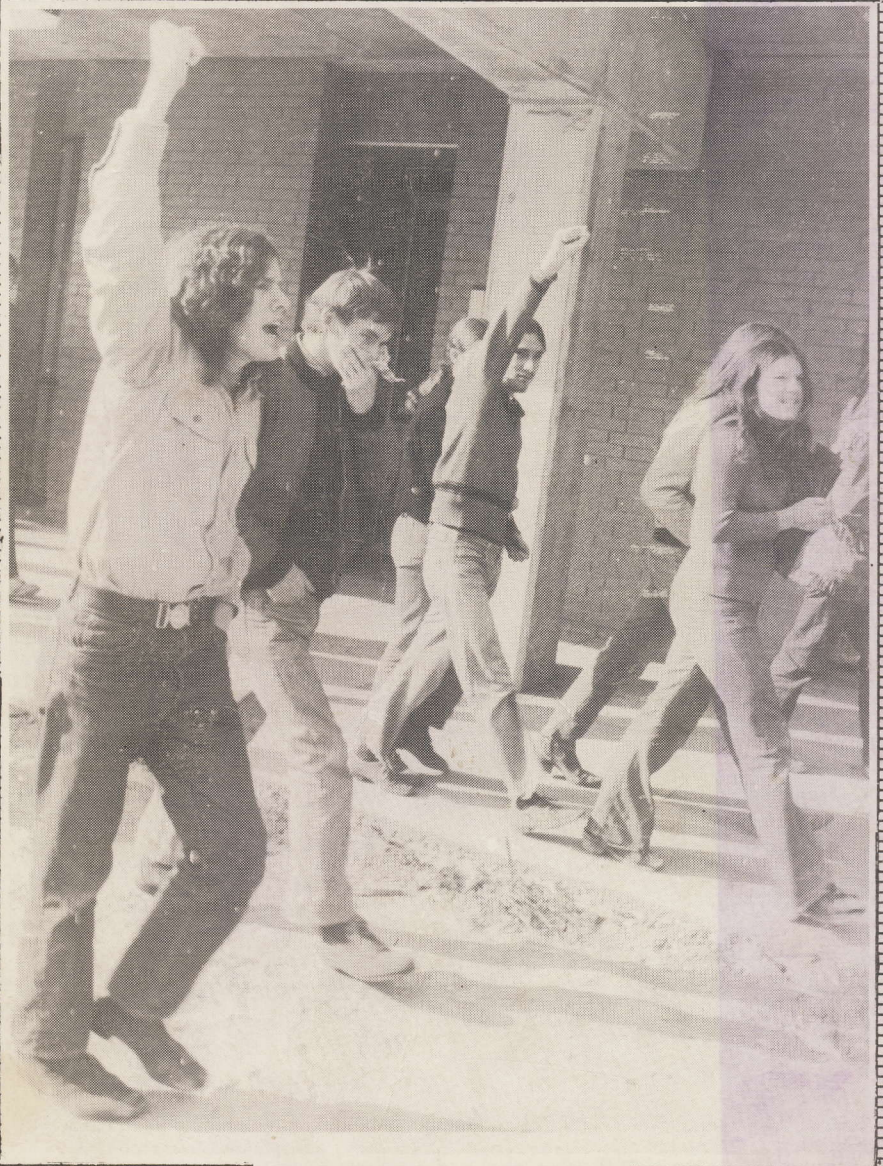


STUDENT REVOLT!

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY 1967-73



BARRY YORK

VIETNAM CONSCRIPTION YOUTH CULTURE -- NEW LEFT
POLICE WORKER-STUDENT-ALLIANCE 'HUMAN CAPITAL'
TEEN MARKET MORATORIUM IMPERIAL CHEMICALS
SOUTH AFRICA

STUDENT REVOLT is essential reading for anyone interested in the 1960s youth culture, the protest movement against the Vietnam war and conscription, the nature and role of universities in Australian society and the relations between governors and governed within tertiary educational institutions.

La Trobe's governors and Vice Chancellor took Supreme Court action against campus rebels, with the result that three excluded students - Fergus Robinson, Brian Pola and Barry York - were imprisoned without trial. **STUDENT REVOLT** locates the campus crisis in its wider national and international politico-cultural context.

STUDENT REVOLT is more than a case study of events 20 years ago. It should be read by all who value human rights and the defence and extension of democratic liberties.



To Mum,

With Best Wishes + Love,

from,

Barry xxx

STUDENT REVOLT! 1989

La Trobe University
1967 to 1973

Barry York

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IN MEMORY OF TED HILL

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CONTENTS

Author's Note	4
Acknowledgements	6
Introduction	7
Chapter 1 Defining a 'student movement'	11
Chapter 2 Some hypotheses concerning student unrest	13
Chapter 3 The teen market, youth culture and television	21
Chapter 4 Human capital and the universities	29
Chapter 5 A new university in a changing world	35
Chapter 6 The campus: governors and governed	43
Chapter 7 Beginnings: 1967-69	61
Chapter 8 1970: year one of the 'La Trobe revolution'	83
Chapter 9 1971: the campaign against the chancellor	103
Chapter 10 Fanning the flames and removing the bars	123
Chapter 11 Injunctions and gaolings	137
Conclusion Keeping in touch with the future	159
Notes	163
Bibliography	171
Name Index	177
Subject Index	180

Author's Note:

The Politics of forgetting

Why write a book about the 'student revolt' nearly 20 years after it happened?

I was prompted to embark upon this particular venture when I heard that La Trobe University was going to celebrate its 25th anniversary in December 1989. Various factors made it clear to me that the campus crisis of the late 1960s and early 1970s would be ignored, or underrated, in the University's official and semi-official commemorative publications. Thus, I felt a compulsion to have my manuscript published - now or never!

The 'politics of forgetting' frequently stems from the need of those in power to create a view of themselves that tallies with a particular objective in the present. In the case of La Trobe University, there is a desire in certain quarters to portray an image of the university that will make it a more attractive 'knowledge-factory' in the eyes of big business and other sponsors. The 25th anniversary thus serves to 'market' the university, a very important undertaking in the Dawkins' era. The concept of 'student revolt', especially when it involved a questioning of the function and role of the university in society, finds little room in such an approach.

What was so important about the La Trobe events? For a start, La Trobe experienced one of the most sustained and militant student revolts in Australia. The student demands challenged the role of the university and the authorities responded with a degree of repression that was uncommon in Australian universities.

I am sometimes asked what I think the student revolt achieved of a lasting nature? At La Trobe, the student movement achieved the rescission of a clause in the university's regulations that applied non-academic criterion to applicants for admission to the university. It also brought about the resignation of the Chancellor, Sir Archibald Glenn, and created an ethos on the campus in which students were given a greater say in running their own affairs. Students learned through struggle the lesson of "people's power"; namely, that individuals bound together by a common cause can achieve justice no matter how great the odds.

At a more general level, the whole 'Sixties phenomenon' of which students were a vital part has sustained itself to the present day through various cultural influences. Every time members of the New Right complain of the so-called 'Vietnam syndrome' they are testifying to the lasting impact of the 1960s radical movement. A change in people's thinking was achieved. For the first time in Australian history, for example, a significant proportion of the population opposed a war to which troops had been committed. It is unlikely that Australians will ever again go off to fight in a war simply because the government of the day tells them to. Again, the lesson of "people's power" was learned.

The student revolt around Australia politicized thousands of young people. While the media in recent times has tended to focus on individuals who appear to have 'sold out', the vast majority of former activists are helping to make Australia a better place and helping to fight against attempts to turn back the clock. The student radicals of yesteryear have become more realistic but, in my opinion, they have not lost their basic motivating sense of right and wrong, a sense of social justice. Many are to be found as teachers within the education system and as policy-advisors within the public service. Their contribution to the environmental movement, the peace movement, the women's movement, to trade unionism, and to social justice for the disadvantaged people in our society is significant and on-going.

Along with the question of 'What did it all achieve?' goes the question of why there is no 'student revolt' today. Whenever there is a disturbance on a campus, journalists conjure up images of the turbulent 1960s when *all* students were rebelling *all* the time. This popular view of the old student revolt is mythical. The student rebels were always a minority, albeit with occasional support from the majority. Today's student activists operate in a very different milieu and are faced with different immediate issues.

In writing this book, I have tried to apply the maxim of C. Wright Mills, who once declared that in his writings he always did his best to be objective but made no claim to being detached. I have attempted to write a factual account, as a historian who participated in the events and who has no regrets, politically, for having done so.

In naming individuals who played a role in the campus crisis, I have had to avoid some delicate matters. For example, in researching my

book, certain people who had supported the student rebellion as junior academics told me that they had been victimized and denied promotion or tenure. A separate book awaits a more courageous writer on how members of academic staff around Australia, as well as students, suffered for their beliefs.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to many friends and acquaintances who encouraged my work over countless cups of coffee and whose occasionally critical remarks stimulated me to greater diligence. It is not possible to name them all but Georgina Tsolidis, Bronwyn Hutchinson, Helen Lang, Kosmas Tsokhas, John Herouvim, Peter Cochrane, Sue Duyker and Ed Duyker come immediately to mind. I also wish to thank the La Trobe University Registrar for providing me with important data. The Honourable Race Mathews supplied me with some previously unreleased reports concerning La Trobe anti-war processions during 1970. These were uncovered after much painstaking work by his staff in the Police and Emergency Services Department. My book is based on a thesis completed at Sydney University in 1984 and I wish to thank the History Department for its faith in me, particularly Professor Brian Fletcher and Dr Peter Cochrane. The original thesis was dedicated to the late Robert Hamilton Mathews, whose opposition to racism continues to inspire many former La Trobe activists. Peter Cochrane, Robert Darby, Ed Duyker, John Herouvim, Fergus Robinson and Bill Tully provided generous support which greatly boosted my confidence in the project. I also wish to thank Joan Hayes and Andrea McRobbie for technical advice concerning the preparation of the book for publication and the Arena Printing Agency for its efficiency and professionalism. Finally, there are two individuals without whom this book could not possibly have been written. They are my parents, Olive and Loreto York.

INTRODUCTION

La Trobe University experienced a student movement that shared much in common with those on other Australian campuses. Prompted by conscription and the Vietnam War, and accentuated by a 'generation gap' which had become unprecedentedly deep, the movement believed in confrontational activism - outside of the 'proper channels' - as a means of achieving university and social change.

Notwithstanding the similarities of the various campus movements, or indeed of their internationally derived features, La Trobe was, in important regards, unique in the Australian scene. It was the only campus to experience protracted and militant activism by large numbers of students in 1972, after student movements had declined elsewhere. Moreover, the previous year's conflict had been particularly ferocious. Whereas other campus governors had threatened to deploy police against disruptive protestors, the La Trobe Vice Chancellor actually did so - by the paddy-wagon load.

No student movement in Australia suffered the range and extent of repressive measures applied at La Trobe. More than a score of students were excluded and/or fined by the university's disciplinary tribunal during 1971. Criminal and civil actions were pursued in the courts. And, ultimately, three perceived 'ring-leaders' were imprisoned - without trial, without rights of bail or appeal - for an indefinite period as a result of their violation of a Supreme Court injunction taken out by the Vice Chancellor against them. La Trobe is unique in that three of its students (or 'excluded students' to be precise) were considered by Amnesty International for 'prisoner of conscience' status.

The University's governing body, the Council, and its senior administrators, were confronted by a particularly militant student movement, led by Maoist communists who were openly committed to 'destroying the university' as part of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. Campus demonstrations during 1970 and 1971 were more symbolic than disruptive, but a successful 'blockade' of councillors in their chamber in July 1971 came as the last straw to those in authority. It was at this juncture that unparalleled disciplinary and punitive procedures were unleashed, giving the activists little choice but to continue their struggle. In effect, a

repression-resistance cycle constituted the dynamic of the campus crisis after July 1971.

The La Trobe student movement may be traced to the handful of students who established the Socialist Club during the university's inaugural year, 1967. However, it wasn't until 1968 that an upsurge in student participation became apparent. The turning-point was the month of May. It is a pity that the near-obsession of most commentators with the 'derived' nature of Australian student movements has blinded them to the centrally-important political catalyst within Australia. We read so often of Australian students responding to the May rebellion in Paris, France. Yet the abundance of evidence points more in the direction of Canberra; for it was there that amendments to the National Service Act (including a clause obligating the 'principal officers of educational institutions' to supply information about their students) were being debated. And it was these amendments which marked a turning-point in campus activism throughout Australia.

Student activism, while often directed at campus targets, cannot be separated from the wider Vietnam protest movement. The two were intertwined, and conscription provided the binding link.

A student movement evolved under various organizational auspices - the Socialist Club (1967), the Democratic Socialist Club (1968), the Labor Club (1968-71), and the Worker-Student Alliance (1972) - but came into being at La Trobe in direct response to anti-militarist sentiment. In 1970, opposition to Defence Department utilization of the University's Careers' and Appointments' Scheme resulted in the first student-administration confrontation involving large numbers.

Ultimately, however, the movement directed itself against its own symbol of capitalism and war: Sir Archibald Glenn, managing director of Imperial Chemical Industries (ANZ) and Chancellor of the University. The literature emanating from the anti-Glenn campaign confirms my contention that student movements arose, at their most fundamental level, whenever the 'community of scholars' myth was blatantly contradicted by the reality of the University's subservience to the social, economic, and technical requirements of post-war capitalism. However, as argued in Chapter 2, there is no single cause, no adequate master theory.

In this book, I have attempted to identify and discuss some common definitions and hypotheses concerning student movements. Those theories that account for student unrest in terms of some failing on the part of the activists are rejected in favour of an approach that takes the 'external world' as its starting-point.

I also seek to identify those features of the post-war world which provided the matrix of student revolt. Any analysis of Australian student movements that fails to consider the wider youth cultural context will be sadly amiss, as it was the 'protest' facet of that culture which provided various youth rebellions with their warm, embracing, essential 'zeitgeist'. Chapter 3 examines the youth culture-political dissent nexus, the post-war 'teen market' and advances in media technology in Australia. Chapters 4 and 5 discuss other pertinent factors: the rapid expansion of universities after the war and the 'human capital' concept and the political tragedy (Vietnam) into which La Trobe University was born.

Chapters 6-11 constitute the bulk of the text and deal with the case study: the La Trobe student movement, 1967-73. Chapter 6 looks at some features peculiar to La Trobe: the absence of a student tradition, the nature of the student body, the composition of the governing body, the geographical isolation of the university, and the absence of an effective Students Representative Council through which dissent could be channelled. Chapters 7-11 consider the movement's rise and fall in terms of the special circumstances of the campus, along with the more general factors. A Conclusion offers an hypothesis concerning the demise of Australian student movements.

CHAPTER ONE: DEFINING A 'STUDENT MOVEMENT'

At its most basic level, a student movement is a large group of students who regard the university as a legitimate focus for societal change. Arriving at a general definition of the movements as they existed in the post-war period, however, is a difficult task. In the first place, there is no adequate theoretical framework for analysis. As Altbach noted: 'A number of writers have posited theories, but none of these are adequate to explain activism in comparative terms, or even in terms of most countries'. 1.

It is necessary to locate the major student movements in their particular geo-political, cultural, and social contexts. Immediately, the 'Third World' student movements will be distinguished from those of the industrialized (and 'post-industrial') nations. Throughout the world, rapidly changing societal and technical requirements called for an extension of work skills, an expansion of the number and range of the 'professions', and an extension of research and its application. In short, the post-war world experienced an unparalleled 'boom' in universities and technical colleges, and unprecedented numbers of young people were admitted to the new institutions. In America, by 1968, one-third of people aged between 18 and 24 were attending some college or university. Under such circumstances, students were no longer an elite in the old sense. The very nature of the American universities was being transformed, spurred on by the actual needs of the 'technetronic' society and the perceived knowledge-race (which was seen as a key factor in the arms race) with the Soviet Union. Clark Kerr drew attention to the fundamental change in his book The Uses of the University, as did Jencks and Riesman in The Academic Revolution. But the American situation was in many respects unique.

The West European student movements experienced a similar change in the social function of their institutions, yet the structures remained rooted in ancient traditions. Universities remained elitist, even though the new requirements of European societies demanded an 'opening up of the doors' along American lines. To complicate matters further, the European students, particularly the French, were not without conscious revolutionary traditions. In England, where the student revolt was late in arriving, a combination of entrenched 'Oxbridge-ism', and a lack of revolutionary political tradition in

English life in general, resulted in yet another distinct student movement. One of the fascinating features of the world student unrest was its existence within the socialist countries. The Chinese cultural revolution witnessed massive student mobilizations. The form of their actions was remarkably like that occurring on campuses in fundamentally different societies. In Eastern Europe, student uprisings, which tended to be integrated with wider movements for liberty, were as vital to the development of Western activism as the Vietnam war. Czechoslovakia and Poland suggested that the 'world student revolution' was not being masterminded in Moscow.

Student movements are social movements in the sense that each comprises 'socially shared activities and beliefs directed toward the demand for change in some aspect of the social order'. 2. While they do not fit neatly into Mannheim's definition of a social movement (i.e., their scope is not limited to the political and economic sphere of social action), student movements do nonetheless possess a 'unique form of social consciousness', including a utopian component and a sense of 'destiny' (which in turn represents the directions of the particular movement). 3. Blumer's 'general' and 'specific' categories are also helpful. Student movements found a general source in the changing values of people (a 'cultural drift') after the War. And they were a specific social movement because they possessed recognised and accepted leaders, and developed a division of labor, and a social structure with its own allegiances and loyalties, and status positions. 4.

A general definition is rendered more problematic by the different forms of student movements. Basically, some were 'revolutionary' (being concerned with the sharp and total overthrow of the social order and value system) and some were 'reformist' (seeking social justice and an end to the War without necessarily questioning society in any fundamental sense). A further distinction can be made between student movements which engaged in protest activity primarily on their campuses, directing their complaints at the university authorities, and those which were principally involved in off-campus non-student movements. The former category was known as 'student power' and, at an operational level, implied student participation in, or staff-student control of, the internal authority structure of the university. 5.

CHAPTER TWO: SOME HYPOTHESES CONCERNING STUDENT UNREST

There is no single master explanation of student dissent; one must 'account for the specific concatenation of causes that combined to produce it'. 1. However, single-cause hypotheses have been popular, not only among the mass media, but also with academics. Behavioural scientists were particularly confounded, as the Western student movements simply did not 'fit' the theoretical models. Neither, for that matter, did the student movements tally with orthodox Marxist theories of class struggle. The fact is that nobody in the fifties predicted the 'sixties' upsurge; and virtually all observers were caught unprepared.

At most, the Western world had experienced isolated and sporadic instances of student unrest. No American or Australian student activity had ever been so militant, so sustained, and so blatantly outside of the established organisations (including the communist parties) and institutions. Youth as a whole seemed to be in rebellion against the ways of the old. And this from a generation which was arguably the most affluent and healthy of all time'. It simply didn't make sense.

Resort to 'common sense' has a certain painkilling quality when more 'scientific' approaches fail. Thus, student dissent was sometimes attributed to natural rebelliousness. Socrates, after all, had complained way back in 329 BC, 'Our youths now love luxury; they have bad manners ... they contradict their parents, gobble their food and tyrannize their teachers'. 2. But if youth naturally rebelled, why was it that not every generation did so? Why were the university students of the 1950's, for example, the 'silent generation'? And why didn't student movements occur at all places at the same time? Why did they exhibit differing characteristics and orientations?

The 'natural rebel' theory was bankrupt; though approaches which placed the problems associated with adolescence in the post-war context, taking society rather than 'nature' as the focal point, are useful. Roszak, for example, drew attention to the 'immiserization' suffered by youth who, despite their affluence, were 'stranded between a permissive childhood and an obnoxiously conformist

adulthood'. 3. And Keniston saw university students as 'a new class of people who are psychological adults ... but sociological adolescents'. 4. Roszak and Keniston both sympathized with the students, and this is reflected in their findings. Indeed, it is difficult, in wading through the mass of available literature, not to promptly detect where the particular critic stood on the issues of the day. Halleck frankly categorizes most hypotheses into 'Critical' or 'Sympathetic' groups .

Basically, the 'Sympathizers' sought to discern the sources of student dissent in the circumstances surrounding the students (Vietnam, the generation gap, alienation, civil rights, etc.), while the 'Critics' sought to blame the students themselves (permissiveness, irresponsibility, too affluent, family pathology, and so on). 5. Halleck also posits a third, 'Neutral', category, which comprises those theories which explored such impersonal processes as the advance of technology, the mass media, and the 'Scientific Age'. Invariably, however, 'technology', 'media', etc. constituted the language of the 'Sympathizer'. Bettelheim was a prominent Critic, who believed that the students had too many 'Spock-marks'. The liberal or permissive child-rearing and school practices of the fifties and sixties created a fundamental 'self-hatred' in the adolescent whose natural quest for identity was made all the more agonised by his dependence upon an extended education which is paid for by someone else. Students, in Bettelheim's eyes, were motivated by hate rather than idealism. They hated a world which made them hate themselves. When Bettelheim saw 'unkempt' students, he was unable to perceive a simple youth style, but rather proof that the radicals had been 'practically scrubbed out of existence by their parents in the name of good hygiene and loving care'. 6.

Perhaps the most impressive treatise against the student movements was the psycho-historical work of Lewis Feuer. 7. Like Bettelheim, Feuer proceeds on the assumption that the real sources of student protest were not what the students themselves said they were. Feuer relies on the Oedipal drive, a sexist approach since the student movement was not comprised exclusively of males. (The Oedipal myth relates to the sons' subconscious hatred of their fathers). Apart from the limitations inherent in the Oedipal model, Feuer's methodology, based on student songs and poems, cuts across cultural, as well as historical, lines. Post-war Western culture certainly differs from that of Asia during the Chinese revolution, or Europe last century. Yet the songs and poems which constitute the

substantive basis of his argument are considered universally.

The pattern of student rebellion which Feuer sees in history has three aspects: the desire to unite with underprivileged, uncorrupted, sections of society; a central sense of historical mission; and, inevitably, 'suicidalism' (terrorism or nihilism) brought about by failure. One may ask: so what? So long as Feuer refuses to acknowledge the basis for student dissent in the material world, his thesis can only be said to have offered an observation of uniform patterns in some student movements of the past 150 years. It can be added that Feuer received little support from empirical research into the radical students' 'parricidal urges'. Both Keniston and Flacks in their respective American studies found that, far from rebelling against their fathers, many student radicals were consciously seeking to implement their parents' values. 8. A 'Time' magazine survey of the parents of some leading activists found that a majority approved their children's goals. 9. Gold, Christie, and Friedman, using a sample of Columbia University students, found that 'familial background variables contributed little to student activism'; despite a slight tendency for fathers with extreme ideologies to produce relatively moderate sons and vice versa. 10.

Nonetheless, the psychological sources of student dissent cannot be dismissed entirely. Koestler raised a fascinating tangent which regrettably has not been pursued to any great length in connection with student movements. Based on Viktor Frankl's Third Viennese School of Psychiatry, Koestler believed that a 'Will to Meaning' exists as a fundamental human drive along with Freud's 'Pleasure Principle' and Adler's 'Will to Power'. Frankl classified as 'noogenic' those neuroses arising from the inability to fulfill the 'Will to Meaning' and found that 80 percent of American student psychiatric patients suffered from such neuroses. The unfulfilled 'Will to Meaning' created an 'existential vacuum' which enabled Western youth to rebel (seemingly) against everything. In short, they were unprecedentedly well-off, but also unprecedentedly unhappy. 11.

Harold Zinn, however, identifies the central weakness in the psychological approach when he asks: 'Can we not reasonably assume that when an evil is severe enough it will stimulate thinking, feeling people - who have been placed in its path by some odd and complex combination of personal and social circumstances to act against it? This kind of commonsense explanation for the emergence of radical agitators emphasizes that something is wrong with society. The

psychological explanations currently popular among some historians emphasize that something is wrong with the agitator ... Both explanations can be supported by 'evidence'. Ultimately, which explanation we choose probably depends on whether or not we think the condition of our society today demands more radicals'. 12.

Essentially, one needs to look to the external world for the 'concatenation of sources' from whence postwar student movements originated. Searle divides his perceived 'sources' into external and internal categories. 13. His four 'external causes' are: (a) the affluence of post-war youth (i.e., they could afford to be rebellious); (b) the style of upbringing (a version of the Spockmark theory, based on the contradiction between child-centred home-life and society's impersonal bureaucratization); (c) the unresponsiveness and obsolescence of institutions (the new generation inherits things which are irrelevant to their experience and sometimes constricting to their aspirations (compulsory military service is a good example); and (d) the crisis of authority, which is in effect a crisis of legitimacy. Searle's approach is level-headed; though one wonders why 'affluence' should necessarily lead to rebellion and not to complacency and why liberal child-rearing should lead to rejection of bureaucracy (which after all is essential to any large society). At best, (a) and (b) are partial sources; whereas we now know that many institutions of the post-war world really were obsolete and that authority was de-legitimized. Searle is on much firmer foundations with (c) and (d).

Of particular value are the elements posited in the 'internal' category. These were common in New Left interpretations, and all but ignored by the Critics. Searle offers seven 'internal causes': (a) numbers of students on each campus; (b) the obsolete structure of contemporary universities (old-style universities, with their emphasis on examinations, degrees, departments, and governing bodies, etc., were not equipped to educate a new generation which was very different from that for which the institutions were designed); (c) the crisis of educational philosophy (the classical notion of educating 'the whole man' was redundant, but with what was it to be replaced?); (d) delayed independence at university (a version of Keniston's 'psychological adults'/ 'sociological adolescents'); (e) the 'service-station' university (the post-war role of the campus, especially in America - war research functions); (f) the reaction against technology (the technical reorientation of universities); and (g) 'imitation'.

Searle's work was concerned with student unrest in the Western World; however, certain of his internal sources will be immediately recognized for their inapplicability in Australia. The big campuses in Australia were not the most rebellious; indeed, Melbourne University was only briefly touched by the type of rebellion experienced at the smaller, newer, campuses of Monash and La Trobe. Furthermore, while much about our campuses was obsolete (or old fashioned), 'exams, assessments, degrees, courses, and departments' were rarely focal points of student action. (The governing bodies were an exception.) Similarly, the 'multiversity', and its service-station role, was never a direct problem in Australia because it simply did not exist. The presence of the corporations was only indirectly manifest, and our lack of a 'military industrial complex' meant that only tenuous links existed between departmental research and the armed forces' role in Vietnam. The 'crisis of educational philosophy' affected Australia; but those who sought 'Humanities' were never personally impeded and technological encroachments never seemed as menacing as in America. 'Imitation', to Searle 'the most important cause', was as obvious among our student protestors as among our parliamentarians and indeed our cultural heritage in general. But it was a modifying, rather than an originating, source. Australian students had good reason to rebel, irrespective of overseas' styles.

With these limitations evident in the existing models, it is clear the problem needs to be reformulated. Three areas seem to be of fundamental importance as the originating sources of student unrest tend to be sociological, political, and cultural. The post-war advanced capitalist world had an imperative need for large numbers of skilled cadres and highly-trained professionals; what the New Left termed 'Intellectual labor'. Not only was there a need for industrial and technical skills which rendered 'intellectual labor' productive in the classic sense (i.e., it increased social wealth and yielded a surplus), but also a need for 'social engineers', the technicians of consumption and consent (such as market researchers, fashion designers, advertising agents, media planners, and journalists, editors, television personalities, film makers, and personnel managers). Thus, not only did universities expand enormously, their direction moved away from traditional liberal models to technocratic managerial ones.

The extent of the expansion was itself of significance, as students

became a social force by weight of numbers. In West Europe, for example, enrolments rose from 739,000 after the Second World War to 1,700,000 in 1968, and in Latin America from 380,000 to 880,000. In Japan, there had been 384,000 university students in 1950; but by 1968 there were 1,500,000. In the United Kingdom in 1946, there were 53,500, but by 1967 the figure had risen to 240,000. At the end of the war, Canada had 40,000 full-timers, but the number had trebled by 1961. And in Australia university student numbers nearly quadrupled between 1947 and 1968. All of these students were of a new kind existing in a new higher educational context. To quote O'Neill: 'The new developments of capitalism ... made education one of the crucial areas of change'. 14.

Politically, the significant feature of the post-war world was not the Cold War but the eventual reaction against it. Against an international backdrop characterized by de-colonization in Africa and national independence struggles throughout the Third World, it was not surprising that America's Vietnam intervention should have eclipsed the Cold War perspective of the balance of forces in the world. With the full-scale invasion and bombing of Vietnam by 1965, the portrait of the world being divided into two super-power categories, of approximately equal strength, but one representing Good and the other Evil, was replaced with a view of America, acting as self-proclaimed 'World Policeman', bullying the comparatively powerless Vietnamese people. The American policy on Vietnam was the precondition for an end to Cold War hegemony over political life, and an end to the 'End of Ideology'. The baby boom generation experienced the troubled period of adolescence while the Bomb was getting bigger and bigger; while England, France and Israel were invading Egypt; while Russia was invading Hungary; while Cuba was making a revolution that would indirectly lead the world closer to the nuclear brink than it had ever been; and while America, the technological giant, would unleash the destructive side of its great power upon the people of Vietnam. The preconditions not only existed for a youthful rejection of the Realpolitik, Left or Right, but for the adoption of an alternative.

The 'right channels' in the advanced capitalist countries were, at best, producing failed hopes. In America, Kennedy's election in 1960 was to be shattered, not just by an assassin's bullet, but by the exposure of an aggressive face beneath the liberal mask. (Kennedy not only maintained US involvement in Vietnam, he sanctioned the Bay of Pigs invasion, and supported five military coups against

constitutional regimes in Latin America (El Salvador, Argentina, Peru, Guatemala, and Ecuador); and he had been quite a competent missile-rattler during the Cuban crisis in late 1962). No Western leader offered a way out of the generally unstable and insecure world political situation and, as Hobsbawm has noted, the new generation who sought change could not and did not place hope in any existing alternative model (China and Cuba were exceptions for some in the student movement.) 15.

Capitalism had performed splendidly as an economic mechanism until the late sixties, but the rapidity of technological and social change produced a profound social crisis. Students, with their vast numbers and studies of sociology and the arts, were in an ideal situation to come to terms with what was happening. The New Left, which was to provide the student movements with the nearest thing to an ideology they possessed, emerged as a result of disillusionment and a quest for alternatives. American and English New Left journals circulated in Australia: 'New Left Review' and 'Monthly Review' being prominent. Certain books, which may be regarded as 'intellectual sources', were also popular. C. Wright Mills' Power Elite, Galbraith's Affluent Society and William Whyte's Organization Man were as influential to the new student generation as Kerouac's On the Road (or films such as 'Rebel Without a Cause') had been to youth in general. And locally, the publication of the journal 'Arena' in 1963 encouraged the development of an Australian New Left.

To speak of student dissent having an 'intellectual source', among other sources, recognizes the special status of the student. It is not surprising that the radicals tended to be conglomerated in those departments concerned with the study of ideas, rather than their application. One of the peculiar features of the sixties' movement was, as Arendt observed, that it 'acted almost exclusively from moral motives'. 16. There was little self-gain for the student; no higher wages or overtime to result from 'victory'. Indeed, possibly the principal factor which 'threw' the behavioural and political scientists was the fact that, as Garaudy put it, the movement was based on 'human subjectivity in this, the era of the scientific and technological revolution'. 17. The intellectual sources were international in character and therefore 'derivative' in most countries. A series in 'The Australian' newspaper listed them with some accuracy: Sartre and the French Existentialists, Che Guevara, Herbert Marcuse, Regis Debray and Leon Trotsky. 18. Professor C.P. Fitzgerald was one of the few to recognize the Chinese cultural

revolutionary influence, which he regarded as 'a forerunner of the student movement now sweeping the Western World and elsewhere'. 19. Finally, as one outraged New Leftist informed the editor of The Australian, arguably the central intellectual influence was Marxism. The New Left rejected the dogmatic denigration of Marxism but never repudiated the critical kernel of the genuine article. 20.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE TEEN MARKET, YOUTH CULTURE, AND TELEVISION

The post-war Western world experienced, for the first time, a distinct 'youth culture'. This autonomous culture was confined to those between puberty and thirty; it rejected the adult world; it created its own leaders and symbols; it sought greater personal freedom; it required less and less adult co-operation for its sub-society to function, it tended to frighten the adult world; and it was basically harmless, despite some dangerous aspects. 1. It is not possible to analyse the sources of student unrest in isolation from the youth culture as students were predominantly young. There had been youth unrest before - indeed, Plato saw generational conflict as history's motor - but never had there been a separate culture to inspire it.

The very reference in generalist literature to the 'Sixties' reveals that we are dealing with a social movement with its own culture, rather than simply a movement of political dissent. Literally speaking, the concurrence of student activity throughout the world peaked in 1968 and continued into the first year of the seventies. We speak of the 'Sixties' because it was in that decade that 'youth' had assumed their own generational consciousness, and that its merchandising and reproduction in various forms had been well-established. It was also during that period that a brief but effective marriage of 'youth culture' and political dissent took place.

As far as student movements are concerned, the Sixties refers to a period commencing in the mid-1960s and culminating (in so far as a movement which so dramatically influenced a culture can be said to have culminated) by 1972. The combination of youth culture and political dissent characterized the Sixties period to such an extent that some commentators refer interchangeably to 'political youth' or 'student movement'. They are not being precise but there is a degree of validity in such an approach.

The advent and nurturing of a 'teen market', coupled with the vast numbers of the 'baby boom' after the war, resulted in a generation gap which, if not entirely new, was unprecedentedly wide and deep. The post-war world accentuated adolescent troubles in many ways. The demands of all societies were becoming more complex and thus

in need of better educated youth. The period of adolescence (the lack of the independence associated with adulthood) was extended by the absorption of large numbers into institutions of higher learning. Furthermore, in the Western world, improved nutrition and health care contributed to a lowered age of the onset of puberty. The growth of cities and their technological accompaniments, and the changing patterns of money (i.e., youth affluence), were other new factors making adolescence more problematic. Adolescence, as Strang and Ausubel maintain, is a process of maturation during which one's whole world view changes from one's parents' perceptions to one's own. The childhood values with which one viewed oneself are repudiated for values which favour not just the 'adult world' but an independent status within it. Such problems must be coped with by the child, but it is up to society to provide a sympathetic and conducive environment. There is always a 'lag' between the existence of new social problems and their recognition. During that moment inflexible social structures usually resort to legal punitive rather than humane treatments. Thus the police were often dispatched to dance-halls, beaches, and amusement centres to handle what one Chief Commissioner termed 'the defiance of the youths'. 3.

On the other hand, by the 1960s, young people were being considered more sympathetically. Youth clubs and organisations sprang up everywhere basically to keep the kids off the streets. In Victoria alone, of the 896,000 people aged between 10 and 30 years, 250,000 were members of youth groups. But regardless of the nature of the adult world's response, one thing was clear: youth was the centre of attention and no longer sent to bed early. 'Teenagers' became a social force, and not just a biological group. In 1953, the trade journal of the Australian broadcasting industry, 'Broadcasting and Television' (B&T), had informed its sponsors that 'teenagers' as well as 'men, women, and children' now comprised the consumer mass. 4.

Teenage fashions and tastes were essentially, in the fifties and sixties, the creations of merchandisers and advertisers. By 1955, B&T could keenly advise its clients that, 'Whereas big teenage programs were practically unexploited a few years back, they are today among the best selling vehicles radio has to offer'. Such programs were seen as 'an excellent sales vehicle (particularly for teenage goods, soft-drinks, and confectionary)'. 5. But much more than Coke and lollies was at stake. At the beginning of the sixties' decade, Australia possessed 900,000 unmarried people aged less

than 25 earning money at the rate of between 500 million pounds and 700 million pounds a year, and spending an estimated 300-400 million pounds each year. 6. Advertisers found that the best way to capture the teen market was to appeal to teenagers on their own terms. Hence 3UZ captured twice as many listeners in the 16-24 age group as its closest rival by pursuing a controversial 'modern music' programming policy. 7. As 'pop music' in its various rock-jazz-folk variations became the definitive language of the youth generation into the sixties, those wishing to merchandise and sell them their wares realized that music was not just a form of entertainment but, 'it sets standards of behaviour, morality and fashion'. 8. Thus the confectionary company, Hoadley's, sponsored its legendary 'Battle of the Sounds' in cities and country towns throughout Australia, not simply to promote local talent, but 'to reach the teenage market for Hoadley's bar lines'. 9.

The youth culture was sustained 'as the result of a deliberate search for objects, clothes, music, heroes and attitudes which could help define a stance'. 10. And merchandisers were more than happy to assist in the search. Changes in musical forms, such as the displacement of the British 'Mersey Beat' by the American West Coast sound, also represented changes in fashion and a replenished market. By the 1960s, the youth market was being subjected to market research and socio-psychological analysis. A problem, from the businessman's point of view, was how to cash in on the movement without allowing it to get out of hand. The promotion of pop heroes who were the antithesis of Lord Baden-Powell may have been financially rewarding but did the owners of Decca Records want their children to emulate Mick Jagger's image of degeneracy and revolt against conformity?

The advent of discotheques was another case in point. Venues such as Melbourne's 'Thumpin Tum' and 'Teenage' enabled hundreds of young folk to gather together, and their parents had no part in it. 'Youth problems' (alcohol, cigarettes and other drugs, and violence between rival sub-cultures) became associated with the discotheques. Also, there was something sweetly subversive about the following advertisement for Melbourne's 'Underground' discotheque: 'Where were you when the Love went out? When did you close your eyes to the signs of creeping alienation? When did you close your ears to the sounds of brotherhood losing the battle? What can you do about it now? The music they tried to stamp out is alive and well in THE UNDERGROUND'. 11.

Cult films, such as 'If', 'The Graduate', 'Easy Rider' and 'Zabriske Point' were produced for the young generation. The teen market was captured and cultivated by radio and television. The 'Go Show', which commenced in 1965, attained a viewing audience of a million teenagers. By 1966, there were seven similar TV shows, whose titles testified to the zest of the youth culture: 'Kommotion', 'Action', 'It's All Happening' and 'Countdown'. In print media, the market was tied up by the weekly newspaper, 'Go-Set', which commenced publication in February 1966 to cater for 'the tastes of the active teen and twenty set'. 12. Go-Set aimed to speak on behalf of youth, and its first editorial remarked that: 'Everyone of you cats has felt the lash of the Oldies kicking back ... Now's the time to really break loose ... Go-Set is YOUR paper'. The paper attained an early circulation of 70,000 a week but it evened out to 57,000 by 1970. 13. Approximately half of Go-Set's pages were advertisements. Offshoots, such as the monthly pop magazine, 'Gas', and the politico-cultural 'Revolution' (which first appeared in 1970) indicated the subdivisions within the youth culture.

It is in the realm of music that one can discern a 'commodity' that not only united youth in general and distinguished their tastes from those of their elders, but that also took youth as a whole into, or very close to, the movement of political dissent. In Go-Set, whenever political issues were discussed or reported, they usually had some source within the pop music world. In 1970, for example, Go-Set regularly promoted John Lennon and Yoko Ono's 'Votes for Peace' campaign. Go-Set readers responded 'beyond all expectations' with 10,000 votes in two months. 14. The Moratoriums of 1970 and 1971 were supported by Go-Set, with emphasis on entertainers who had donated their services to a 'Superlove Moratorium Pop Concert'. And when police brutally dispersed demonstrations in Melbourne in July 1971, Go-Set responded with a classic generational interpretation, namely: 'The police and other officials made it clear they saw this battle as Them versus the Long-hairs ... all those old men in power think longhair means rock music, freewheeling sex, dope, and socialism. The symbol of everything that threatens their scene. They're right! Keep on growin' that hair everyone ...' 15. The pop-perspective predominated in Go-Set's handling of the conscription issue as well. A feature on John Zarb, who received a two-year gaol sentence for non-compliance with the National Service Act, urged readers to imagine that the lead singer of their favourite group had been called up - "how would you feel?"

Thus, when singer Ronnie Burns declared that he would go to prison rather than fight in Vietnam, he received favourable coverage in Go-Set. Normie Rowe, who had willingly complied with his call-up notice, soon made his disillusionment known to Go-Set readers when he wrote from Nui Dat, Vietnam, that: 'The only good thing the Yanks have done for this place is to put in a radio station'. 16.

If the public sentiments of the pop musicians were serving the wider anti-war movement, then the lyrics of some of their songs provided an even more potent complement. 'Protest rock' reflected and encouraged the politicization of youth. The blending of Sixties rock music with the folk protest tradition cannot be underestimated as a source of youth politicization. Musicians were sometimes worshipped by thousands. Youth could identify with their pop heroes in a way that was not possible in relation to society's established authority-figures. Some musicians, such as John Lennon, were acutely aware of the world's problems and consciously sought to 'use music as some sort of a platform to bring people together'. 17. By 1967, the political trend in rock music had peaked with the advent of the Monterey International Pop Festival in San Francisco. Attended by 50,000 people, all the pop heroes with something to say were there: Eric Burdon, Jefferson Airplane, the Byrds, Country Joe and the Fish, and the Grateful Dead. The Festival was dedicated to 'peace and an end to this dirty and dishonourable war'. 18. Essentially however, pop music only gave youth culture a style rather than a generally-followed direction. Even the protest in rock music was a virtual substitute for revolution in the social sense. As jazzman-sociologist George Melly argued: 'Its only revolutionary value is in its insistence on personal freedom'. 19. Nor can one ignore the fact that the bulk of rock songs dealt with mundane juvenile issues, often displaying reactionary misogynous tendencies.

By late 1972 most of the Sixties pop heroes had left their groups, or the groups had disbanded, and grown fat and respectable on royalties. Essentially, the relationship between the youth pop culture and the youth political rebellion was a dialectical one. The pop culture preconditioned young people's receptivity to rebellious ideas but, at the same time, the revolutionary aspect of the youth/student movement developed in reaction to the co-opting elements of 'pop culture'. The activist New Left thus attempted to present a distinct alternative to the mainstream youth culture.

Another influence on youth culture took the form of television and the technical advances in media. The shrinkage of the world in the direction of a global village meant that the youth culture and the culture of political dissent became internationalized as never before. By 1956, the year in which television was introduced to Australia, the world possessed 44 million TV sets, 257 million radios and 255 million copies of newspapers each day. 20. By 1967, 95 percent of all Australian homes were within reach of a TV service and 80 percent owned their own sets. More than four million Australians were tuned in between 7.00 and 8.00 each night. 21. People aged between 10 and 17 years were the single biggest viewing audience. 22. The portable radio and later the transistor radio were very important developments, as they gave young people an opportunity for independent listening and thus facilitated the growth of exclusively teenage programmes. By the early 1960s, nearly every teenager in Australia had their own transistor radio. And the same could be said about youth in other industrial Western societies.

Arguably the most significant factor in the media's role in the politicization of youth was the advent of new techniques in the presentation of television, radio, and print-media news. By the mid-sixties, an event that took place anywhere in the world could be reported in Australia within 24 hours. TV news services attracted more than three million viewers in more than a million Australian homes each night, while radio morning news was heard by more than 700,000 listeners. 23. 'Actuality' broadcasts brought the news as it was happening into many homes, and that news was increasingly international in character. Speedier jet services ensured the prompt delivery of overseas news film, which was dispatched daily by such processing centres as that owned by United Press International and Twentieth Century Fox in North America. The fantastic success of television included the programming of documentaries, such as the National Nine Network's "Project 64" series, which featured the first footage ever filmed by a Western news team in China. And, two years later, the first Australian news team to film in Vietnam was to compile a documentary for STW-9 in Perth. Such documentaries undoubtedly contributed to public scepticism toward the Australian government's 'Yellow Peril' phobia.

The rapid expansion of news-gathering facilities and techniques did not necessarily promise a better educated public, but certainly a more aware one. The commercial nature of most media, with its natural desire to beat its rivals, coupled with inbuilt limitations of

the new technical means of transmitting overseas news (i.e., teleprinters and short-wave radio required that information be condensed, and mitigated against any elaboration), resulted in the 'headline' phenomenon, whereby media presentation favoured 'flashes' and headlines. The news was made more shocking as a result. However, the 1967 Middle East War, which marked the first occasion on which the outbreak of a war had been revealed via television, also ushered in a period of in-depth coverage, with an emphasis on maps, charts and background data.

The influence of the post-war media 'revolution' has been grossly exaggerated by those who attribute it as a prime source of student unrest. It did, however, enhance the general public awareness of contemporary issues and made it clear beyond doubt that Australians - continental islanders one and all - were nonetheless part of the world, morally and politically as well as geographically. Above all, by the late sixties, the media presented Vietnam as the principal foreign policy controversy, unwittingly assisting those who sought to make it a public issue, and unavoidably revealing the exceptional horror and indiscriminate nature of modern warfare. Thanks to television, Vietnam became a 'living-room war'.

CHAPTER FOUR: HUMAN CAPITAL AND THE UNIVERSITIES

Student movements arise during times of acute and rapid change in which institutional structures and traditions are made obsolete or less relevant. Australia's tertiary education institutions, like those throughout the world, underwent vast expansion in response to the new social, economic, technological and scientific requirements of post-war society. Australia's 'second industrial revolution', coupled with the demographic trend known as the 'baby boom' (which saw a sharp rise in the proportion of young people), challenged the traditional view of the university. Crudely expressed, Australia's university planners were caught between two different models: the traditional ideal which (to paraphrase Newman) saw the university as an 'alma mater' knowing her children individually, rather than 'a foundry or a treadmill' and, on the other hand, the hard-headed American model, epitomised by Clark Kerr's 'multiversity'. Kerr regarded the university as part of a 'knowledge industry' comparable in its central importance to the railway and automobile industries of previous industrial periods. Such a perspective doesn't leave much room for the Newman ideal whereby 'the cultivation of the intellect as an end ... may reasonably be pursued for its own sake'. 1.

The chief strategists behind Australia's universities' development - the Murray Committee, the Martin Committee, and the Australian Universities Commission (AUC) - displayed an awareness of the peculiarly Australian context in which they operated. It cannot be said that either the American or the Oxbridge model predominated. Of great significance, however, was the underlying recognition that universities were not, and should not be, fundamentally anything other than a service-station for the economy. Of course, as economic issues became more complex, and as new social problems arose from them, this did not mean that the 'Humanities' were redundant; there was still the need to train society's future leaders and managers. The changing emphases in conceptions of the university's social role tended to correspond with changing emphases in the pattern of our economic development.

The Second World War imposed considerable demands on Australian science and industry, and enabled the latter to manufacture modern technical products. The new sense of 'nationhood' impressed upon the Commonwealth Government its responsibility to develop an

education policy for Australia. During the war, the Minister for War Organisation of Industry had told a meeting of Vice Chancellors that 'the Government requires of the Universities specific services'. 2. In addition to research into war problems, the Government required 'the training of personnel with special qualifications for the armed services, war production, and other essential needs'. A Universities Commission was established to ensure that the supply of skilled manpower was adequate. It became a permanent statutory body in June 1945, with the establishment of the Commonwealth Office of Education. The universities had implicitly accepted that they were a national resource, to be ultimately directed by the requirements of industry and government.

The sudden end of the war, however, marked the beginning of a crisis in Australian universities. The Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme (CRTS), which had commenced in 1944, had to extend its financial assistance to the thousands of returned servicemen and women. An estimated 25,000 ex-service people passed through the CRTS university scheme and by 1946, enrolments were double their 1939 figure. From 14,000 in 1939, enrolments rose to 32,500 in 1948. The CRTS explosion declined, however, and no further applications were allowed after June 1947. The real problems were only just about to impress themselves on the planners' minds.

In 1947, 220,000 babies were born in Australia. The parents of these babies had high expectations for them, in keeping with the spirit of post-war reconstruction. The baby boomers were the raw material of the rapid universities expansion. If these new lives were to be given the opportunity of tertiary education - and it must be remembered that the post-war economy demanded that they should be - then Commonwealth funding was necessary at a wider level. The inadequacy of funding arrangements, however, resulted in the Vice Chancellors' Committee calling for an Inquiry. As a result, in December 1956, Prime Minister Robert Menzies invited Sir K. Murray, chairman of the British Universities Grants Committee, to head a committee of inquiry to 'indicate ways in which the universities might be organised so as to ensure that their long-term pattern of development is in the best interests of the nation'. 3. Murray's report is valuable for its insights into the dilemma confronting those who sought to gear the universities to the needs of the economy yet who could not break culturally with the more traditional view of what universities were about.

The universities were seen by Murray as helping Australian industries overcome their inherent disadvantages in the world's competitive markets (i.e., the small home market, the absence of cheap labour, and long distances). 'Heavy costs of production' could be compensated for if Australia was to 'rely more than it has done in the past, and more than many other countries, on the products of the universities, for both man-power and research'. 4. Murray sought to overcome the bind in which he found his committee by seeking the best of both worlds, so to speak. Thus, on one hand 'The most important demand which is made of (universities) today is for more and more highly educated people in every walk of life and in particular for more and more graduates of an increasing variety of kinds' while on the other hand there is the need for 'the discovery of new knowledge for its own sake'. 5. The report referred to the university as 'an independent community of scholars', yet believed that 'The days when universities could live in a world apart, if ever they truly existed, are long since over'. 6.

The stress inherent in such a conflict of role was glossed over by the report and by most university planners and administrators. Dr Matheson, Vice Chancellor of Monash University, maintained that while most Australian universities would 'assert that the real job of a university is to teach fundamentals rather than applications', the two were not really mutually exclusive. But Matheson's evidence - 'the American experience' - was not convincing precisely because of the one limitation he conceded, namely: the tendency to provoke 'Berkeley convulsions'. 7.

In the post-war period up to 1963, five new universities were established: the University of New England (1954), the University of NSW (1958), Monash University (1958), the University of Townsville (1961), and Wollongong University (1962). A Principal-Designate was appointed to a new institution at Bedford Park, South Australia in 1961 (eventually to become Flinders University). By 1963, of the 972,000 persons in Australia aged between 17 and 22, 12.1 percent were enrolled in tertiary institutions of one kind or other. Universities, in a sense, were 'opened up' and while retaining their traditional exclusion of most of the children of the industrial working class, nonetheless afforded the right of university education to the middle class and its lower components. The post-war universities were removed from the painful elitism of the pre-war period. Relatively easily-obtainable

scholarships, and increasing public funding (as against funding through student fees and endowments), facilitated the opening of the ivory doors. Students could no longer regard their admission to university as the privilege of an elite. While they were obviously fortunate to be there, the tendency to regard university as a right became increasingly popular.

The 'democratization' of the universities did not mean that their internal power structures were necessarily being modernised. It basically meant that the needs of the economy were dictating that larger numbers of students were required to complete university training. The service-station conception of the university predominated in the report of the successor to the Murray Committee - the 'Martin Report' - which was presented to Menzies in March 1965. It is interesting to compare the composition of the Murray Committee, which had only one 'Big Business' representative (Jack Richards of BHP) to that of the Martin Committee which had three (J. Angas of Elder Smith Goldsbrough Mort Ltd, N. Jones of BHP, and L. Weickhardt of Imperial Chemical Industries (ANZ)). Furthermore, whereas no companies as such approached the Murray Committee, four (ICI (ANZ), BHP, Berger Paints, and Australian Paper Manufacturers) tendered submissions to Martin. By 1964, when Leslie Martin's committee was appointed by Menzies to consider the pattern of tertiary education in relation to the needs and resources of Australia, the barons of industry had become much more aware of the critical importance of universities to economic development and the provision of skilled technicians and managers to companies. Industrialists had secured for themselves an important position in the strategic planning of higher education.

By the early 1960s, the advanced industrial nations had accepted that 'higher education is a long term investment in human resources for economic growth' and sought 'a close co-ordination of education with economic policy'. 8. In 1963 the International Economic Association held a conference - sponsored by UNESCO and the Ford Foundation - on the part played by education in economic development. The importance of the meeting is gauged by the fact that participants attended from the United Kingdom, America, and Europe, and UNESCO and OECD were also represented. Basically, the experts sought to determine how to measure the 'stock' of education of a country at a given time, satisfactory methods of measuring the contribution of education to growth, the value of cultural education, and so on.

The answers are not pertinent here; the questions are. For by the early 1960s, the concept of 'human capital' had been revived and, in its educational context, had become a framework in which to plan higher education. Thus, education spending (or 'outlay') was seen as an investment in human capital formation. The Martin Report epitomised the human capital approach in Australia and concluded that 'Education should be regarded as an investment which yields direct and significant economic benefits through increasing the skill of the population and through accelerating technological progress'. 9.

The report presented a cogent argument for an increase in expenditure on all forms of tertiary education on the grounds that 'such an expansion of facilities for higher education is an essential condition for economic growth and for the maintenance of Australia's place in the ranks of the technologically advanced nations'. 10. 'Investment in human capital' virtually became the slogan of the sixties phase of the post-war economic boom. At a symposium on 'The University and Industry', R. Nay, of Comalco Pty Ltd, even attributed 'the enormous growth of productivity in many overseas companies' to the 'increasing representation of technically trained and professionally competent men on the management team'. 11. And at an earlier symposium, a Dean of Applied Science had referred to industry and commerce as 'important customers' of the university system. He was supported by Jack Richards, the general manager of BHP's development and shipbuilding division, who called for a 'tailoring of tertiary education to meet the demands of industry'. 12.

The Martin Report came closer to fulfilling Richards' tailoring role than any previous body. It recommended a co-ordination of activities and research between universities, government laboratories, and industry. It achieved an increase in the number of Commonwealth scholarships (by 1,000 to 6,000) in 1966. And the Commonwealth agreed to provide half-share of the capital grants for the new universities: Macquarie, La Trobe, Adelaide, Queensland and Newcastle. Australia's higher education system was booming along with the economy. By 1968 student enrolments had quadrupled the 1946 figure, and exceeded 100,000. But from the radical students' point of view, there was something not quite right about being a 'unit of human capital', especially when university authorities persisted with the myth of the 'community of scholars'.

CHAPTER FIVE:

A NEW UNIVERSITY IN A CHANGING WORLD

When La Trobe University was formally opened on Wednesday March 8, 1967, there was much evidence to confirm the Vice Chancellor, Dr Myers', remark that La Trobe had 'come into being at a time of explosive change in the world which surrounds it'. 1. An understanding of this 'change' is essential to any understanding of the phenomenon of student unrest.

The central issue motivating a protest movement in Australia at the time was the Vietnam war and conscription. On March 1, the single biggest battle of the war had taken place near the Cambodian border, leaving more than one hundred United States' allies dead. The US president, Johnson, had announced an intensification of US attacks on North Vietnam and the demilitarized zone was also to be shelled. Australia's involvement had begun on April 29, 1965, with a battalion of Australian troops (approximately 1,000 men). Equipment and advisors had actually been sent in 1962 under the SEATO plan, but by November 1967 Australian troop strength would reach 8,000 - the largest fighting force sent overseas since World War Two. America would eventually commit half a million soldiers.

Precisely one year before La Trobe's opening ceremony, Prime Minister Harold Holt had announced the decision to send conscripts to Vietnam. Conscription for overseas service, coupled with an increasing casualty rate, made Vietnam a vital issue for all those who would be eligible for national service: i.e., all males approaching the age of twenty. Australian critical response can be traced to August 1964 and the Gulf of Tonkin incident when President Johnson ordered raids against the North Vietnamese for their reported attacks on two US warships. Banners declaring 'No War in Vietnam' were carried during the annual Hiroshima Day procession in Sydney while in Melbourne a group of 200 assembled in silent protest outside the American Consulate. The commitment of Australian troops had resulted in small demonstrations in Australia during the 1965 'International Day of Protest', organised in the US by dissident students and staff at California's Berkeley campus. A group of young people staged a silent vigil before walking through Melbourne's city centre displaying their placards. On the same day, October 16, much larger street protests were taking place in

London, Japan, European cities and across America. The international Vietnam protest movement was being born.

The National Service Act would introduce a new dimension to the Vietnam protest movement; despite William McMahon's assurances to the parliament on November 11, 1964, that his Bill would 'meet with the warm approval of the Australian public'. 2. The first demonstration against the National Service Act occurred in London where, on February 26, 1965, demonstrators picketed the Australian High Commissioner's Office. 3. Locally it wasn't until the first marbles were drawn - by Liberal MHR Don Chipp - on March 10, that an anti-conscription demonstration occurred in Australia. 4. In Melbourne the protestors displayed their placards outside the recruitment centre, while in Sydney a contingent of 50 students marched through the city. They, like the 144 'young Australian males of military service age' who declared their opposition to the war in a signed newspaper advertisement in June, were very much a voice in the wilderness. 5. But they did represent the shape of things to come; for they were young, and the protest movement would become increasingly entangled with the wider youth culture. And they were predominantly students. If youth was being made more aware by greater access to higher education and by media technology, then the National Service Act provided an opportunity for youth to apply abstract knowledge to an important political reality.

Like all mass movements, the Vietnam protest movement in Australia began as a small minority movement. During 1965, most protests took the passive form of newspaper advertisements, resolutions and leaflets. Of particular significance was a petition signed by 240 academics from various universities. While the petition was on its way to Prime Minister Menzies, who was in London, the US Air Force was launching its deepest bombing raids into North Vietnam: only 80 miles from the Chinese border. 1966 witnessed a number of events which fuelled the growth of the Vietnam protest movement and which encouraged its more militant and revolutionary tendency. On March 8, Prime Minister Holt announced an increase in Australia's troop commitment, which would include 500 conscripts. In April, the first national serviceman, Corporal Watson, left for the war and a month later the first conscript corpse was flown back home.

As Vietnam became a more intense issue, the inevitable conflict with state authority erupted. In March, Melbourne police who were

fearful of a 'potentially dangerous situation' decided to disperse a rally by tearing up placards and then riding two horses into the crowd. 6. In July, Bill White, a schoolteacher, became Australia's first draft resister when he refused to obey an induction notice. And in September, Australia's most blatant case of political censorship occurred when the pamphlet, 'American Atrocities in Vietnam', was confiscated in a raid on Melbourne's International Bookshop.

The political disequilibrium emanating from our involvement in Vietnam reached a new height with the visit in October of President Johnson (LBJ). Unprecedented ill-will between police and protestors resulted from the visit. Monash University Students Representative Council (SRC) published a brochure based on some of the 40 statutory declarations it had collected after the LBJ parade. 7. The situation was essentially that large men, who always refused to identify themselves as policemen, were able to assault people without intervention on the part of the uniformed Victoria Police, while if an assaulted person made any attempt to defend himself or herself, he or she would be arrested on the spot and beaten up by both the plainclothes men and uniformed police. The complainants were not all students, nor necessarily protestors. Retired Lieutenant-Colonel Charles L. Gardiner, who had served with the First Australian Imperial Force, expressed his indignation in a letter to the press. His letter stated, in part: 'Neither my wife nor myself had gone to demonstrate, but were, in fact, most enthusiastic about the visit. Yet we were both threatened by the police, and one of the US officials pushed my wife, causing her great concern as she is in poor health. Having fought for my country in two world wars, I am greatly angered'. 8.

No remedial action was ever taken. On the contrary, Chief Police Commissioner, Arnold, reported to the Government that he was 'proud of the way the members acquitted themselves'. 9. The pattern was repeated during the visit of South Vietnamese dictator, Ky, in January 1967. During this period, the Labor Party's defeat in the Federal Election assumed special significance, as it closed off any parliamentary alternative to existing Vietnam/conscription policies for another three years. As Humphrey McQueen recalled: 'In 1966 the young left looked forward to a Labor victory. It worked incredibly hard ... The defeat that followed either shocked them into apathy or slowly gave rise to undirected militancy'. 10. In December 1966, as if rubbing salt into the wounds of those who had supported Labor, Prime Minister Holt announced an increase in Australian

troop commitment to Vietnam to 6,300. A squadron of Canberra bombers and HMAS Hobart were also to be deployed.

The Labor defeat was important in one other respect as well. Arthur Calwell, who had pledged to withdraw all Australian troops if elected, was replaced by Gough Whitlam as Party leader. At the 1967 federal conference, the Party's policy was changed to stipulate that no troops would be withdrawn if the Americans agreed to stop bombing North Vietnam. 11. The desire to transform the war into a 'holding operation' was seen as a sell-out by the more militant sections of the Vietnam protest movement. Public declarations by the new Opposition leader to the effect that 'The ALP has no desire for the US to wash its hands of south-east Asia' impressed upon the young protestor the urgency of the need to 'reraise the whole issue of our involvement in Vietnam and to raise it in a completely new context'. 12.

The streets assumed new importance to those who felt that their objectives could no longer be achieved through conventional means. Within a year, the Monash Labor Club - which had been established in 1961 as a right-wing ALP group - was to receive national notoriety for its militant/New Left orientation. Indeed, the first confrontation between radical students and administrators at Monash resulted from Vice Chancellor Matheson's ban on the Labor Club's campaign to raise aid for the Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

By 1968 a rift existed between student attitudes to the war on one hand and those of the public on the other. Of more than 6,000 Sydney University students surveyed, only 49 percent supported any Australian presence in Vietnam, and 50 percent opposed it. On the issue of conscription, 75 percent were opposed, and 23 percent in favour. 13. The change in outlook during the period 1967-68 was dramatic.

1968 was also the year of student rebellion throughout the world. As Time magazine put it: '... the biggest year for students since 1848, a year of student-led revolution in Europe'. The revolt of students was by no means restricted to Europe, though. In 1968 there were significant student uprisings in Brazil, England, Ireland, Canada, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Pakistan, Poland, Spain, Egypt, Uruguay, West Germany, Argentina, Chile, Yugoslavia, China, Ghana, Panama, Senegal, Turkey, Sweden and Switzerland.

Australian students had virtually no tradition of sustained political activity, but it is possible to discern the seeds of their eventual politicization and activism in various specific campaigns in the early sixties. Coleman has argued that racism was the issue which turned the tables on the fifties campus conservatism. 14. Students from Melbourne and Monash established 'Student Action' in order to lobby against candidates in the 1961 Federal Election who supported the White Australia Policy and/or South African apartheid. 'Student Action' was basically a moderate 'liberal' movement, supported by ALP, Liberal, and Christian student clubs. It presented an alternative to the established Labor Clubs, which were dominated by hard-line old-style Communists. The 'liberal humanist' movement among students was carried on into the 1960s by the Victorian Government's support for the hanging of Tait. At Melbourne University, 400 students took to the streets, and were supported by such academics as Professor Zelman Cowen. 15. On October 11, 1962, Premier Bolte visited the Melbourne campus to open the new Secondary Teachers College. Two thousand anti-hanging students greeted him. The three-hour demonstration was marred by 'clashes with police and outbreaks of fighting' - scenes which were unprecedented on the hitherto conservative campus. 16.

Two years later, in 1964, the Melbourne campus again gave (misleading) signs of giving birth to a sustainable student movement when 600 students staged a sit-in at the Baillieu Library, protesting about inadequate facilities. That year, Sydney students clashed with police in scenes reminiscent of the 1947 'Hands off Indonesia' protests against Dutch colonialism. When a wooden cross was burned as part of a 'civil rights' protest outside the US consulate during the annual 'Commem' parade, police intervened and an all-out brawl developed. Reinforcements were needed, and 38 protestors were arrested. 17.

These incidents, however, were not elements of a sustained and conscious student movement. Rather, they were acts of protest, or protest campaigns, in which students sought to remedy specific problems within the context of the existing society. Moreover, the student contingents did not perceive of themselves as a separate movement, but rather as members of an off-campus campaign. Finally, two essential factors, the Vietnam War and the popularization of New Left thought, were absent until the period 1965-67. The former made student political activity a serious,

indeed, 'life-and-death' matter, while the latter simultaneously encouraged students as a new and dynamic social and political force as well as offering a socialist alternative to the Leninist-Stalinist communist parties. One qualification, however, must be made here. The split in the Communist Party of Australia in 1964 saw the establishment of a Maoist party, the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist). This party's identification with China's cultural revolution, its fervent opposition to the Soviet regime, its keen support for the youth rebellion in the West, and its commitment to extraparliamentary action gave it a certain appeal to the New Left student activists and camouflaged its essentially orthodox Stalinist nature. The new party's strength was concentrated in Melbourne, and Maoist influence was significant in shaping the student movement at Monash and La Trobe.

The development of student movements in Australia, while largely independent of institutionalized structures, nonetheless owed something to the development of the National Union of Australian University Students (NUAUS). NUAUS had been established in 1937, and developed from the 1926 Australian Universities Student Union. The post-war universities explosion affected the national student union. By 1960, membership had increased to 43,000 from 26,000 in 1947. NUAUS represented considerable financial resources and facilities. Among these resources was the union's newspaper which was distributed abundantly to all Australian campuses. First published in September 1965 as 'U', the sponsorship it received from Rupert Murdoch and BHP did not ameliorate its prompt orientation toward liberal humanist perspectives. By 1967, 'National U' (as it became) was an important source of anti-war information and argument, promoting New Left thought (Fannon, Mao, Guevara, McLuhan, Black Power, etc.) and sympathetically covering student struggles in France, Italy, Germany, Poland and England. It is also significant that by 1967, many of the newspapers published by university student councils for their campus populations were edited by people who were happy to publish articles written by Leftists. NUAUS undoubtedly assisted the various anti-racist activities of Australian students in the early sixties. These activities, ranging from Student Action to ABSCHOL (the NUAUS Aboriginal Scholarship fund), were among the preliminary rounds prior to the big fight.

The Vietnam War and conscription were the turning-point. La Trobe University was literally born into the moment when the Vietnam

protest movement was gaining momentum; when the Labor Party's electoral defeat and moderation of its Vietnam policy was facilitating wider support for new Left alternatives; when police violence was transforming moderate protestors into militant revolutionaries; when the general 'youth culture' was developing a blatantly political tangent and when students in every nation seemed to be protesting about one thing or another in one way or another.

La Trobe came into being at a time when students at Melbourne and Monash Universities were playing a leading role in the campaign to save Ronald Ryan from the hangman's noose. The conferral of an Honorary Degree upon Premier Henry Bolte, who was an outspoken supporter of capital punishment, sparked student protests which prevented Bolte from accepting his degree on a campus. Students felt, for the first time, a taste of their own collective power. 'National U' devoted its front page to the 'Storm at Monash', informing its national readership that 'Many students and staff are beginning to feel that universities might be run more efficiently and with a clearer perspective about what a university exists for if there were more student-staff participation in decisions of policy'.
18.

1967 may be regarded as the year in which sustained student movements emerged in Australia; movements which were self-conscious, activist, and influenced by non-orthodox styles of socialist thought. At Monash, the Labor Club - in high standing after the anti-hanging campaign - began collecting money for the NLF in Vietnam. Government legislation (The Defence Forces Protection Act) and university disciplinary procedures were unable to thwart the aid campaign. One could argue that attempts to repress the collections merely intensified the determination of the collectors, rallied wider support to their cause, and achieved considerable kudos for the Monash Labor Club within New Left student circles. In July, Monash's largest meeting of students voted to support the right of the Labor Club to collect money for the NLF. The Club not only succeeded in flaunting the Defence Forces Protection Act but also succeeded in altering the ideological perspective of the Vietnam protest movement, and student movement, in Melbourne. 'Moderates' were those who supported sending specified medical aid rather than unspecified aid.

Student movements were also born at Sydney University and at Queensland University in 1967. Whereas the Labor Club was the

leading force at Monash, Sydney and Brisbane were respectively dominated by new organizations - Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Students for Democratic Action. The differences between the beliefs of the various student groups is often hard to specify. The common characteristics tend to evolve from socialist-humanist combinations, activism, a confidence in the progressive potential of students as a force, a commitment to wider societal change of a revolutionary nature, an opposition to those functions of the university which assist militarism or other unpopular causes and an opposition to the undemocratic power structures within the university.

The movement at Sydney was sparked in April when students staged a sit-in at Fisher library to protest about increases in fines for late books. When Max Humphries was singled out for suspension as a result of the sit-in, the issue was transformed from 'library fines' to 'student freedom'. Faced with another library sit-in, the Vice Chancellor urged the Proctorial Board to reconsider Humphries' suspension. The eventual rescission of the penalty came about, in the opinion of 'National U', because the campus had been 'simmering in the spirit of revolt'. 'Student Power' was being seen as a reality, as well as an ideal.

The Queensland student movement was born in Roma Street, Brisbane, when, in September, 1967, '250 uniformed and plainclothed policemen ... forcibly removed three thousand students and lecturers taking part in a sit-down demonstration in the middle of one of the city's busiest streets ... They punched, kicked, cursed and threatened, and used every dirty trick forbidden by the Marquis de Queensberry Rules'. 19. The struggle for the right to march in Brisbane continues to this day. It is not widely known that the civil libertarian banner was first unfurled in the 'Deep North' by university students. Not surprisingly, the Brisbane student movement emphasized democracy in its platform: democracy in the external society and at all levels within the university.

CHAPTER SIX: THE CAMPUS: GOVERNORS AND GOVERNED

Anyone familiar with the pattern and style of Melbourne's youth culture who attended La Trobe's inaugural ceremony would have realized that the new university's authority would inevitably be questioned by large numbers of students. The procession of dignitaries itself pointed to the enormous gap between the campus governors and their subjects. Sir Robert Menzies' elegant black and gold robes were as suited to the parched paddock-like campus as the Army band's rendition of Handel. A journalist politely noted that 'Caps, gowns and coloured satin didn't quite fit the bush setting'. 1.

At its height, the La Trobe conflict witnessed two basic antagonists: a large group of students and their militant core on the one hand; the University Council on the other. The Council offered radical students an impressive choice of 'culprits'; individuals whose interests in large capitalist enterprises, membership of exclusive clubs, and political affiliations epitomized all that the student movement was against. The La Trobe confrontation, however, was more than a dispute between two disparate groups. The student Left drew much wider strength from the political culture which dominated the campus by 1971. Central to this culture was the style of the youth movement. The hardcore Left condemned the Council as 'the vehicle by which the State Government and big business exercise control over University affairs' while many outside its ranks felt estranged from the Council because of its elitism and 'invisibility'. 2.

Between the years 1967 and 1972, 54 people sat on the Council but for no single year did membership exceed thirty-one. In 1967, 1968, and 1969, there had respectively been 25, 24 and 25 members, and 29 in 1970 and 1971. Approximately one-third were appointed by the Governor-in-Council and another one-third were co-opted by the Council itself. Apart from the Chancellor and Vice Chancellor, and one or two ex-officio members (such as the President of the SRC), the remaining members were elected by the Academic Board, the staff, and the students. Thus, the governing authority of the University was generally in flux, with a number of members being replaced every two or three years.

The general perception of the Council, as determined by the political culture of 1971 and 1972, was moulded by the ten Councillors who

served for the entire 1967-72 period. This 'Council Core' was not representative of the 54 who served intermittently. They were much older (average age, 57); lived in the exclusive suburbs (Toorak, South Yarra, Canterbury, Blackburn, and Malvern); attended the most exclusive grammar schools or the very best high schools (six attended the former, three the latter); enjoyed membership of Establishment clubs, which were racially and sexually, as well as socially, exclusive (for example, at least seven of the ten were members of the Melbourne Club); and nearly half were wealthy businessmen (three were chairmen or directors of such large corporations as Imperial Chemical Industries, Comalco, and BHP). Two knights, two Queen's Counsellors, and a Companion of the British Empire completed a portrait which was antithetical to the student culture and its commitment to social egalitarianism and youth style.

The attitudes of some of the leading councillors were similarly out of touch with the prevailing youth culture. Despite the abysmal world scenario of 1967, focussed on Indo-China, Chancellor Archibald Glenn could conclude his inaugural speech by saying: 'It may be a happy augury that 1967, the year of La Trobe's opening, is also the year in which Sir Francis Chichester has thrilled the world with his courage, endurance and spirit of adventure'. 3. Sixty-six year old Chichester epitomized the individualist values of the Anglo-Saxon Protestant. He was important as a symbol of the remaining vigor of his generation; an 'example to youth' everywhere. Young people, however, were keenly adopting fundamentally different heroes.

Dr Myers, the administrative link between students and Council, shared Glenn's style. In the 1968 Orientation magazine, he congratulated the 1967 batch of students on their enthusiasm, calling them 'old lags'. This, of course, is not only an English term, alien to everyday Australian language, but a distinctly upperclass English term. Perhaps, it would have made sense to students from Scotch College, but La Trobe's undergraduates were not of that mould. By 1971, the Vice-Chancellor's attitudes became more frank and more political. When a student protestor from among a group who had occupied the administration offices called Dr Myers a capitalist, he replied: 'Thank you, gentlemen, you flatter me'. 4. There was nothing so witty in an earlier reference to the Moratoriums and anti-Springbok demonstrations as being 'silly nonsense' and 'convenient flagposts for some students to hang protests on'. 5.

The most important area of attitudinal separation, however, concerned the very role of the University in society. M. Henry's 1970 survey suggests that a radical and idealistic ethos prevailed among the student body on this issue. Eighty-one percent of the 512 respondents believed that the University 'should be concerned with critically examining social values'. Only 14 percent felt it 'should be concerned with preserving traditions of scholarship'. Seventy-seven percent saw the 'prime function' as being the production of 'cultured and broadly educated individuals'. Only 19 percent saw it in terms of producing 'trained specialists'. In keeping with such perceptions, most La Trobe students had decided to attend university, mainly, because they wanted to 'broaden (their) education' (46 percent), participate in university life (10 percent), or both (24 percent). Only 38 percent had more mundane motivations, such as obtaining a meal ticket (16 percent), fulfilling scholarship/studentship obligations (19 percent), parental pressure (five percent) or combinations of those factors (eight percent). 6.

The reality of the university's orientation toward the needs of social and economic development created an acute stress in an idealistic campus milieu. The Chancellor and the Vice Chancellor left no doubts as to how they perceived the university's role. As chairman of the La Trobe University Committee, Sir Archibald had expressed his conception of a university in September 1964 as '... a corporation devoted to education, scholarship and research. It should evolve in accordance with social requirements, intellectual ideals and development in knowledge and in educational theory and practice. It is appreciated that it is largely supported by public funds'. 7.

'Social requirements' can, and do, sometimes conflict with 'intellectual ideals', as was being forcefully acknowledged by North American student rebels on campuses engaged in war-related research. In Australian universities, confrontation similarly took place at those junctures at which the 'intellectual ideals' were contradicted by the 'social requirements'. At La Trobe, Sir Archibald Glenn was regarded by the Left as a perfect symbol of this contradiction. His 'corporation' analogy included 'productive activity' which he saw as 'teaching and research'. Moreover, as managing director of ICI(ANZ), Glenn was a recipient of Australian universities' output.

Dr Myers took the 'human capital' approach a step further when he described the university as a 'sausage machine' with 'quality control exercised at various points along the production line' via examinations. 8. At a graduation ceremony in 1971, he explained how 'the "production line" came into full operation when our first graduates emerged at the end of 1969'. 9. Those who most strenuously opposed the student movement also most strenuously defended the human capital conception. Politics professor, Hugo Wolfsohn, for example, bluntly stated that: 'The university is a knowledge factory, catering for an integral part of the society in which we are living - and it should be treated as such. We fool ourselves with cerebral talk. But the university in Australia is not a community of scholars, and does not create a distinctive type of man. It is a factory in which a number of people are trained for a number of jobs, reflecting the increasing division of labor in society'. 10.

Wolfsohn's assessment, nonetheless, was remarkably similar to that of the Labor Club. 'Enrages', the Club's news-sheet, maintained that: 'The University today is nothing but a degree factory turning out homogenised intellectual cogs to fit into the ever increasing industrial complex; teachers, technicians, physicians and all the rest to help keep society running'. 11. A point of conflict arose over whether or not this was a desirable state of affairs. The view of the university as an 'institution of learning' was acceptable to many on the Left, but as an ideal. The reality, which they sought to change, stood in the way: 'The very nature of the university precludes the realisation of this ideal. For a start, the large majority of students are being trained to serve as inculcators of capitalism's values and norms into the minds of high school students ... If one is lucky not to be bonded, large corporations will snap up your abilities as a technologist. On both counts, free inquiry is militated against'. 12.

In general, the student Left accepted that the university could not be a community of scholars, that it was an impossibility as well as a myth. The question was: 'Whom should it serve?' The problems inherent in such a question were largely overcome by the student movement's view of itself as part of a wider movement affecting all aspects of society. According to Enrages: 'It is correct that a University should provide well-trained personnel for society. But our present universities serve the minority interests of capitalism and hence do not serve the people'. 13. 'Wall', the news-sheet of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), similarly argued that 'Any move toward self-government of the university must not be

regarded merely as an isolated reform in the capitalist system. It should be accompanied by similar changes in the other areas where 'human capital' is essential for functioning. All of the means of production, distribution and exchange should be in the hands of those whose 'labor' is bought ...' 14. To the other main Left grouping, the La Trobe Communists, the University was part of the very structure of capitalism and essential for 'maintaining and perpetuating our present system of social relations and its accompanying ideology'. 15. According to this view, the University could not be 'reformed' but, like capitalism itself, had to be destroyed.

Student opposition to the Council reached a peak in 1971. However, as early as May 1968, Red Moat, as organ of the Democratic Socialist Club, had sought to establish the university's connection with capitalism via 'a chancellor who is part of a giant British industrial complex'. 16. In April 1971, more than 1,000 students would cram into the Glenn College Dining Hall to vote unanimously for the resignation of Sir Archibald.

For the moment it is worth considering some general characteristics of La Trobe students which may help account for the extent of student opposition to their Chancellor. Melbourne University's Deputy Chancellor, L. Weickhardt, was a director of ICI(ANZ), as was the Chancellor of Tasmania University, Sir Henry Somerset. Yet on neither campus did popular protests occur. James Walter and M. Henry provide the only available empirical analysis into the early La Trobe students. 17. Walter establishes that in 1972 La Trobe students were more metropolitan and less rural than their Monash and Melbourne counterparts, more likely to live away from home and to live in college, and more likely to have attended State schools rather than Catholic/ private schools than Melbourne students. The consequences, in terms of the student political culture, are necessarily speculative. Approximately 54 percent of La Trobe students lived at home, compared with 72 percent (Monash) and 70 percent (Melbourne). The fact that a larger percentage of La Trobe students did not live at home may imply a greater degree of individual freedom from parental restraints. Certainly, shared houses near the campus and some college floors tended to draw the activist sub-cultures together. On the other hand, Monash experienced tremendous campus unrest, despite having the least number of students living away from home.

It is also difficult to know what to make of Walter's analysis of comparative home residences. Eighty-six percent of La Trobe students came from metropolitan homes, compared with 75 percent (Monash) and 79 percent (Melbourne). Twelve percent of La Trobe students came from country and interstate homes, compared with 19 percent (Monash) and 18 percent (Melbourne). Are the differences so great as to warrant any generalization? Walter may or may not be accurate in speculating that country students are less likely to be drawn to politics than their urban counterparts but is the distinction (11 percent more La Trobe students than Monash and seven percent more than Melbourne came from rural homes) so significant? Monash, after all, had experienced a political culture (characterized by mass meetings, frequent pamphleteering, wall slogans, political posters 'everywhere' and campus demonstrations) identical to that at La Trobe, only four years earlier. The relevance of such data is further questionable when it is realized that two of La Trobe's important student leaders - Grant Evans, who was Labor Club President from 1969 to 1970, and Brian Pola, who was SRC President in 1971 - were both country boys, respectively from Mildura and Nhill. Little's survey of 120 Melbourne University Arts and Science students found minor difference in 'participation levels' of Arts students from city and country backgrounds; 67 percent and 61 percent respectively rated 'High/Medium'. 18.

If home residence has any relevance, it might be as an index of the class origins of La Trobe students. Unfortunately, statistics concerning the socio-economic backgrounds of La Trobe students are not available. It is reasonable to assume, however, that students whose home residences were in traditional working class suburbs were probably of working class parents. It must be remembered that by the late sixties, Victoria's great social mobility meant that there were already clearly defined status suburbs, generally separated by the Yarra River. Of course, each suburb did not represent a homogeneous class composition. Walter's 1972 figure of 86 percent La Trobe students from metropolitan homes is supported by official statistics for earlier years. In 1967 and 1968, for example, 75 percent were from metropolitan homes. 19. If we look more closely at the metropolitan suburbs from whence at least 75 percent of the students came, it will be revealed that a very high proportion were predominantly working class suburbs. Using home residence statistics supplied by the Registrar, and assuming that 75 percent were metropolitan home residences, then it may be said that between

1968 and 1972 an average of 40 percent of La Trobe students came from traditional workingclass suburbs.

Complementing the emerging portrait of La Trobe students as 'more working class' is some pertinent data pertaining to educational backgrounds. Walter shows that 47 percent of La Trobe students had attended State high or technical schools, compared with 38 percent for Melbourne. Thirty-two percent of La Trobe students had been to Catholic/private schools, whereas the figure for Melbourne was 45 percent. Walter's figures are for 1972. Henry, however, enables us to delve further. Based on a survey of 512 La Trobe students in 1970, she found that 312 (61 percent) had attended State high or technical school and 185 (36 percent) public or private school. And, significantly, 263 (52 percent) were bonded by studentships to the Victorian Education Department. The production of teachers was an important part of the university's function. In 1967, 173 of the 450 students were on studentships, as were 400 of the 1,100 in 1968. The bonding of a large proportion of La Trobe students to the Education Department had an important influence on the student movement. Trainee teachers were not pursuing an elitist career path and did not have the same stake in the fruits of capitalist society as students studying law or medicine. The prospect of an attractive future via the efforts of diligent study bore little relationship to teacher training.

The extent of 'bonding' leads to another distinctive feature of La Trobe students. Unlike Melbourne, with its professional faculties (medicine, law, architecture, and engineering), La Trobe's only professional faculty was education. La Trobe was predominantly an Arts campus. In 1969, out of 1,850 undergraduates, 1,020 were in either Humanities (666) or Social Science (354). By 1972, 3,147 of the 4,304 students were in Social Science (1,226), Education (512), and Humanities (1,409). The remainder were in Agriculture, Biological Science, Physical Science and Psychology. One is on much stronger ground in drawing conclusions from such evidence, as various surveys into Arts-student activism are available. Little's study found that Arts students were far more active in campus life and club membership than Science students. Rootes' analysis of Queensland University radicals concluded that 'Arts students are heavily over-represented amongst radicals while professional faculties like Medicine, Dentistry, Engineering, and Veterinary Science are severely under-represented'. 20.

The leading activists at La Trobe, with one or two exceptions, were all Arts/Social Science students. Indeed, an examination of those charged with breaches of discipline in June 1970 and from August to October 1971 is instructive. In the first group, five were third-year Arts students, and the remaining two were Arts post-graduates. Of the 29 students charged in 1971, only four were not Arts/Social Science students. Arts students are more prone to rebellion. Perhaps their studies lead them toward critiques of society; perhaps they choose an Arts course because they are more idealistic, or perhaps there is an element of truth in Knopfmacher's unkind assertion that 'The Arts subjects and Social Sciences often attract people who "hunger and thirst after righteousness" ...' 21.

La Trobe's heavy Arts bias, coupled with its initial entrance requirements, which were not as demanding as those at Monash and Melbourne, led Walter into a dangerously elitist supposition. Crudely, Walter suggests that because 'the less able amongst each year's matriculants came to La Trobe', they were 'naturally' unable to cope with academic life and, having 'already been refused places at the more prestigious universities', may have directed their 'resentment' at the La Trobe institution itself. There is no supporting evidence offered, and Walter would be hard pressed to provide it as far as the leading activists were concerned. One could also argue that 'the less able matriculants' would be the least likely to rebel, as they would involve themselves more seriously in their studies through fear of failure.

We come finally to more direct evidence concerning the class origins of La Trobe students, and for this a debt is owed to Henry. Her 1970 sample revealed that 44 percent had fathers who were either office and sales workers (22 percent), skilled (18 percent), semiskilled (two percent), or unskilled (two percent) workers. Twenty-nine percent had fathers who were professional, managerial or graziers and five percent were directors and top managerial. Four percent were retired. It would seem that only five percent might have had some first-hand understanding of, and identification with, Sir Archibald. However, it must be said that the 'more working class' composition of La Trobe students does not necessarily mean that they would be more protest-prone. Among the activist core at La Trobe, for example, a distinct sub-group were notable for their professional/ managerial/capitalist backgrounds and their shared grammar school educations. Fergus Robinson, Peter Cochrane, Robert Mathews and Robert Bennetts had attended Ivanhoe Grammar

together. The father of one was a factory owner. The others were a production engineer, real estate agent and accountant. Of course, the activist core had its share of working class sons and daughters as well. But the fact that students from such different backgrounds were able to adopt such similar protest styles and techniques really points to the inadequacy of social class as a variable. Walter might be right in supposing that La Trobe students 'have been less privileged' but quite wrong in deducing on that basis that 'they may be more political'. Little's survey, for example, suggests that students from 'lower white-collar, lower self-employed, skilled manual' backgrounds are less likely to be campus activists than those from 'professional, upper white collar, upper self-employed' ranks.

In between the governors and the governed stood the Students' Representative Council (SRC), but the absence of an SRC that was capable of representing, or co-opting, the student movement accounts in part for the unrestrained growth of the movement's militant leadership. Moreover, the SRC was, on the whole, not widely respected or taken seriously by the student body. Against a backdrop of general dissatisfaction with the SRC, the Labor Club leadership was readily able to develop a strategy based on 'Mass politics, the right of the individual to observe, represent, and speak for himself, as opposed to having someone do this for him'. 22. In assessing the SRC, it is possible to classify it, like the student movement, into two separate 'generations'. The 1967-69 period was characterized by the domineering figure of Paul Reid and his Left liberalism. The 1970-72 period saw less capable leaders who were unable to keep pace with, or thwart, the developing student movement. The early SRC was not unlike a student 'trade union' in so far as it had been established by law to represent a particular group in its relations with authority, and it was constitutionally bound to advocate nothing more than reform. Within this framework, the SRC from 1967-69 was, on the whole, a progressive campus force. It initiated action for Library improvements and for a 'democratization' of college administration and decision-making.

It was only with the advent of a student movement, with a strategic and non-reformist objective (i.e., the attainment of a university that would 'serve the people, not capitalism'), that the role of the SRC as an instigator of student politics was taken over by the Left activists. In a sense, the fact that the 1970-72 SRCs tended to be conservative at critical times was incidental. The legal status of the

SRC defined also the limits of its politics. A 'Leftwing' SRC could not escape the legal boundary, as would be revealed when the Supreme Court would stop it from paying student fines in 1972. Established by statute 2.4 of the La Trobe University Act, the objects of the SRC were defined in terms of representing students on all matters affecting their interests and protecting and developing those interests. Another aim, however, was: 'To secure good order and seemingly good conduct of students within university precincts, or any official student or university function wherever held'.

The objective of 'securing good order' would prevail during two events of 1970 that would be critical to the development of a militant student movement and a Maoist hegemony. When students occupied the Administration offices for the first time, in June 1970, in protest at suspensions imposed on the perceived leaders of a demonstration against Defence Department recruiters, the SRC Executive essentially sided with the Vice Chancellor. He was, they argued, only 'fulfilling his role under the University Disciplinary Statutes'. 23. Later in the year, after students had twice been brutally prevented from conducting an anti-war procession along a local road by baton-wielding police, the SRC President would meet with senior police to discuss arrangements for the students' final attempt. The Left was totally alienated by what they saw as the secrecy of such dealings, but also by the cynicism underlying the involvement of conservative SRC members in the anti-war demonstrations. As the Labor Club saw it: 'In the face of a delegitimized SRC, they hopped onto the political bandwagon ... they joined the organization of the march in order to ensure that the demonstration would be in keeping with the dictates of the police'. 24.

The extent to which the SRC was an integral part of the institutionalised university power structure, and subordinate to the supreme governing authority of that structure, was revealed by its lack of autonomy in such elementary matters as adopting a constitution. The draft constitution, regulation 2.4(1), had to go to the Council, the Legislation Committee, and the Academic Board, before being amended and then given the nod. The ultimate evidence of the SRC's subordinate and co-opted status possibly occurred on 25 February 1971, when a majority of members of the Fourth SRC voted to dissolve the body. Not surprisingly, because the SRC was established by statute under an Act of Parliament, it was simply not permitted to dissolve itself.

The desire for students to be given 'more authority', so that the university 'would no longer seem the glorified bureaucratic High School it now is' was an underlying reason for the SRC's existence. 25. There existed a constant tension within the student movement as to whether the SRC could somehow be transformed under Leftwing control. This hypothesis could not be tested until 1973, by which time student unrest had diminished anyway. Within the student population, only the conservative Democratic Club consistently advocated the legitimacy of SRC politics, urging students only to attend 'valid SRC sponsored general meetings'. 26.

Yet the Right was also acutely aware of the general scepticism with which the SRC was viewed by the student body. A Democratic Club publication in April 1971 noted that, 'There hangs over La Trobe University a general disenchantment with the SRC of this year'. 27. The 'disenchantment' was as old as the SRC itself. Perhaps it was a reflection of the youth cultural dislike of 'bureaucracy' or the plain old-fashioned Australian cynicism toward those in 'power'. Student participation in SRC Elections was highly erratic. In May 1969, elections for the Second SRC had to be called off due to insufficient nominations. The SRC's greatest internal crisis coincided with the Labor Club's campaign against Chancellor Glenn. A large chunk of its elected membership had resigned early in 1971 in protest at the Vice Chancellor's refusal to allow the organization to dissolve itself. Regardless of the fact that SRC meetings sometimes took place with only seven members, it nonetheless remained the legal representative of all students. The Labor Club's general meeting of 19 April, 1971, which attracted more than a thousand students, thus placed the student movement on a firm 'unofficial', or extra-statutory, footing. Students simply did not care whether general meetings were authorized by the SRC or not.

The success of the Labor Club's 'mass action' strategy reflected the de-authorization of the SRC in the eyes of the student body. Thus, the Labor Club could confidentially admit that the April 19 meeting was not a constitutional SRC meeting. The Club brazenly asserted that: 'The SRC is a decaying and moribund organisation with no legitimate claim to represent student interests ... We will no longer help to perpetuate the illusion of legitimacy of the SRC by asking it to call meetings, but we will bypass and expose this fraudulent, deceptive, arm of the Administration and Council'. 28. The SRC was unable to stop the meeting - that is, the meeting was unofficial but not illegal.

What was extraordinary, however, was the SRC's response to the meeting's demands. President Andy Rodger issued a brief statement, introducing a letter he had received from the Vice Chancellor. The letter ignored the demand for the Chancellor's resignation, but Rodger made no critical reference to this deletion, or indeed to any facet of Dr Myers' letter. 29. The SRC, at such a crucial juncture, had not only thoroughly alienated the student Left by not supporting the anti-Glenn campaign, but had positively acted as the Vice Chancellor's mouthpiece.

In the context of the campus crisis of 1971, the advent of an SRC Constitution later in the year meant little more to the student body than that yet another regulation had been added to the dull grey statute book. There were simply more important issues. And besides, the SRC had been striving for a constitution since it had first been proposed on 15 March 1967. The advent of an official constitution four years after it had been originally mooted was seen as evidence of the fact that bureaucracy's wheels turn extremely slowly. The SRC did not seem to be possessed of special status in the eyes of La Trobe students during the years 1969-71. In 1972, it became centrally important only because of a Supreme Court injunction against its funds. While large numbers sometimes voted at election-time, in general the student milieu from 1967 to 1971 was based on a healthy cynicism which applied to the entire power structure of the University. Such cynicism was reinforced by various factors including the layout of the campus, which was based on the English collegiate system; the rapidity of construction, which befuddled the bureaucracy as much as the new students; and the separation of the university from its suburban environs. However, it must be acknowledged that the sense of campus isolation also made the student Left all the more attractive. It was, after all, active and offered an alternative to campus dullness.

La Trobe was Australia's fastest-produced university. The Third University Committee had held its inaugural meeting in June 1964, and six months later the La Trobe University Act had been passed. When the first building contracts were let in 1966, the 480 acre site was little more than a former dairy farm attached to Mont Park Mental Hospital. In 1967, the first students arrived - approximately one per acre. The only buildings were the Library and Glenn College. A journalist found the place 'more like an elegant sheep station than a centre of learning' and further observed how 'Clouds of dust rise as you walk the campus, cranes and scaffolding

are well in evidence, most officers are in temporary quarters, and the Library is sparsely stocked'. 30.

The next two years would, in the Chancellor's words, see a paddock converted into a university. The student population would rise to 1,123 in 1968, and 2,000 in 1969. The scene was truly 'changing almost weekly'. A sports pavilion, science building, social science and humanities buildings, physics, chemistry and biological science facilities, and a lecture theatre block were constructed by 1970. And the Agora was living up to its Greek origins as a market-place, as it now possessed a bookshop, banks, coffee shop, hairdresser, pharmacy, dry cleaners, and post office. Roads, paths, lights and drainage were also developed, and 20,000 native trees had been added to the two that dotted the dairy farm in 1965. A new School of Agriculture had been added to the schools of Biological Science, Humanities, Physical Science, and Social Science; and plans were well under way for a School of Education, which commenced in 1970.

La Trobe's development was welcomed by the northern suburbs, which were experiencing an identical growth. La Trobe was seen as 'a victory for the North', gaining 'pride and prestige' but also 'millions of dollars spent and to be spent on capital works'. Local reporter Jack Richards' love of the University came through in all his glowing reports. After the inaugural ceremony, he exclaimed that La Trobe was 'a modern miracle - at least as far as these northern suburbs are concerned'. 31.

While the 'locals' may have keenly accepted the new university in the early years, it is likely that the campus inhabitants experienced considerable isolation. Eight miles from Melbourne, and built between a mental hospital and a cemetery, La Trobe could never develop the symbiotic relationship that Melbourne University students enjoyed with Carlton and Parkville and their bistros, coffee shops, and pubs. The nearest social spot for La Trobe was the Summerhill Hotel, a car-ride away. The routine of those on the campus without cars was dictated wholly by bus company, rather than university, time-tables. The geographic isolation of the campus led to the Victorian Teachers' Union extending its 'congratulations' to the students 'on their excellent morale and their acceptance of a situation which places them in a position of geographic and mental isolation'. 32. But whether the problem really was handled so uncomplainingly is questionable.

Walter, for example, offers a view which is in keeping with that expressed by some student activists, namely, 'Students lacked a corporate identity'. The absence of shared identification with the institution could aggravate the resentments and frustrations which tend to accrue from dealings with an inexperienced administrative bureaucracy. On the other hand, it could result in withdrawal, indifference to non-curricular affairs. One radical, in early 1970, suggested that apathy was prevailing: 'There's no opportunity for controversy because you get no reaction. We have a mob of teenyboppers who want to get their degree and avoid anything that's likely to get them into trouble'. 33. La Trobe, according to the activist, was a 'suburban university' whose extra-curricular life was dominated by 'the Football clique'.

By the end of 1970, however, a very strong sense of identity would emerge, albeit briefly, as a result of police brutality against students who sought to march with their anti-war placards into the community. Badges proclaiming 'You can't beat La Trobe' probably better reflected the campus spirit at the time than those proclaiming 'Smash the State'. The extent of arrests and injuries added to the 'corporate identity' prerequisites, which were completed when the Vice Chancellor addressed a student meeting and announced that he had called for an independent inquiry into the demonstrations.

There is little doubt that some students during the 1967-69 years had concluded that La Trobe was 'dead', and that the small political Left sub-culture offered, at least, some escape or stimulation. In reviewing 1969, *Rabelais*, the SRC newspaper, expressed the view that, 'Criticisms can be levelled at many of their (the La Trobe Left) actions but taken in context with the virtual deadness of the year, their actions were effective, if not entirely satisfactory'. 34.

The newness of the campus, while possibly not conducive to high spirits, did nonetheless enable those who sought to join an activist group to do so. Indeed, during 1967-69, it was virtually impossible for any coffee drinker not to bump into a tute-mate or someone who sat near them in the library, or who caught the same bus. The campus was huge, and the student population was small. But this meant that extra-curricular congregation could only occur in one or two places. The Glenn College Dining Hall, of which Walter seems unaware, was just such a central meeting place until the 1970's when it was displaced by improvements to the Agora coffee shop, the

construction of Menzies College Lounge, and in 1973, the advent of a general Union Building. 'Glenn Caf' from 1967 to 1968 was the central campus venue for lunch and cheap coffee. Scores of students would grab a snack in between tutorials, while at lunchtimes the Caf would be very packed. As one commentator observed, 'Most tables hold up to ten inhabitants. This allows even the clumsiest operator to join in the conversations'. 35.

Glenn Caf was central to the development of a radical political culture during the early years. If you wanted to make an announcement to the largest numbers at any given time, then you did so in the Caf at lunchtime. Leaflets were also distributed, with the advantage that authors and distributors would be available for abuse or discussion. The Socialist Club people tended to sit together at their table in 1967, as did the Democratic Socialists the following year. The sporting 'types' conglomerated at their tables, as did virtually all the campus sub-cultures. What little campus spirit there may have been (and regardless of the lack of activism), Glenn College Dining Hall at lunchtimes exposed the heart-and-soul of campus extra-curricular life. It was not surprising, then, that the first militant protest activity should have occurred, in June 1969, in the Caf.

By 1970, the campus spirit was changing as dramatically as the student numbers were increasing and as the political sub-cultures were becoming more activist and vociferous. If the first generation of La Trobe students had found the institution impersonal and suburban, then the new students in 1970 didn't. Eighty percent of Henry's 1970 survey were first year students; the remainder were fourth-year or postgraduates. The findings for the whole reveal that 67 percent regarded La Trobe as 'a small friendly university' and only nine percent considered it 'small and oppressive'. Fifty percent believed there were 'good opportunities for mixing with a variety of people'; only 29 percent found the range 'very restricted'. Sixty-two percent 'thoroughly enjoyed' being at La Trobe, and only ten percent found it 'dreary, dull, and suburban'. Eighty-two percent were either 'very satisfied' (23 percent) or 'reasonably satisfied' with La Trobe. Only 13 percent expressed any degree of dissatisfaction.

Perhaps the above factors explain the absence of 'alienation' as a complaint in student literature. The student Left was not so much against the institution per se as opposed to the governing authorities:

Council, Administration, and Academic Board. Or, they were against what they perceived as being the social role of the university. The 'boredom' of the first generation (1967-69) was displaced with a vengeance by the hectic activism of the second (1970-72). The 'dead' years of 1967-69 may have been dull more because of the absence of student traditions than 'alienation'. As Dr Myers informed the new intake of 1968: 'You are in the privileged position of building a tradition for generations of students to come'. The absence of such tradition was tantamount to a lack of a student reference-point.

The handful of students who set up the Socialist Club in 1967 naturally had to follow an external model; unlike their counterparts at Melbourne whose Labor Club dated back to June 1925. The other side of the coin, of course, is that lack of tradition may have attracted radicals, who tended to reject things traditional. An interview in *New Idea* with one of La Trobe's original students revealed that she had chosen La Trobe precisely because she 'liked the idea of a new university with new courses'. And, she claimed, 'most of her fellow pioneers' were similarly motivated. 36.

La Trobe, it should be noted, was based on an innovative, almost radical, concept. The division of academic life into Schools rather than Faculties, and the automatic membership of non-residential students in a College, were designed basically to create a sense of social and academic community. La Trobe had broken with tradition, superficially at any rate, in both features. This, coupled with La Trobe students' Arts-orientation, may account for their willingness to reject Sir Archibald and the Council, and the traditions they tended to epitomize. The large proportion from working class suburbs would indicate that the 'gap' was social as well as generational, though it does not necessarily account for the extent of militant protest in general.

It is useful to look more deeply at the other distinctive feature of La Trobe: the College system. La Trobe's 'college concept' was based on a College-Union integration, whereby all students would belong to a college regardless of whether they were residents. The intention behind the colleges was at once noble and pernicious. Inspired by the 'enrichment enjoyed at the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge', Sir Archibald and Dr Myers (who had attended Oxford's New College) were enthusiastic supporters of the system. 37. Myers eagerly sought to 'remove student anonymity' via the colleges and to 'capture

the values of a small university, to give students the opportunity to become identified with smaller units so that inter-personal relationships can more easily be created'. 38.

The dream soon soured, however, when it became clear that the colleges' internal power structure was more appropriate to a High School than 'a new university in a changing world'. In 1967, for instance, when Glenn was the only college, members had to dine-in-college once a week in full academic dress. The 'gown tradition' was disposed of by 1968. College authorities realized that La Trobe students were not nineteenth century Oxbridge boys. The 'gown' issue, however, served to highlight the lack of 'student power'. The decentralization of college life was seen by the Left as a pernicious aspect of the college system. Enrages argued that: 'The founding fathers deliberately planned La Trobe this way ... Nothing ever happens in this place because the existing system is breaking the student body up'. 39. Such suspicions were confirmed when 'The Bulletin', no friend of the student radicals, gloated over how at La Trobe 'Right from the start attempts were made to avoid the kind of things that went wrong at Monash; it is designed on a college system, to split it up ...' 40.

The student Left did not push for democratization of the colleges but rather for a central Union building, which would provide a focal-point for student life. Eventually, the college concept was shelved.

CHAPTER SEVEN: BEGINNINGS: 1967-1969

The years 1967-69 represented the first 'generation' of students at La Trobe and they marked the university's growth under the Australian Universities Commission's watchful triennial eye. An embryonic student movement emerged toward the conclusion of the triennium; that is, a core of leaders with a base of support within the student body, an organizational centre, and philosophically committed to challenging unjust facets of university authority as part of a wider social movement.

The student movement embryo was, essentially, the group of 17 who would 'invade' a Council meeting in August 1969. Their protest consciously challenged the governing authority of the university and represented a unity of the three Left student clubs - the Labor Club, Communist Club and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Of fundamental importance, however, was the fact that the action took place completely outside of the Students Representative Council. A student movement, it must be stressed, is not an institution but a series of activities carried out by students toward some general and/or particular end.

During the 1967-69 period, the Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee (AVCC) frequently discussed student unrest, and the International Vice Chancellors' Conference held in Sydney in June 1968 devoted some time to the 'techniques of participatory counterinsurgency' as a means of quelling campus disturbances. By 1969, some commentators believed that Australian universities were being 'shaken to their foundations'. La Trobe, however, was by no means being shaken. There was political life on the campus, and certainly a growth of clubs and societies, but, in the words of the Left's news-sheet, 'Red Moat': 'Student political activism is non-existent'. 1.

The distinction between political life and political activism was critical to the New Left. It was not enough to engage in politics in the traditional elitist ways via the election of representatives. Politics was equated with action-based-on-theory, but action was the essential ingredient. Moreover, activism was equated with confrontation, not in the violent sense, but in the sense that opponents would have to respond. Student political life was generally

passive, and based on lunchtime speakers, SRC General Meetings and elections, petitions and Teach-Ins. In 1967, the Interim SRC sponsored speakers on 'topics of current importance', such as Gordon Bryant, MHR, and the retired American Brigadier-General Hester: both outspoken opponents of the 'immoral, illegal, and genocidal' war in Vietnam. The infant campus relied on external sources for political nourishment.

The transformation of political life from a passive to a more active state was given dramatic impetus in May 1968, when the government sought to introduce amendments to the National Service Act. Clause 22 sought to oblige principal officers of educational institutions to provide the Department of Labor and National Service with confidential information about students who might be eligible for registration. Prior to May 1968 student life at La Trobe had been so passive that only one of the 27 candidates in the elections for the First SRC stood on a political platform. Other candidates were either concerned with the development of the new SRC itself, or were representatives of sporting interests. The political candidate advocated a boycott of the National Service Act, and was not elected. Only twelve La Trobe students had marched on the traditional May Day procession and only two clubs, Amnesty International and the Democratic Socialists, had endorsed the United Nations' 'Human Rights Year'. By June, however, the Club had experienced an expansion of interest and was obliged to reorganise on a broader basis. This marked the commencement of an 18 month period in which the student Left would flourish.

The development of a confrontational activism was enhanced by the May anti-conscription 'Freedom Ride' to Canberra, and the 4 July demonstration in Melbourne. The influence of the Monash Labor Club, La Trobe's membership of NUAUS, and other inter-varsity contacts, and the New Left line of the SRC newspaper *Rabelais*, cannot be underestimated. Monash activists had addressed student meetings at La Trobe as early as July 1967. The Monash Labor Club became something of a model for the few at La Trobe who were committed to political activism. Red Moat praised it glowingly: '(It) has not sat back and discussed the Vietnam War as an academic issue (but) has discussed it from the point of view of becoming actively involved ... e.g., the sending of medical aid to the NLF, the screening of films and selling of literature'. 2.

The following week, the La Trobe Democratic Socialist Club unanimously resolved to change its name to Labor Club and a month later adopted a policy of support for the NLF. A bookstall was also established, with an initial \$300-worth of stock, which featured NLF literature, *Gramma* (Cuban communist newspaper), *LA Free Press*, Marxist classics, New Left books and the works of Mao. Sub-committees were also formed within the Club, including a group to regularly liaise with Melbourne and Monash. An attempt at national organization had resulted in the Socialist Students' Alliance (SSA) being established when Monash, La Trobe and other activist clubs withdrew from the Australian Student Labor Federation (ASLF). The SSA was short-lived, being displaced by the Revolutionary Socialist Students Alliance, and then by the Worker-Student Alliance (WSA) in 1970.

The Monash-La Trobe connection was made meaningful by the socializing that occurred frequently at an off-campus 'headquarters' known as 'The Bakery' in Prahran. Meetings, parties, folk-nights, printing of leaflets and many a discussion took place among Victorian student radicals or between them and their visiting interstate comrades. The Maoist Monash Labor Club leaders attracted similarly militant activists to the Bakery, which was located in Greville Street, Prahran. The more moderate activists, sometimes highly critical of the 'Bakery crowd', tended to be drawn to SDS and its Melbourne headquarters in Palmerston Street, Carlton. La Trobe, being geographically removed from both centres and unable to establish its own student Left centre near the campus, gravitated toward both Prahran and Carlton. Thus, Maoist and SDS tendencies within the student Left at La Trobe tended to develop separately, culminating in the formal establishment of a La Trobe SDS group in 1969.

Within the space of a few months, the Democratic Socialist Club had moved from a body which in April 1968 had aimed 'to promote, discuss and debate varying socialist ideas with the expressed purpose of enhancing the democratic rights of the individual persons in our society' to the largest campus political club, with a militant activist core. Angered by the arrest of Monash students who had staged a mock crucifixion, Red Moat warned in June that: 'If the State persists in its perilous course then not only will it be confronted with sit-ins and civil disobedience but outright rebellion also'. 3.

The key factor behind such transformation was to be found in the proposed amendments to the National Service Act. Provision for compulsory military service outside the Commonwealth dated back to February 1942 when Prime Minister Curtin amended the Defence Act. Opposition to national Service in the sixties and early seventies arose in response to the Vietnam War, but resulted from varying philosophical and political premises. Thomas Aquinas had established a rationale within the Judeo-Christian tradition which obliged the individual not to obey an unjust law, regardless of the social or individual cost. Secular humanism looked to Article 18 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) which stipulated that everyone had the right to freedom of conscience. An examination of student anti-conscription literature in Melbourne reveals an early emphasis on pacifist arguments, soon superseded by existentialist reasoning, and culminating in more overtly political objections to the war. Concomitantly, the anti-conscription movement moved from compliance with the Act (arguing over legal interpretations and supporting individual conscientious objectors) to a militant campaign based on public defiance.

The pre-conditions for a sizeable anti-conscription movement existed on the La Trobe campus, as elsewhere, because of the large number of young men who would approach twenty, and thereby become eligible for registration with the Department of Labor and National Service during their university course. From 1967 to 1970, more than half of all La Trobe University male students were aged 16 to 20 years. In 1971-72, the figure was slightly less than half. In the early years, the vast majority of male students would have to consider whether to register, whether to seek deferment on academic grounds, or whether to object conscientiously or whether to comply at all. The Government had sought to have its National Service amendments introduced during the May session of parliament, but the debate continued into June. The Opposition argued intensely against the 'pimping provisions', with the keen support of various professional associations. University teachers, through the Federation of Australian University Staff Associations, promised legal and financial assistance to any university officer charged under the controversial clause and, in May, the Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee made representations to the Minister to have the amendment withdrawn.

The reaction at La Trobe fitted the national pattern. The Staff Association condemned the amendment as potentially impairing the

relationship between the university and its students and SRC President, Paul Reid, protested to the Minister for Education and Science, Malcolm Fraser, and the Minister for Labor and National Service, Leslie Bury. The most important campus reaction, however, took the form of a General Meeting of Students (GMS) convened by the SRC. It was the first GMS to discuss conscription, and the first to make political demands on the university authorities. With approximately 150 students in attendance, it was also the largest gathering to that date. The main motions of principle condemned the amendments and were carried by an overwhelming majority, but the most significant resolution called on the Vice Chancellor to ensure that students' enrolment forms did not include dates of birth, and that a separate form listing date of birth but not name or student number be issued for statistical purposes and that if that was not agreed to 'the SRC should encourage students to omit their date of birth from their enrolment forms, and to fill in in lieu thereof a separate form prepared by the SRC'. 4.

A conflict between the students who supported the resolution, represented by the SRC, and the Vice Chancellor would have been imminent had the situation not been defused when clause 22 was withdrawn by the Government. Arthur Calwell joyfully declared that the Government had 'backed down' because it was 'afraid of a wave of student protests all over Australia'. 5. On 3 June, Malcolm Fraser wrote to Reid, informing him that the controversial clause had been omitted and ten days later the Minister felt confident enough to visit the campus. It is unlikely that he would have felt so confident at Monash or Sydney. The Labor Club had urged students to attend the GMS and was sympathetic to the notion that all important decisions should be formulated through the 'mass meeting' instead of the elected representatives. Apart from being potentially more democratic, the GMS also allowed for the possibility of action. The La Trobe student Left was, by May 1968, frustrated by its apparent lack of success as well as the seemingly 'no win' predicament of the anti-war movement. Argued Red Moat: 'The last twelve months have shown that legal methods are losing their impetus and are being ignored ... It is now necessary to employ civil disobedience'. 6.

The Democratic Socialist Club had agreed in April to send delegates to the ASLF conference in Canberra the following month. The 1968 convention, however, was also to coincide with an act of mass civil disobedience outside the Prime Minister's Lodge. Anti-conscriptionist students from various States planned to converge on

the Lodge on 19 May, in what they billed as a 'Freedom Ride'. The 'Ride' sought the release of conscientious objectors Simon Townsend and Denis O'Donnell and an end to further gaolings. It also specified opposition to the National Service amendments. Four hundred students gathered outside the Lodge, with the obligatory banners and placards, but a division that was to recur within the student movement and the wider anti-war movement became immediately apparent as Melbourne University students, aligned with SDS, sought to avoid confrontation by sitting in the Prime Minister's drive-way. Monash students, however, led their supporters onto the main arterial road outside the Lodge. The police promptly and gently arrested those on the road and placed them in the Canberra lock-up. Thirty-eight of the 69 arrested were delegates to the ASLF convention, including four of the five executive members. Possibly indicating that the Melbourne student movement was more integrated into the general anti-war movement than its Sydney counterpart, the largest contingent (30 of the 69 arrested) was from Victoria. Eighteen were from Monash and eight from La Trobe. Among the La Trobe students were three whose names would be central to the development of the campus movement over the following year or two: Bob Watts, David Muller, and Grant Evans.

The 'Freedom Ride' had a profound effect on its participants and on the student movements at La Trobe and Monash. It introduced the activists from various campuses to one another and established a close Monash-La Trobe bond. But, as an exercise in civil disobedience, it had been completely co-opted by the State. Commonwealth Police Commissioner Whitrod had even invited some of the leaders, on their release, to his home for coffee and a talk. At the scene of the demonstration, the constable in charge of the police van merely held the door open and called 'Next please' as the protestors obligingly entered. With complete police co-operation, including the provision of tables and chairs, the ASLF delegates were able to re-convene their conference inside the police station. The Victorian Police Commissioner, Arnold, wasn't overly concerned that some of the students had refused to pay the Canberra fines. He glibly remarked that: 'The advent of civil disobedience won't affect us. If they want to be arrested, we will be only too happy to oblige them'. 7.

One of the Freedom Riders, Mr Boyne-Anderson, expressed the profound effect that the arrests had had on the participants when he said: 'Some of those who attended the Canberra demonstrations came

back and said they now felt violence was necessary. Students used to favour non-violence because they expected people would listen to them. But now they feel violence is the only credible alternative'. 8. Such remarks led some critics of student unrest to attribute violence on demonstrations to provocation on the part of the more militant participants. Frank Knopfelmacher, for example, argued that, '... there is direct evidence that violent clashes with the police (called 'pigs' in extremist literature) are regarded by the extreme Left as desirable educational and publicity devices and as instrumentalities of revolution'. 9. While it is true that some activists found confirmation of the Leninist theory of the state (namely, that it is based on organized force) in the occasionally violent behaviour of police, there is no evidence that the student revolutionaries provoked or instigated it. A more serious analysis suggests that police brutality was encouraged as part of government 'Law and Order' drives.

Opponents of government policy were not dealing with an apolitical, dispassionate, police force. There is considerable evidence in Victoria Police publications of a distinct and fiercely partisan mentality. Police Life, published by the Police Department, consistently supported Australia's effort in Vietnam and praised those police who were called up and did 'their stint without complaint'. 10. We need look no further than the stated opinions of senior police to appreciate that the student protestor was dealing with a force which was commanded by individuals who saw themselves as defending Western civilization. In 1967, for example, Chief Commissioner Arnold portrayed his force as defender of our very way of life. He warned: 'If there is any moral rot eating at the mode of life we call the Western civilization, the British type police forces of the world must stand firmly against it. This means us'. 11. And the Commissioner saw 'agitators especially trained to incite people to openly oppose authority' behind the developing anti-war movement'. 12. The Commissioner believed that the policeman's 'most dangerous opposition comes from people who want to change the world suddenly and dramatically'. The 'right of arrest' is 'his main weapon, to be used with all the physical force he can muster, all the determination at his command to neutralise the hostile, obstructive acts of louts, whether allegedly educated or otherwise'. 13.

One may presume that a few rank-and-file police disagreed with such an outlook, but the evidence indicates that they generally

shared their leaders' views. At any rate, dissenting voices would have been up against, not only the expressed views of their seniors, but also the group-solidarity of the force. Violence occurred on demonstrations whenever police mustered 'all their physical force' with a view to 'neutralising' the 'educated louts'. The tolerance shown by police to the Canberra 'freedom-riders' proved to be the exception to the rule. The 1968 July 4 demonstration outside the American consulate in Melbourne was a better pointer to the shape of things to come. The first '4 July' demonstration in Melbourne had occurred in 1967, when about a hundred protestors gathered outside the US Consulate for a 24-hour peace vigil. By July 1968, however, the days of silent vigils, in the eyes of an increasing number of student and other anti-war activists, were coming to an end. What was needed was a form of protest which would compel the Government to realize that its continued involvement in Vietnam was creating more problems than it was worth.

The 1968 protest set the pattern for 4 July demonstrations until 1972. Reports of 'provocation' in the form of stones being thrown at the Consulate windows were placed in wider context by the media. Apart from stressing the sensational 'pitched battles' which occurred during the 'wild city riot', and emphasizing that the 2,000 marchers were mainly 'students from Monash, Melbourne, La Trobe, RMIT, trade union representatives, and several clergymen', the media also reported the indiscriminate nature of the violent police reaction. Police horses were ridden into the crowd and the front page of 'The Australian' featured a photograph of a well-dressed woman, cowering away from a police horse, while another protestor (in suit and tie) stumbled to the ground. The Vietnam Withdrawal Campaign, which had organised the 4 July rally issued a statement noting how the events of the evening of July 4 had 'introduced a new and more militant high into the anti-war campaign and thrown into relief the serious stresses within the peace movement'. The stresses were to intensify as the young student activists became more militant and the older, long-established, peace movement leaders became more determined to avoid confrontation at all costs.

Another violent encounter occurred during the 28 October 'Vietnam Day' when a group of protestors attempted to burn an effigy outside the offices of the napalm-manufacturer, Dow Chemicals. Writing in the Vietnam Co-ordinating Committee's newsletter, Monash Labor Club leader, Albert Langer, identified 'a definite division ... between

moderates and militants'. While stressing the essentially political nature of the differences, Langer observed that the militant line had become 'completely dominant in the student movement, and also prevails amongst most younger activists'. 14. La Trobe Labor Club members had been involved in the 4 July demonstration; indeed, 14 had been arrested, 3 for 'riotous assembly'. The change of tone induced by the 4 July violence was apparent in Red Moat, which declared, 'There now exists a state of war between students and the State'. 15. Contact with Monash became closer, with Red Moat occasionally using excerpts from the Monash Labor Club publication, 'Print'. But the most important consequence was to be discerned in a GMS called to consider the SRC Executive's policy of supporting those La Trobe students who had been arrested. The GMS pitched Labor Club members squarely against the newly formed Democratic Club, in a bitterly contested argument over whether the SRC should engage in raising funds towards the legal expenses of those arrested. Bob Broadbent, Democratic Club President, had moved, 'That no group or individual in the university is entitled to financial support by the SRC in connection with arrests during the July 4 demonstrations'. 16.

The original motion passed by the SRC on 10 July, endorsing the fund-raising campaign, was also debated. It was then put to the vote, and a division called for. The division was inconclusive and so the meeting determined to put the matter to an SRC referendum. Argument leading up to the referendum politicized the campus and served the Labor Club well. During the traditional 'Moat Week' in mid-July, the Labor Club raised considerable funds through a 'Beer Stall' and also screened Felix Greene's film, 'Inside North Vietnam'. It could be said that the pre-referendum debate, in solidifying Labor Club ranks and attracting some new members, was more important than the referendum's actual decision. On 20 September, the Referendum result was announced, revealing yet another tied vote. Three hundred and sixty students had voted, making it the largest political event on the campus. Finally, the SRC President exercised his casting vote and the referendum was declared carried, in favour of the fund-raising campaign.

Within the Labor Club at this time divisions began to appear, reflecting the organization's growth. Those who had been attracted to the 'moderate' Democratic Socialist Club, such as former President Andy Rodger, now found themselves in a dramatically different milieu. Rodger left the Labor Club, because it had become imbued

with a commitment to militant activism. Two predominant factions emerged within the context of the new orientation. The differences between these were exacerbated in late September when the Club's editor issued Red Moat on behalf of 'La Trobe Communists', prominently displaying a poem: 'The sun rises in the East; a ray of hope, a Communist seed sprouts at La Trobe'. The highly sectarian edition discussed communism and social democracy, 'left adventurism' and 'right opportunism', as well as 'dialectics'. The response from the non-Communist members was predictably indignant. The next issue of Red Moat appeared on behalf of the Labor Club, featuring an outraged article by Bromley King. The Communist label was not applicable to the Club, King maintained, while arguing for a broad approach to socialism and democracy. Bromley King had been active in the Club's 'Vietnam Group'. He was typical of Club members whose involvement in politics had been inspired by the war and conscription, but who had no significant ideological origins. Thus, attracted to activities rather than ideology, anything vaguely resembling doctrine was repugnant.

Essentially, the 'Communist seed' scandal reflected the significant differences between the Maoist position and that of the New Left within the student Left. Both were New Left in the sense that they shared a basically common political culture and style, but the orthodox Leninism underpinning Maoism provided the preconditions for a political breach. The Left at La Trobe was predominantly New Left (influenced by Marcuse and other theorists), though it did not remain prevalent within the La Trobe student movement for much longer than two years. Prior to the attempt to impose a communist label, the New Left and Maoist members had coexisted as a result of broad support for the 4 July protest, a shared opposition to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and acceptance of the Maoist dictum that saw the student movement as 'part of the whole people's movement'.

Red Moat was dropped as the Club's news-sheet and early in March the following year, Bromley King, Grant Evans, Phil Moore and Bob Watts became editors of the new organ, 'Enrages'. The New Left themes of cultural counter-hegemony and sexual liberation were advocated in a way that had never occurred in Red Moat. Enrages was enormously popular, and captured the cultural style of the youth movement. It was flamboyant and flippant, tearing away at sacred cows and absolutists everywhere. However, Enrages did not cater for the Club's Maoist faction, which had become a more influential force

as a result of its recruitment of a core of first-year students: John Redenbach, Barry York and Peter Dowling. Fergus Robinson, a second-year Arts student, also endorsed the revival of Red Moat in August that year, and - under the leadership of Dave Muller - the La Trobe Communist Club was born. This meant that at the end of 1969, the La Trobe student movement comprised three autonomous organizations (with considerable overlapping memberships) and three regular Left news-sheets.

SDS had been established in May, and published a news-sheet, Wall. SDS described its character as 'anarchist, revolutionary socialist, humanist, and pacifist'. It was indeed a confused mish-mash of individuals who basically wanted a separate organization to wage the anti-conscription campaign. Eventually it was embroiled in, and took a leading role in, the particular campus issues; at least, that is, until mid-1971, by which time the pertinent student movement structures had virtually been disbanded and by-passed. SDS was held together by one of the La Trobe draft resisters, Ian MacDonald. It must be pointed out, however, that the Labor Club remained the focal-point and organizational centre of the student activists. In 1969, up to one hundred people would cram into and outside of the Glenn College seminar room in which the Club held its weekly meetings. The Maoists, SDS, and the New Left grouping accepted the Club's central strategic role. The Club was indeed 'split between communists, radicals, anarchists, and God only knows who else' in 1969; yet it was also the midwife of the La Trobe student movement. 17.

An important factor in the development of a self-conscious La Trobe student movement was La Trobe's membership of the national student union, NUAUS, in 1968. The great advantage from the La Trobe Left's point of view was not so much the resolutions condemning conscription and supporting student campaigns which were invariably carried at NUAUS councils, but the resources and facilities to which membership of the union would ensure access. A particularly important, though underrated, resource for the student Left was the NUAUS newspaper, 'National U'. In 1968 its circulation of 50,000 included the La Trobe campus. National U did more than any other single factor to achieve a sense of national student movement, even though this was never consummated. Its newspaper brought to the most isolated campuses reports of what their fellow-students elsewhere in Australia and overseas were doing. The 'Storm at Monash' was given prominence in 1967, as were the Library

'Sit-Ins' at Sydney. In 1968 and 1969, National U appeared more frequently and regularly and became a virtual encyclopedia of student unrest in Australia. Sydney's 'Free University' experiment, Queensland student protests against a ban on the collection of money on the campus, Adelaide University students' marches against electoral gerrymandering, the Canberra 'Freedom Ride', ANU student action for Aboriginal land rights and even the isolated New England campus where students took to the streets against conscription were linked via the pages of National U.

In 1969, it achieved considerable political sophistication, with polemical exchanges and analyses seeking to critically define the Australian student movement. As student unrest intensified, National U's coverage became more dramatic. The first issue for 1969, for example, featured a front page headline: '52 Arrests in Three States', while the following edition's banner reported an 'Unjustifiable Attack by Policeman' on Melbourne SDS leader, Harry Van Moorst. The report was set against a collage of photographs of student unrest from all over the world. La Trobe, like most other campuses, possessed its own SRC-funded student newspaper, 'Rabelais'. It is worth considering Rabelais' impact on the student political culture. By 1969, under the editorship of Keith Robertson and Rod Bishop, and then under David Loh and Don Watson, Rabelais elevated the standard of political debate on the campus.

The first issue had been sponsored by ICI(ANZ) and appeared in July 1967. It complained about the quality of food in Glenn College and about the inadequacies of the Library. Apart from that, the few issues to appear in 1967 were generally apolitical, with an emphasis on fun and sport. In 1968, with a grant from the SRC, Rabelais was able to go to press on nine occasions. In general, it was more political, with colleges, lack of campus spirit, conscription and Vietnam joining film and sport as themes. The Australian Universities' Editors' Conference, held in Brisbane in May 1968, may have had an impact on Rabelais, as it matured markedly after that date. The assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy received front page and editorial treatment. Reflecting the increased concern over conscription at the time of the proposed amendments, Rabelais featured articles on how not to be drafted, police assaults upon protestors and militarism. The Freedom Ride received advance publicity as well as a postmortem. A letter from Canberra gaol, signed by the La Trobe arrestees, was also published. In the latter half of 1968, Rabelais was beginning to display a New

Left 'feel', with advertisements for 'original Che Guevara posters' and similar goods. Overseas news was not given such prominence, which was surprising considering the French events of May, but opposition to the invasion of Czechoslovakia and support for the Greek students during the coup were expressed.

In 1969, the articles written by Grant Evans, as Features Editor, could only have contributed to the political awareness of the student Left and the student body in general. These ranged from analysis of ASIO to 'Wrecking the Draft'. Rabelais became filled with highly effective New Left graphics and imagery, leaving little doubt as to where it stood politically. Political sophistication, sadly absent among the student Left generally, was apparent in Rabelais' discussions of McLuhan's theories, Gramsci and revolutionary culture, a special edition on the College Concept and a 'Student Power' edition which is an important primary source for anyone studying the general period. The latter issue promoted a view of the University which was to predicate student activism on the campus over the next few years. It declared: 'The politicians and capitalists who run the university want to turn out graduates who will accept and reinforce the existing society. The students (however) are the very people who want to change society. Thus the campus provides, in effect, a focal point for major social conflicts'. 18.

In 1969, the principal external sources of student politicization again related to conscription and the 4 July demonstration. However, various internal factors such as a controversy over an 'obscene' issue of Enrages, a boycott of the Cafeteria in protest at poor quality food, a visit by Malcolm Muggeridge, a Referendum to consider a proposal for a Citizens' Military Force (CMF) regiment and a 'walk-in' of the University Council meeting in August pointed the student Left in the campus-based activist direction.

The academic year commenced with a campaign well under way concerning the arrest of two Melbourne University members, Harry Van Moorst and Diana Crunden, who had unlawfully distributed leaflets in Melbourne urging young men not to register for national service. A campaign of civil disobedience had been planned at the SDS national convention, in December 1968. On 25 January, SDS members in Victoria, New South Wales and Tasmania had distributed a pamphlet, 'Why Register for National Service?', which opened them to prosecution under section 7A(1)(a) of the Commonwealth Crimes Act. Section 7A prohibited the urging or incitement of people

not to register. Fifty-two people, mainly students, were arrested, 49 booked, and 156 charges laid. Van Moorst and Crunden, however, found themselves charged under an obscure Melbourne City Council bylaw, 418, which stipulated that 'No person shall upon any street, road or footway or other public place give out or distribute to bystanders or passers-by any handbills, placards, notices, advertisements, books, pamphlets or papers'. The bylaw had not been enforced against commercial interests, which distributed literature advertising their wares. Thus, the anti-conscription campaign widened into a campaign over freedom of expression. By April, 80 people - mainly students - were to be charged under bylaw 418 as a result of the defiant campaign to have it repealed. Many La Trobe students took part, and some were arrested.

During Orientation Week, Enrages had devoted itself to the anti-bylaw cause. The Labor Club had organised a car cavalcade to transport students into a major demonstration on 25 March. A notable feature of the cavalcade was the large proportion of first-year students who attended, knowing they would probably be arrested. One thousand people, mainly students from Melbourne, Monash and La Trobe, participated in civil disobedience on the 25th, resulting in so many arrests that police had to rely on a Melbourne City Council truck to haul the violators away. 19. Students had initiated the campaign and been the principal victims of the bylaw. Their eventual success was a tremendous morale-booster and evidence of their ability to bring about change through united extra-legal action.

Factors providing for student activism were by no means only external; indeed, the factors located within the campus were more important in terms of creating a sense of student identity and movement. The leading activists were aware of their dual responsibilities: to the anti-war movement outside the campuses and to the student groups within them. Thus, while the first issue of Enrages for 1969 dealt with the bylaw 418 campaign, the second was concerned with 'big business on campus'; specifically, the private caterers, Nationwide Food Services Ltd. The demand for a University-run catering system to replace Nationwide prompted a campaign which persisted in various forms until July. Complaints about food are endemic to universities and prisons alike. In 1969 the SRC advocated the termination of Nationwide's contract because it had received 'many serious complaints about the quantity and quality of the food'. 20. Such was the extent of student concern that one

lunchtime in late March, 400 out of 484 diners signed a petition of complaint. 21. Guided by the assumption that you can reach the mind via the stomach, the Labor Club resolved to do something about it. Basically, it sought to use the fact that catering was monopolized by a private company to draw a link between big business and the university, and to link poor quality expensive food to the profit motive of Nationwide. The campaign against Nationwide was also used to promote the push for a student Union building against the college system which had hired Nationwide in the first place.

The Labor Club earned considerable kudos as a result of its efforts on behalf of the student diet, and it seemed obvious that 'food' would be the explosive campus issue in 1969 as 'parking facilities' had been earlier at Monash. The detonation was never triggered, however, and in September the University announced that a joint-college catering service would replace the commercial firm at the end of the year. The Labor Club was seen by many to have been a more reliable and effective force than the SRC, which had not supported militant tactics. Indeed, the first large student protest on the campus had been initiated by the Labor Club's 'catering committee' in the form of a boycott of the Dining Hall. Hundreds gathered at lunchtime, with their home-made sandwiches, to watch and jeer the ten or so who defied the boycott. With the Nationwide issue resolved, the Club immediately tried to develop the wider demand for an end to private enterprise on the campus, specifically the Cheshire Bookshop and Plaka Coffee Shop in the Agora. Despite some minor protest activity, students as a whole proved to be more interested in 'better food' than in 'campus socialism'.

The campaign against Nationwide enabled students to experience the direct exercise of their own collective power; just as they had done during the bylaw 418 struggle. But whereas the latter had involved students as participants in a wider social movement, the former had been specifically a La Trobe activity. Nothing like it had happened on the campus before. A 'rebellious' campaign, set against an increasingly militant anti-war movement and the advent of draft resistance outside the campus, cultivated a 'rebellious' spirit. While student protest was limited to a minority of the total student body, it nonetheless was becoming acceptable, par for the course, and determining the student milieu. Spontaneous and natural naughtiness had, of course, been around since the Melbourne University 'Commem' parades of the 1870's. But never before had it so inextricably complemented the spirit of political rebellion. An

address by the distinguished Englishman, Malcolm Muggeridge, on the evening of 16 July, testified to the compatibility of 'youth unruliness' and New Left politics.

As guest of the La Trobe Staff Association, Muggeridge addressed a packed Glenn Dining Hall on the topic of 'What I Hate About Universities'. Chaired by Barry Jones, the evening included a panel discussion which featured Albert Langer and one of the La Trobe draft resisters, Rod Bishop. Muggeridge's religious faith, the assertion of obedience to a supreme authority, coupled with his aristocratic Oxbridge style and opposition to the new permissiveness, provoked juvenile interjections and giggles from the audience. The effect of such disrespect on Muggeridge was devastating. Tears trickled down the esteemed gentleman's cheeks as the derision persisted. At the evening's conclusion, he declared: 'I have never addressed a meeting like this anywhere in the world. I do not wish to be thanked by this audience ... All I can say is that if you are the product of Australian university education, then I feel really sorry for you'. Boos and jeers rained upon him as he continued: 'In all my life, I have never been in such a hopeless collection of young people'. 22.

The Muggeridge incident placed La Trobe on the radical map; but more importantly it contributed to a sense of campus identity. The old man had not just attacked the student Left, but all those who were questioning, or estranged from, the customs of his generation. And that happened to be most La Trobe students. It was significant that only the Democratic Club expressed disappointment from within the student body. 23.

Muggeridge's greatest 'sin' was not that he said anything especially reactionary in any blatant political sense, but that he sought to defend the cultural hegemony of his class and his generation. Society's conventions and norms were, in important respects such as sexual behaviour, being turned upside down; and it was the young, the 'Baby Boomers', who were doing the turning. Moreover, they had heard Muggeridge's message before, time and again in fact, from parents, ministers and schoolmasters. And, as university students, they were aware of the rather drastic lengths to which the state had been prepared to go in order to preserve the traditional attitudes. Books, magazines, even plays, had been banned, and distributors and actors arrested. Even the student press, with its exclusive on-campus circulation, had felt the sting of censorship. In 1966,

'Farrago' editor, Ian Robinson, had been arrested for distributing an 'obscene' issue.

The censorship of ideas and publications has traditionally been repugnant to intellectuals and so it was not surprising that the Labor Club would receive broad support, as well as notoriety, when its Editor, Bob Watts, was arrested for publishing an 'obscene' edition of *Enrages*. Watts had dedicated a special issue to 'all those who think that the sex act is not something to be locked up behind the doors of Customs'. An illustration of an erect penis, from the banned manual 'The ABZ of Love', was republished. A hint of police action appeared in the Democratic Club publication, 'Liberty', which argued that the *Enrages* article had displayed 'a sufficiently obsessive preoccupation with adolescent eroticism to qualify as criminally obscene ...' 24. The Labor Club, however, was satisfied that a healthy consequence had been provoked: 'For possibly the very first time some of the students on campus actually read a university publication and were actually driven to reaction, and driven to start consciously arguing'. 25.

Opposition to censorship and changes in sexual norms were regarded by the New Left as potential challenges to the ideological underpinnings of capitalism. *Enrages*, for example, argued that: 'It (sexual liberation) can provide an atmosphere of moral freedom and openness in other spheres; e.g., increased equality in economic and political activities; reduction of authority in family life may be associated with demands for reduced authoritarianism in social structures'. 26. As a mobilizing tactic, it had failed. Indeed, while the general campus mood favoured the Club's right to publish such material, divisions within the Club were sharpened when the Maoist faction announced that it did not support such methods. Watts was convicted and fined in Heidelberg Court in August. The absurdity of the law, however, was revealed to all when First Constable Richard Abraham assumed the status of literary critic and informed the magistrate that the 'four-letter nouns and seven-letter adjectives' were 'not necessary at all'. 27.

By August 1969, Labor Club ranks had expanded due in large part to the new students that year - and the Club had developed a core of reasonably experienced leaders. Many, perhaps a dozen, had been arrested during demonstrations; and perhaps a larger number had directly tasted the police brutality they condemned. Ten had publicly not complied with national service, and were under threat of

imprisonment; a greater number (presumably) were preparing conscientious objection cases. SDS had emerged as a significant campus force, mainly due to its anti-conscription committee. The Labor Club's 'Communist seed' scandal continued to make its presence felt, not only in the propaganda of the Democratic Club, which cleverly exploited it, but also in the continuing antagonism between New Left and Maoist members.

The SDS group was very active, discussing tactics, organizing protest action and arranging forums on the campus. Among the more sensational campus activities was a 'draft card burning' in early July and a 'Fill-in-a-Falsie' campaign, which saw more than a hundred national service registration forms filled out on behalf of non-existent young men. SDS's finest hour, however, came later in July when a GMS not only condemned conscription but endorsed an SDS motion declaring the campus a sanctuary for conscientious objectors and non-compliers. 28. The mover, Ian MacDonald, argued that moral support alone was not enough and that students and the SRC should be prepared to provide food and accommodation to draft resisters. SDS had petitioned the SRC to call the GMS and had established its ability to 'win the day' without reliance on SRC initiatives.

While SDS had made conscription a central campus issue, others in the student Left, particularly in the Labor Club, sought to develop an understanding of the University's place in the whole militaristic scheme-of-things. The conflict that had nearly transpired in 1968 when the Administration had been requested not to include student ages on enrolment forms seemed imminent when, in June 1969, the student Left commenced a campaign to ensure that no unit of the Citizens' Military Force (CMF) would be established on the campus. Army authorities had, since 1965, sought a campus site for a University Regiment. With the Vietnam war raging, and Australia's casualty rate at a record high (274 dead and 1,269 wounded), the idea of a University Regiment in 1969 assumed an extraordinary significance. Again, an SRC Referendum was held to determine student opinion and, again, the events leading up to the Referendum (the argument, leafletting, organizing, etc.) served the student Left well. The SRC published a brochure of argument, for and against, which indicated how the Left perceived the proposed Regiment in terms of militarism and the role of the university, while supporters of the unit sought to divorce it from any wider considerations.

Labor Club activists, Fran Barker and Bob Watts, argued that: 'if a group of young men desire to dress up in uniforms, drill and learn to become soldiers, then that group's freedom to do so should be respected. However, if in doing so this campus allows an outside organization - which is both authoritarian and is opposed to the values of liberty and humanism - on to this campus, this university has become a pawn of the military complex ... The army is ... devoted to the idea that might is right. The university ideally is democratic, egalitarian and devoted to the idea that Right is might. Let us not destroy the potentialities of this university before they are even given a chance'. 29. Barry Hicks, for the Regiment, asserted to the contrary: 'The decision you have to make is not whether the army is morally wrong, or whether you agree or disagree with the war in Vietnam, but the decision is whether you will allow freedom of choice to prevail on this campus'. Enrages facetiously urged students to vote for the Regiment so that a 'Revolutionary Students Militia' could be established. Parodying the pro-CMF argument, it stated that: 'This referendum involves more than the decision as to whether you support a University Regiment or a Guerilla Training Militia - it involves our basic freedom to kill'.

The Referendum took place from 23-25 July and resulted in a significant victory for the Left. Three hundred and ninety-two had voted against the Regiment; 243 for it. The student Left had provoked an issue that mobilized, albeit in a limited personalized way, the largest number of students since the 1968 '4 July' Referendum. In 1968, approximately 35 percent of the students had voted. In 1969, approximately 33 percent had participated, but the student population had doubled. In other words, the Left was not being swamped by the influx of new students but was accommodating them. The numbers on which it could rely had more than doubled in the space of a year.

The ball was now squarely, and for the first time, in the University Council's court. SRC President Reid wrote to the Vice Chancellor on 6 August requesting that councillors discuss the referendum result at their 18 August meeting. Having successfully instigated campus campaigns against conscription, against the CMF, and against Nationwide, and having participated in all the major demonstrations off the campus, the militant core of the three student Left clubs sought to develop their common critique of the University's social role by enhancing it with an activist dimension. The Council meeting scheduled for the 18th provided an ideal venue, especially as it was

considering two matters of fundamental relevance to 'student power': the CMF referendum, and the feasibility of admitting observers to Council meetings. In early August, SDS and the Communist Club declared their intention to 'observe' the Council meeting, in accord with the request of the SRC for such general rights.

August 18 was an unfortunate date, and suggested a degree of tactical ineptitude on the part of the Left, as it fell during the Term vacation, when pigeons nesting in the Social Science eaves were the noisiest thing on campus. The action could only be limited to a small number, presumably the most determined and hardcore activists. Furthermore, while the SRC had formally called for observers to be admitted to Council meetings, there was no legitimization of the decision to 'walk-in'; apart from the fact that the 'invaders' were committed to it. The student Left was to learn its lesson. In future, all protest actions on the campus were to be put to general meetings of students beforehand.

The 'Monday that shook the world', as Rabelais described it saw 17 students brazenly enter the Council chamber in Glenn College to demand rights of observation. The meeting was adjourned, after the students refused to leave and after their names had been taken. The Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) student newspaper, Catalyst, reprinted Liberty's condemnatory report under the heading 'La Trobe University Council Meeting ... Raped'. 30. It was one thing for the militant minority to agitate about conscription or Nationwide, but a completely different and more threatening matter for them to directly challenge and disrupt the supreme governing authority of the university.

The four days after the walk-in were 'the most critical days of La Trobe's short history ... the University nearly embarked on a course that would have produced the greatest display of militant student power seen on any university campus in Australia'. 31. That course took the form of a recommendation from some professors that the 17 protestors should be excluded from the University. The Vice Chancellor, having visited university trouble-spots throughout Europe and America earlier in the year, knew that such an extreme penalty would rally the moderates behind the militants and would probably arouse some staff opposition as well. Thus, Dr Myers persisted with his own course, designed to defuse the situation whilst at the same time making it clear that future violations would not be treated so tolerantly. The penalty, a severe reprimand, was

interpreted as a sign of weakness by the Democratic Club and student Left alike. 'All reactionaries are paper tigers!' declared Grant Evans and Phil Moore in Enrages.

While it was argued later by some opponents of the student movement that Dr Myers' failure to have taken firmer action was responsible for the far more serious disruptions of 1970-72, there can be no doubt that he succeeded in defusing a potentially explosive situation. Term Three was quiet on the campus; though the mood had dramatically shifted from its 1968 passivity and disinterest. The 'observers' issue eventually faded away. More important matters forced themselves upon the politically active student groups. The Council decided to increase the number of student representatives rather than provide for observers and to improve methods of transmitting information to the student body.

By 1970, La Trobe student activists were not only more numerous but wiser and more experienced. A leading core had been 'steeped' as a result of various activities on and off the campus. The necessary structures to facilitate a student movement existed in the form of the Labor Club and SDS. And the demarcation between the SRC, as the 'right channel' for student dissent, and the student Left, was clearer than ever. Labor Club membership had increased to 150, or approximately eight percent of the student body. A dynamic had been set in motion which, unwittingly aided by those who sought to dissipate it, could only persist until conscription for the Vietnam war was ended and reforms to the university implemented. In short, the period 1967-69 at La Trobe confirmed Allan Barcan's assessment of an earlier student activist generation. The campus activist culture always comprises a minority of the overall university population but it constitutes 'a creative minority, whose importance is out of proportion to its numbers'. 32.

CHAPTER EIGHT: 1970: YEAR ONE OF THE 'LA TROBE REVOLUTION'

If the period 1967-69 marked the growth of an activist embryo, then the birth came in 1970. Indeed, the key participants in the student movement from 1970-72 received their political awakening in 1970. It is almost possible to speak of two distinct student activist generations, as the second generation - represented by Brian Pola, Rod Taylor, Tom Brennan, Ian Coulter, Barry York, Peter Dowling, John Redenbach, Sharon Conroy, Peter Cochrane, Robert Bennetts, Margaret Grant and others - had enrolled in 1969 or 1970. The overlap between the two, however, was crucial, with David Muller, Grant Evans, Demos Krousos, Ian MacDonald and Rob Mathews constituting the continuing link.

There was also tremendous development of the campus itself. Between 1970 and 1972, the student population increased from 2,519 to 4,302. Extensions to Glenn and Menzies Colleges, Chisholm College, new flats in Waterdale Road, an Agora Theatre, an Agriculture building, a new Administration building (the South Building), and extensions to the Physics building and the Agora meant that La Trobe was becoming larger and therefore more impersonal. Glenn College Dining Hall was now but one of four venues for large general meetings; the others being the Agora, the Moat Lawns, and Menzies Lounge.

The extension of student accommodation by the University, at a time when students were facing a serious housing shortage, facilitated the development of 'Left centres': that is, the sharing of a house, or flat, by like-minded student radicals. Almost a quarter of La Trobe students in 1970 rented houses or flats and 400 lived on campus. The particular 'Left' household would also enjoy a degree of social activism, thus providing for the broadening of Left influence. It wasn't until 1970 that such a 'centre' emerged at La Trobe, its composition and location changing with the frequent movements of the various inhabitants.

Student unrest in Australia died down by late 1971, but there were important rebellions in 1970 and 1971. These undoubtedly influenced La Trobe. In March 1970, for example, Sydney University students occupied their Administration building over the

issue of admission policies. Within a fortnight the Sydney University Senate was urging the Professorial Board to consider an alternative to matriculation as the only admission criterion. 'Student power' was seen to work here, as well as overseas. Melbourne University also experienced some disturbance as a result of the exclusion from a Science course of Albert Langer. Regulation 3.3.18, pertaining to an applicant's 'good name and character', was used against him. An anti-3.3.18 campaign gave rise to unprecedented student action. Disciplinary procedures against some of the Melbourne dissidents aroused additional protests. In September, Queensland University completed the eastern seaboard's portrait when students occupied the campus CMF building, transforming it into an anti-imperialist centre. Two days later, on 4 September, police were called to protect a South Vietnamese Consular official, Mr Quang, from demonstrators. Monash was also undergoing considerable turbulence as a result of the expulsion of students who had protested against the American company, Honeywell, which was one of the Pentagon's main war contractors. In September, an occupation effectively brought the administrative side of Monash University to a halt. The following year, Monash and Queensland remained focal points of student dissent. Reports of such events continued in 'National U' until the end of Term 1, 1972, by which time there was little to report.

'Rabelais', the La Trobe SRC's newspaper, was very important to the student Left when, in April 1970, Grant Evans was appointed editor. Fiercely New Leftist in bias and style, Rabelais promoted the central political issues of the day. The quality of articles was very high. It supported militant trends, giving abundant publicity to the 4 July demonstration and the Monash troubles. Reports of overseas developments continued to be stressed as did the published works of New Left theorists such as Marcuse and Althusser. The new tone was epitomized in issue number 5, which featured on its cover a Parisian student hurling a tear gas canister back to the gendarmery.

While the student Left, on the whole, was served by Rabelais during 1970, it also had developed its own impressive array of news-sheets. 'Red Moat' continued to provide Maoist analyses, as organ of the La Trobe Communists until 1972, when it appeared on behalf of the La Trobe Worker-Student Alliance. 'Enrages' continued until 1971, when the Labor Club was bypassed by the student movement. 'Probe', published on behalf of the Postgraduates Association in 1969, played an important role in 1970 and 1971, by which time

it had become the news-sheet of the La Trobe Research Workers' Union. Under the editorship of Dave Muller and, later, Chris Starrs, Probe provided detailed analyses of the composition of the University Council and its role, as well as providing detailed reports of Council meetings, presumably through Starrs's position as postgraduate representative. The formation of a Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) branch witnessed another news-sheet: 'Black Barb', which gradually moved from the 'participatory democracy' line of American SDS toward a more Marxist analysis, not fundamentally antagonistic to that of the Maoist position. Black Barb vanished in mid-1971, but resurfaced infrequently as 'Red Ned' later that year and, in 1972, when it was published for 'SDS (Anarcho-Marxist)'.

1970 also saw the birth of an anarchist organization, with its own news-sheet: 'Libertarian Revolution'. Andrew Giles-Peters was a leading personality behind the publication, which was extremely critical of Maoist tactics and analyses of power within the University. In 1971, the Anarchist group would spawn another leaflet, 'Flowering Rifle', which was rather less theoretical in approach. 'Red Atom', published by the 'Science Study Group' was a crude and abstract attempt at Marxist-Leninist interpretations, under the editorship of Muller. Its successor, 'Fire', published by 'Science Action' in 1972, and headed by Julian Shaw, was an essential link between the student movement, which tended to be Arts-based, and the Science students. Various independent news-sheets were also circulated on the campus, many published by off-campus bodies, such as the Moratorium Campaign, as well as ultra-Right organisations such as 'Citizens for Democracy'. The campus conservatives, the Democratic Club and the Moderate Student Alliance, maintained two regular news-sheets 'Liberty' and 'Moot Point' throughout 1970, 1971 and 1972.

The extent of campus politicization was also revealed in the SRC elections. In mid-1970, 41 of the 65 candidates were overtly political and mainly left-wing. The times had certainly changed since two years earlier when there had been only one political candidate. However, perhaps the best manifestation of the proliferation of radical student activists was the increase in liberal humanist and/or socialist-communist organizations. The following list indicates the pattern of growth of 'political' clubs and societies on the campus from 1967 to 1972: In 1967, out of a total of 20 clubs and societies, only two were political, the Liberal Club and the

Socialist Club. The following year, out of 24 clubs and societies, three were overtly political (the Liberal Club, the Democratic Club and the Democratic Socialist Club) but there were four new clubs which tended to identify with the Left (i.e., Community Aid Abroad, the Conservation Society, the Student Christian Movement and the pro-Aboriginal ABSCHOL group). In 1969, the total number of clubs and societies was 32, of which four were political (Democratic Club, Labor Club, Communist Club and SDS), and nine tended to identify with the Left (i.e., in addition to the 4 in 1968, there was now an Ecological Society, a Postgraduate Association, a China Society, and branches of Amnesty International and Social Involvement). In 1970, three more Left-oriented clubs came into being: the Strawberry Collective, the Anarchist Club and the Education Society. It is worth noting that the total number of clubs and societies had doubled within three years. In 1971, the total number of clubs and societies reached 44, with the student Right establishing a Moderate Student Alliance and the Left adding to its ranks an Association of Sociology Scholars. In 1972, the total number was 45, with the Worker-Student Alliance, the Draft Resisters' Union and 'The Commune' representing new formations on the campus.

The apolitical student could not escape the radical or 'revolutionary' political culture dominating the campus. That the student political milieu was 'to the Left' was revealed in the conceptual frames of conservative students who, by 1971, were obliged to flirt with 'Left' rhetoric. Chris Curtis, for example, declared 'most emphatically' that he 'did not reject Marxism' but was 'more against the activities of some student groups than against Marxism'. 1. It was certainly not 'in' to oppose Marxism at La Trobe in 1971. And the Christian Union, noting the changing campus atmosphere, advised that: 'You'll see very few peace symbols around La Trobe any more. The solution to the problems of US imperialism, apartheid, women's liberation, etc., is the clenched fist ... A thousand people sticking their fingers in the air and smiling has no effect whatever on ICI's bullet production'. 2

Coinciding with campus political events was the regular and concerted participation of student activists in the wider anti-war movement. The Labor Club and SDS were the main vehicles for student anti-war activity. Opposition to the war in Vietnam resulted in the most significant campus protests of 1970 - action against Defence Department recruiters in June and demonstrations along

Waterdale Road in September - as well as a one-week strike in June the following year. The war also underlined the widespread opposition to Sir Archibald Glenn and his corporation.

The principal link between the war and the student body was, as stated earlier, conscription. 1970 marked a new phase in the anti-conscription movement, a period characterized by active resistance rather than personal conscientious objection in the courts. By late 1970, approximately 1,500 young men had not complied with the National Service Act, but by 22 September the release of Brian Ross meant that none were serving sentences. There were other indicators of a decline in the anti-conscription movement: the Australian government had made clear its rejection of any commitment to the invasion of Cambodia and Prime Minister Gorton had stated that there would be no replacement of Australian troops withdrawn from Vietnam. And on 16 December 1969, he had announced his intention to eventually withdraw all our troops, in line with America's phased withdrawals.

Conscription could have died as an issue, but it was kept kicking by Attorney-General Hughes's decision to crack down on draft dodgers. In September 1970, the Department of Labor and National Service began its 'law and order' drive by issuing 50 summonses against carefully-selected non-compliers. Four La Trobe students - Ian MacDonald, Shane Breen, David Loh and Rod Bishop - were victims, receiving notices to attend medical examinations. The crackdown rejuvenated a movement that was directionless, even if successful. It created a new generation of anti-conscriptionists and many new 'martyrs'. Moreover, it unleashed a new spirit of militancy epitomized by the co-ordinated public defiance of five non-compliers, Michael Hamel-Green, Paul Fox, Tony Dalton, John Scott and Michael Matteson. Conscription was no longer abhorrent simply because it intruded into personal liberty, but also because it was seen as an instrument in 'aggressive wars created by the American drive to crush rebellion against impoverishment, injustice and foreign exploitation in the underdeveloped countries'. 3.

As far as mobilization of large numbers was concerned, the highpoints of the anti-war movement were undoubtedly the Moratoriums of 8 May and 18 September 1970 and 30 June 1971. These profoundly affected the La Trobe student movement. Firstly, they united the student Left and developed its skills of leadership, as the task of mobilizing the University fell on the Left's shoulders.

Secondly, the Moratoriums' numerical success, coupled with their apparent lack of political consequence, reinforced the militant line which emphasized the need for an anti-imperialist perspective and a rejection of Labor Party leadership. Thirdly, the Moratoriums boosted the morale of the student revolutionaries as much as everyone else. The mobilization of such numbers - estimated as up to 100,000 on 8 May - when viewed in the context of the conservative Right's warnings of 'preludes to revolution', created the illusion that the grand Australian revolution was indeed in sight.

The lead-up to the first Moratorium culminated in an SRC General Meeting of Students (GMS) outside Glenn College in April. The meeting was significant in two respects. Firstly, it had attracted 700 students and represented the first occasion when La Trobe people were being asked to support, rather than respond after, an event. In other words, the meeting was an act of mobilization. Secondly, the meeting represented the 'retirement' from student politics of the first generation of La Trobe student leaders, and the introduction of newcomers. Terry Moran and Bob Broadbent opposed the resolution to support the 8 May Moratorium while Alan Watson and Paul Reid supported it. But speakers also approached the chair from the floor, and among them were the future student movement leaders. Finally, by vast majority, the Right suffered its most significant defeat. The GMS voted to 'support the aims and ideals of the Moratorium'. The most threatening aspect of the resolution from the Right's point of view, was the decision to sponsor the Moratorium out of SRC funds. 4. The question of the use of SRC funds would result in the 'explosion' of 1972.

Despite the prediction of the Democratic Club that 'the Moratorium is very likely to be a failure', the 8 May gathering was an historic success. 5. According to Henry's survey, more than a third of La Trobe students participated. 6. Staff support was also very strong, with 149 La Trobe academics declaring in Rabelais that on 8 May they would 'not be available for lectures, tutorials, or consultations with students, or general university duties'. 7. Rabelais and National U had supported the Moratorium, the latter publishing a 'Why Moratorium?' edition. A special combined edition of Rabelais, Lot's Wife and Farrago was also issued. The student Left's response to 8 May was summed up by Red Moat: 'The Moratorium is over. The Vietnam War goes on. Opposition to the war must continue. The people brought into the political process must not be allowed to leave... Rallies, propaganda, and opposition in any form to the War

must continue in the factories, schools, universities, etc.' 8. The Moratorium further enhanced the general anti-militarist ethos on the campus and paved the way for the new level of student Left leadership to directly confront Defence Department recruiters who visited the university's careers and appointments' service in June. The consequences of the confrontation were to be described by the Democratic Club as 'the most serious disorder yet to occur on the campus of any Australian university'. 9.

Defence Department officers had been invited as part of the University's Employer Interview Programme. A GMS on the same day (Tuesday, 16 June), drew attention to their presence and determined to escort them from the premises. Accounts of what actually happened vary. But there are common features in both the Vice Chancellor's account and that of Ian Robinson, whose report featured on the front of National U. 10. Basically, more than 70 students marched from the general meeting to the careers office, where they informed an irate careers advisor, John Waterhouse, of the meeting's decision. Waterhouse promptly contacted the Registrar and then informed the protestors that the Defence Department representatives would be leaving immediately. The students argued that they sought to accompany them from the campus. A 'compromise' was worked out, whereby a delegation of four would accompany Waterhouse and the representatives (who were safely hidden in the University bookshop) to their car. A much larger group of students followed from a distance, and the recruiters' Mercedes was scratched as it drove off.

Mr Waterhouse provided the Vice Chancellor with a written statement and, on 18 June, Dr Myers decided to arrange for his summary powers of jurisdiction to be exercised. For some reason, the 65 students who had signed a statement admitting their role in the protest were not charged; it seemed that the perceived leaders were the target. On Thursday night, the 18th, telegrams were sent to seven students, notifying them to appear before the Registrar at 11.00 the next morning. Those who received the telegrams did so, only to discover that they had been charged on specific counts (disobeying a reasonable direction; acting recklessly; and damaging the University's good repute) and that they had to answer the charges at 2.15 that day. Word spread rapidly and impromptu notices appeared advertising a general meeting for 1.00 in Menzies Lounge. The SRC Constitution required three days' notice before a GMS could be held. The 19 June meeting thus marked the beginning of the

process whereby the student Left would operate outside of the official structures.

The meeting commenced with a mere handful present, but the numbers soon swelled to 300. Those charged told their story, and requests for a brief postponement of the hearings, collective hearings and open hearings, were endorsed by the gathering. Debate ensued as to courses of action, and a resolution calling for the requests to be presented to the Vice Chancellor, and threatening an occupation of the Administration building, was carried by 158 to 118 votes. A couple of hundred marched to the building, only to find the doors locked and guarded by campus security officers. The Vice Chancellor agreed to receive the chairman of the unofficial general meeting and there was some hope when Demos Krousos entered the building. His prompt return, however, with the news that the requests had been rejected in toto, changed the good-humoured mood of the crowd. An attempt to force entry resulted in a much-publicized broken glass panel.

Only one of the seven had actually been prepared to appear before the Vice Chancellor, and was acquitted. Hearings against the remaining six proceeded in their absence, and all were excluded from the University. The four Labor Club members received the heaviest penalties - exclusion until March 1971. While the injustice of the penalties united and mobilized the broad student Left, the smashing of the glass door was remarkably controversial, and served to unite and mobilize those on the Right. A polarization occurred, which would recur well into 1972. Six hundred and fifty students signed a petition deploring the 'militant minority' and supporting disciplinary action against them.

Subsequent events, however, suggested that student support was more behind those who had been penalized. More than half the University - 1,400 students - attended a GMS on 25 June and, by overwhelming majority, established the fact that the La Trobe Left could now rely on large-scale support in any confrontation with campus authority. The resolutions endorsed by the meeting condemned the Administration for its inept and provocative reaction to the events of Tuesday and Friday' and: '1. For its failure to take any effective notice of the recommendations of the SRC that no disciplinary action be taken over the events of Tuesday, 2. For its haste in instituting disciplinary proceedings before any attempt had been made to ascertain the actual events of Tuesday, 3. For its

provocative action in locking the doors of the Administration Building and instructing security guards to prevent entry of students to the Administration Building from 10 a.m. on Friday, 4. For failing to give any reasonable consideration to the demands of the student meeting on Friday'. 11. Moreover, the Vice Chancellor was personally isolated, having suffered a humiliating vote of no-confidence over his handling of the hearings at a general meeting on Tuesday 23rd. The meeting had been unofficial, but Dr Myers had made a wise political decision in seeking permission to address it. His words fell on deaf ears, however, as he essentially sought to justify rather than discuss his actions.

The following evening, confronted with the prospect of further and more widespread militant action arising from the GMS scheduled for the 25th, Dr Myers wrote to the SRC President informing him that a committee would be set up to re-examine the previous week's events. The committee would comprise a legally-qualified chairman, who would be nominated by the two committee members - Professor Brian Ellis and Reg Henry. There was no doubt in anyone's mind that this was the Vice Chancellor's way out; his method backing down without being seen to be backing down. And that is precisely what happened. The special committee met on 1 July to consider its terms-of-reference. Legal doubts were raised, however, as to the powers of the Vice Chancellor to establish such a committee in the first place. 'In these unusual circumstances', Dr Myers decided, 'I am faced with a most difficult task ... justice should not only be done ... but also manifestly be seen to be done ...' 12. Thus, on 3 July came the announcement that 'the charges are withdrawn and the penalties imposed are remitted. No further hearings or proceedings in respect to these charges will take place and the exclusion of those students is cancelled'. The Vice Chancellor had wiped the slate clean, but a student movement had been unleashed which challenged not only the discipline statute but the very role of the University.

The use of the Careers and Appointments Scheme by the Defence Department had revived the issue of the University's relationship with the military, but far more starkly than had the CMF conflict the previous year. The June events did not only create a base of support for the student Left and establish it with credible and capable leaders (such as Ian MacDonald, Fergus Robinson and Grant Evans), they also placed the social function of the University in a more central position in campus debates. The desire to transform the University into an institution that 'serves the people, not

capitalism' became a strategic objective. A student movement, rather than just a popular student Left, was thus developing.

It may be too crude to identify a specific date on which a student movement might be said to have been born, but at La Trobe the widespread acceptance of the student Left's strategy was recorded for the first time on 2 July when, after considerable debate, a GMS declared that: 'This University must not give uncritical co-operation to all actions of Australian society and asserts that this University must give rigorous scrutiny to proposals to use University facilities ... That the criteria for such scrutiny should be the promotion of: (i) social justice (ii) equality of economic opportunity (iii) the equitable distribution of the resources of Australia (iv) the restoration of each individual of the powers to make and carry out all decisions affecting his own life'. 13. It was a movement born with vigour and enthusiasm. Defence recruiters did not return to the campus, and in late 1971 Mr Waterhouse formally cancelled the entire Employer Interview Programme because of 'the risks of serious disruption' and 'the growing feeling amongst a large number of moderate students of the undesirability of University facilities being used by employers in this way'. 14.

Student protest action, even when (or perhaps especially when) initiated and conducted outside the official channels, proved capable of forcing Authority's hand. How the student movement would fare in direct conflict with the University Council remained to be seen, but it was obvious during June 1970 that the movement was heading in that direction. Among the many leaflets to attack the Council was one issued by a non-aligned participant in the occupation. It summed up the Left perspective well: '... the governing body of this university - the Council - is made up of leading industrialists and military men... Industry, commerce, and the military make up the economic and physical power base of this society, and through the Council see that the university produces the required economists, sociologists and applied-scientists, etc.' 15.

The Vice Chancellor's announcement of an 'amnesty' effectively ended any further campus struggle and coincided with Labor Club and SDS mobilization for the 4 July demonstrations in Melbourne. In 1970, two demonstrations were organized - one on 3 July - as a result of the leadership struggle being waged between the Communist Party of Australia and the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) (CPA(ML)). The La Trobe student Left participated in both marches,

but the Maoist influence ensured that considerable attention was given to the 3 July march. At this stage the Maoist faction in the Labor Club was small and uninfluential as a separate group. The Maoists' rise would, however, be spectacular and complete. And to understand the process it is necessary to look to the second Moratorium, and a promotional demonstration organized by the Labor Club in September. The momentum of the June struggle had, as far as the growing militant students were concerned, carried over into the 4 July demonstrations. The second Moratorium, scheduled for 18 September, offered the militants a way of sustaining the anti-war momentum on the campus and injecting it with greater anti-imperialist content.

While the student Left was generally united in its desire to see the second Moratorium adopt a more specific anti-American and pro-NLF stance, it was becoming increasingly divided over campus strategy and the conduct of street demonstrations. The shattered door of the June occupation in a sense summed up the difference within the Left between those who were willing (or more than willing) to respond to provocation in like manner and those who sought to avoid broken glass at all cost. Following the June events and during the controversy immediately preceding the 4 July demonstrations, the division at La Trobe was basically between Grant Evans and his New Left supporters and the Maoists. While the former had the numbers, the latter had the determination. Within the Labor Club, the Maoists pushed for an 'Anti-Imperialist Week' as a prelude to the second Moratorium. The Week would comprise various speakers, including Ted Hill, the chairman of the CPA(ML), and would culminate in a protest march from the University along Waterdale Road to Ivanhoe Shopping Centre. That was the proposal, at any rate, and the Club was far from united behind it. The lukewarm response reflected the internal divisions of the anti-war movement, in which the struggle for leadership was becoming more important than the effectiveness of the movement itself. The Maoists sought further endorsement from the student body, in the form of a GMS. On 7 September, some 200 students voted for the proposal, but as these included many anti-Maoist Labor Club personalities, the official endorsement did not necessarily imply large attendance. Two days later, however, an incident occurred which threw the proposal onto centre-stage. A group of students, who had been painting slogans on the walls of buildings in the West Heidelberg area next to the campus, were arrested, assaulted, and at one point, shot at by security guards. The use of guns by those in authority reverberated throughout the

student body, as the echoes of Kent State a few months earlier were revived. The Anti-Imperialist Week commenced the following day, and was thus assured of widespread participation. Everyone wanted to know what had happened, and of course wanted to express their concern.

The Waterdale Road demonstration, scheduled for Friday 11th, was constantly advertised during the first day of the Anti-Imperialist Week (10 September) and now seemed very likely of success. The Maoists' rivals within the Club, however, sought to distract attention from the march and organized an anti-war movie, which meant that at least a hundred potential marchers would be watching a film at the time the demonstration had to assemble. The tactic was effective, and only 70 or so students gathered in Menzies Lounge on Friday afternoon to begin the procession. On the other hand, the Maoists were seen to be the sole organizers. They were seen as an independent force, capable of organizing their own events outside of the Labor Club. The refusal of the Evans group to actively support the demonstration marked its end as a central force and paved the way for the Maoist ascendancy.

The demonstration was the turning-point in the development of the La Trobe student movement, not only because it would enable a Maoist hegemony, but more importantly because it would eventually result in the rank-and-file of the student Left actively supporting that hegemony. And, it would result in a greatly expanded base of support for the student Left in general. The 11 September demonstration fell short of its objective of marching along Waterdale Road to Ivanhoe to distribute anti-war and pro-Moratorium literature. In fact, it had not marched more than a block or two before police moved in to disperse it. Plain-clothed 'special branch' detectives took a leading part in the police action, and police cars were placed across the road in the path of the marchers in order to physically stop them proceeding further. A small group of Evangelical Christians who had participated in the march reported what happened as follows: 'An officer leapt from a car and gave an order like "Batons, break it up"'. John Warner saw this officer savagely attack three or four students. He considers it proof of their unpreparedness for violence that they did not resist this attack, but scattered ... The demonstration broke up and, as it attempted to regroup, was harrassed by police all the way back to campus. Here the first student violence occurred. As cars pursued students onto the Kingsbury Drive parklands, some students threw stones at them.

If people insist that it is the right of provoked police to use violence, one can hardly blame provoked students'. 16.

Word spread rapidly through the dining halls and rooms of Glenn and Menzies Colleges and the Maoists spent a busy weekend preparing a special Red Moat report and an unofficial general meeting for Monday. The brutality exercised by police was apparent in injuries received by students, but the students' determination not to be cowed into silence had been boosted by gestures of support from members of the local community. Some students, for example, had been sheltered from police in the homes of local residents. The manner in which the Labor Club was to be by-passed by events was apparent at the Monday meeting. Open to all students and not just Club members, it discussed tactics as well as principles. The main tactical issue was whether to attempt another march to Ivanhoe. Instead, the meeting (which was attended by 350 students) resolved to organize buses to transport students to Northlands Shopping Centre for a leaflet distribution. Then, it was decided, they would march back to the university, along Waterdale Road. Marshalls were also appointed and directed to ensure that traffic and pedestrians would not be obstructed. The controversy surrounding the first march resulted in various non-aligned individuals, such as the university chaplain and some academics, attending the second one as observers.

On 16 September, with the Moratorium only days away, 400 students and staff proceeded from the shopping centre. The police response was even more brutal. Dr Parsons, the chaplain, expressed his 'complete disgust at the behaviour of the police' in a letter to the dailies. 17. Nineteen students were arrested and many more simply beaten up. The students had again been careful to take up only one lane. As the Moderate Student Alliance (which had been formed to oppose radicalism on the campus) observed: 'There had been absolutely no provocation from the students'. 18. When the dishevelled march finally managed to reach the campus grounds, the police continued to pursue it. C.D. Starrs, the postgraduate representative on the Council, was beaten by a policeman. He issued an eye-witness account of what had happened when the protestors returned: 'Students were now scattering further into the campus ... Armed policemen leapt out of cars and chased students, bashing any they could catch; some policemen, unable to catch the students, drew their guns and threatened to shoot. At least one student was arrested at gunpoint. This student was threatened with being shot so that the

policeman could make an arrest for the heinous crime of 'offensive behaviour'. 19.

Photographs of police assaulting students appeared in the 'Sunday Observer', which also quoted the inspector in charge, Platfuss, as saying, 'They got some baton today and they'll get a lot more in the future'. 20. Rabelais also published photographs of appalling police violence. Had the police allowed the original march to reach its destination, or better still had they escorted it along that half of the road along which the students were careful to march, then it would have been just another pre-Moratorium local activity. Instead, Waterdale Road became a 'cause celebre' for students throughout Australia, just as the suppression of the Brisbane student march had three years earlier. The National Union of Australian University Students circularized all SRCs and NUAUS officers of the events. Dany Humphreys, NUAUS Education Vice President, wrote to the dailies asking: 'How is it possible to act on beliefs about the wars in Vietnam and Cambodia and conscription when the police take it upon themselves using any tactic to stop marches and demonstrations?' Humphreys concluded her letter: 'It is no wonder that many students, particularly the so-called 'moderates', are becoming increasingly alienated from authority and frustrated by their own powerlessness' 21. Indeed, a classic example of such a development was found in the case of La Trobe student, Peter Van Elden, who wrote to Rabelais after the demonstrations, describing himself as 'a naive, moderate, apathetic vegetable which was vigorously woken up to the real state of the country'. Van Elden, who announced that he had joined the Labor Club and SDS, explained that he had seen 'a student smashed to the ground for walking up to a policeman (substitute "pig", "fascist", etc. if you were there), and saying that he was infringing the students' democratic rights'. 22.

The demonstrations also moved some in the Evans' camp toward the Maoist position. Demos Krouskos, who had previously attacked the Maoists in Rabelais, joined the Maoists as a result of the Waterdale Road events and became a leading figure during 1971. Krouskos' position was typical of others in the Labor Club who were moved far Leftward. Indeed, the list of the 19 arrested on 16 September includes many who went on to play leading or very important roles during the 1971 campus conflict: Fergus Robinson, Bromley King, David Grumont, Ian Coulter, Tom Brennan, Ken Rushgrove, John Ebel, Stephen Warne, Sharon Conroy and Peter Cochrane. With the

exception of Robinson, who had enrolled in 1968, all were part of the second La Trobe generation, having enrolled in 1969 or 1970.

While the Labor Club 'old guard' around Evans had been left behind by the Maoist leadership of the 11 and 16 September demonstrations, there was nonetheless an attempt to circumvent the new hegemony. The attempt came from the SRC, which convened a special GMS the day after the second march. The Glenn Dining Hall was packed to capacity and applauded the Vice Chancellor, Dr Myers, when he announced that he had written to Premier Bolte seeking an inquiry. The meeting directed the SRC to investigate the prospect of laying charges against individual police and censured 'the presence of police on campus'. The meeting also endorsed another Waterdale Road demonstration, and scheduled it for the 23rd. The third procession was tightly controlled by two bus-loads of police and three car-loads of special branch men, and a number of conservative student marshalls. Police horses had been floated to West Heidelberg in readiness for use against the marchers, and the large police presence was fully prepared for a violent clash.

Eight hundred people defiantly marched along the road, and many trade unionists (notably members of the Builders' Labourers' Federation, the Plumbers' and Gasfitters' Union, and the Waterside Workers' Federation) joined with the students. The police attempted to push the demonstration off the road but failed because of the determination of the marchers. The police revealed that they were able to tolerate student demonstrators even in the most tense situations; though it is probably misleading to speak of police 'tolerance'. Basically, the tactical attitude of the police was delicately balanced between their preparedness to attack the demonstrators on one hand and wider political considerations on the other. The police made a calculation to retreat, rather than to attack, but the decision was very much a last minute one.

The Left interpreted the final march as a victory: 'The state would like nothing better than to be able to terrorize us from the streets, but we not only asserted our right to march on one side of the road, but also counterposed our own strength in occupying the entire road. Moreover, our keeping to the original route along Waterdale Road was a blatant challenge to police authority'. 23. However, to some on the Left, by a weird twist of logic, the fact that the police did not repeat their violence meant that the third demonstration had been a failure or an 'empty victory'. 24.

The absence of a repeat performance by police on the third demonstration confirmed to many the notion that the incidents of the 11th and 16th were intended to deter people from attending the 18 September Moratorium. Gordon Bryant, MHR, had hinted in that direction when he condemned the police attack on the second march in Federal parliament: 'Somehow, just at this magic moment violence has occurred to people who are basically non-violent'. 25. In general, police brutality was seen as part of Commonwealth and State government 'law-and-order' campaigns. These reached a peak during 1970, with the advent of such legislation as the Public Order Act and the Summary Offences (Trespass) Act. The former, with its vague and wide definition of 'obstruction' as a crime, gave the tranquil city of Canberra its first 'pitched battle'. One hundred and eighty-seven students who previously would have marched unimpeded - were now arrested and charged under the Act. In Victoria, the new Summary Offences (Trespass) Bill provoked heated parliamentary debates, with Labor leader, Clyde Holding, angrily condemning it as an erosion of the 'traditional rights of the citizen to assemble, to demonstrate, and to picket'. Essentially, in both Acts, some peaceful and traditional forms of protest were criminalized.

The third Waterdale Road demonstration was probably tolerated because the Moratorium had passed and the government's desire to deter participants was no longer extant. Student opposition to the police violence abated after the 23rd, and tended to be channelled into the Vice Chancellor's call for an inquiry. Opposition leader Clyde Holding took up the demand with enthusiasm arguing for an inquiry in order, as he expressed it, to 'protect the reputation of the police force'. Premier Bolte, however, rejected the proposal 'out of hand'. The Vice Chancellor's call had been endorsed by the University Council on 21 September, yet Dr Myers was prepared to accept the Premier's offer of a 'preliminary investigation conducted by a senior police officer'. Such investigations are par for the course anyway. The final fob off came in December when Rylah told parliament that he would publish the police report into the Waterdale Road events. The report in question was never tabled.

While there is little doubt that the Vice Chancellor was genuinely concerned about the police clashes, his failure to adequately push for an Inquiry (for example, by threatening some form of public protest) might be explicable in terms of the reservations of at least

one leading member of the Council. Dr Myers had claimed that his call had been 'unanimously endorsed' by the Council, but the postgraduate representative, C.D. Starrs, reported in Probe that the Deputy-Chancellor, B.J. Callinan, had expressed concern that the Vice Chancellor had acted without consulting the Council and that staff who attended the demonstrations had 'unlawfully absented themselves from duty'. 26. Perhaps Dr Myers' strong request, as expressed at the 17 September GMS, was designed as much to pacify the student body as to bring pressure for an Inquiry. It is certainly unlikely that Dr Myers would not have had access to the initial report of the Police Investigations Section, conducted by Inspectors McLeod and Standfield, and submitted to the Deputy Police Commissioner on 29 September 1970. The report would have made clear the impossibility of a fair inquiry being conducted by police. The McLeod report is riddled with the loaded jargon that characterised police thinking at the time. The students were a 'militant minority', 'occupying the streets', and they were 'obstructing the free flow of traffic'. McLeod and Standfield concluded that, 'There is no evidence of the University version of events ...'. And, 'The police were most tolerant and did not use any undue force ...'. The demands for an Inquiry came to nought, but the anti-war banner was carried along Waterdale Road on two other occasions - on 13 March and 16 June 1971 without any interference from local police.

1970 concluded at La Trobe with the Vice Chancellor in good standing, having made up the ground lost earlier in the year. The balance of forces within the Labor Club had changed, with the Maoists now in a position of leadership. The student body, while polarized after the June events, was now generally united in a vague 'anti-police' manner, and the campus as a whole had been politicized in a Left direction. The new strata of student leaders - Fergus Robinson, Barry York, Robert Mathews, Demos Krouskos, Sharon Conroy, Ian Coulter, Peter Dowling, Ken White, Peter Cochrane, Robert Bennetts, Margaret Grant, Tom Brennan and David Grumont had superseded the New Left grouping around Grant Evans. The student Left had not only expanded numerically but had developed its skills of organization, mobilization and leadership.

Furthermore, the various ideological positions within the student movement had become solidified, with the Maoists openly committed to promoting campus struggle on issues concerning the role of the University. The new leadership was, by and large, imbued with a

form of 'Marxism' which reduced all political struggle to a conflict between classes. The obvious fact that students were not a class was overcome by efforts to build a worker-student alliance, in which students would accept the workers' leading role. Moreover, a mechanistic view of historical processes resulted in a view of the inevitability and indeed constancy of progress. Marxism, to the La Trobe Maoists, had become a theory of absolute accountability, as expressed in the following explanation as to why the state had not suppressed the 13 March Waterdale Road demonstration: 'The state apparatus is in a dilemma. If they suppress demonstrations then the Marxist analysis of the state is validated and mass support is gained or the alternative of non-interference in our demonstrations would mean the easy propagation of our ideas'. 27. Such mentality - a 'no-lose' ideology - largely guided Maoist strategy during 1971.

If the student movement had been born as a result of the June events, then the baby was, by the year's end, happy and healthy and growing fast. As the Herald put it: 'La Trobe is catching up with Monash's reputation for student strife'. 28. Indeed, the La Trobe 'legend' was circulating around all the campuses, not only through student newspapers and the daily press, but also through the screening of 'Beginnings', a film produced during the June struggle. As a result of the off-campus demonstrations, various contacts had been established in left-wing trade unions and in the local community. This student-community relationship, established at a time when the university year was concluding, enabled the Maoist core to attempt to build a formally structured Worker-Student Alliance, as part of the wider WSA body in Melbourne.

A document titled 'La Trobe University WSA Report - 1970' was circulated within the inner sanctum of the student movement in November. The formation of a 'La Trobe WSA', however, had not been endorsed by the central WSA body, and a La Trobe branch was not operational prior to 1972. The report reflected the high morale of the Maoists: 'Anti-imperialism has made big strides at La Trobe this year. We have many good new comrades; the anti-imperialist movement is a lot bigger and more militant ... As a result of the Waterdale Road marches, a local worker-student unity came into being, and we won broad support from the public. In addition, many important truths were brought home to us. Namely, we can organize independent, anti-imperialist demonstrations; we can win mass support; struggle is a necessary part of the process of raising consciousness ...' 29. The 'La Trobe WSA' group resolved to call

Labor Club meetings during the Summer vacation, along the lines of the Monash Labor Club, but also sought to hold its own meetings. In effect, through this process, the Labor Club became a Maoist organization in 1971; the Maoist core would convene meetings, determine the agenda, and act as a cohesive unit. Hence, anti-Maoist forces felt increasingly estranged from, and futile in, the Club. And 1971 could only commence with the Maoists as the best organized, most vocal and active Left group.

An 'Orientate Against Imperialism' Week characterized the hectic pace of the new hegemony. It did not result in the recruitment of many new students, but it certainly enhanced the campus' Left political culture; reminding all and sundry that 1970, in the words of the SRC's handbook, had been 'Year One of the La Trobe Revolution'. And 1971 was to be 'Year Two'.

CHAPTER NINE:

1971: THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE
CHANCELLOR

Fundamentally, a tension existed within the Maoist core between those who primarily sought an off-campus orientation for the student movement in the form of a worker-student alliance, and those who sought a movement that would contribute to socialist revolution by transforming the University. The emerging differences had been apparent during the summer vacation when La Trobe activists had regularly attended meetings of the local WSA branch, Heidelberg WSA. An internal document, 'Heidelberg WSA Must Integrate with the Masses', pointed to the 'contradiction between comrades from La Trobe doing political work with students and doing political work with workers'. The report continued: 'At the moment there is an imbalance in favour of doing political work with students, concentrating on politics at the University ... La Trobe comrades could perhaps give some thought to working out an economy of cadres ... to divide political work with students and the broad masses'. 1.

While the Maoist leadership was in a strong position at the end of 1970, having established an impressive base of support - some 200 reliable followers - it nonetheless could not afford the type of 'division of cadres' suggested. It was as much to resolve this problem as to chart a course for 1971 that a Labor Club Conference was convened on 5, 6, 8 and 10 April. Minutes were not taken at the conference, but the Agenda - which was published in Enrages - indicates that the 'lessons of Waterdale Road' were given first place, followed by the worker-student alliance controversy. No-one really disagreed with the politics of worker-student unity; it was a matter of whether or not to establish a WSA branch at La Trobe. Such was the intensity of the issue that Enrages, in inviting students to a post-Conference party, jokingly warned that there might be 'several parties, pending on the outcome'.

It was at this Conference that the decision to launch a campaign against the Chancellor, Glenn, and Deputy-Chancellor, Callinan, was made. It is rather ironic that the Right blamed the WSA for the troubles of 1971, as the organization did not even exist at La Trobe that year. The WSA-line, expressed by Dave Muller, had been

implicitly rejected by the Conference when it had decided to build a campus movement. Literally, the anti-Glenn struggle was initiated in spite of, rather than because of, WSA. The Conference laid down the guiding principles. First, the campaign was to be democratic: no important action would be taken without first seeking the authorization and involvement of a general meeting of students. Secondly, it was to be based on socialist and anti-imperialist politics: Glenn was to be used as a symbol of imperialism and how the University served it. The latter task would not be terribly difficult, as in Glenn the student Left could not have wished for a finer symbol. The Chancellor's position as managing director of Imperial Chemical Industries (ANZ) (ICI(ANZ)) brought together the two central protest issues of 1971: the Vietnam war and South African apartheid. ICI(ANZ) had been listed by the 'consumer boycott' campaign associated with the Moratorium as one of six companies operating in Australia and profiting from the War. Another aspect of ICI's activities that concerned the student movement was the parent company's operations in South Africa, where it had established ammunition factories in the early sixties. 2.

Red Moat had exposed the 'sordid side' of ICI's history in April 1970 but the information campaign after the Labor Club conference was incredibly intense. Indicating that the campaign would have the support of the broad student Left, the remnant Evans' group issued its own condemnation of Glenn as 'a representative of the system which perpetuates racism both here and in South Africa'. 3. Glenn's chancellorship was seen to 'sum up the entire social function of the university under capitalism, as a servant of capitalism'. 4. In addition to the Chancellor, the Deputy Chancellor, B. J. Callinan, was targeted. Callinan had delivered a eulogy to South Vietnamese President Diem at the Annual Conference of the right-wing National Civic Council (NCC) in 1964, and was also on the board of directors of British Petroleum. Both features qualified him as a 'symbol', but the literature stressed his directorship of the Lower Yarra Crossing Authority, the private company which had built Melbourne's West Gate Bridge. Callinan had been awarded a CBE for services to civil engineering, an award which outraged Red Moat in the light of the Bridge's tragic collapse in 1970. The Glenn-ICI connection, however, was the Council's weakest link and roused the widest student opposition. Even the Moderate Student Alliance expressed the opinion that 'Most of what is said about them is true'. 5. And the

Democratic Club described them as 'Capitalists ... who bleed this country for their own material advancement ...' 6.

The Labor Club resolved to call a general meeting to launch the anti-Glenn campaign on Monday, 19 April. The meeting would be unofficial, without SRC authorization, but would follow the same basic procedures as SRC General Meetings. Every effort would be made to ensure maximum student participation and the vast array of literature leading up to the meeting exposed a range of ICI activity. Running alongside the campaign were two other issues which had arisen at the beginning of 1971. In March, a news magazine called 'Nation' had caused a campus sensation when it revealed how the Joint Intelligence Organization (JIO) had sought to enlist the support of the universities prior to its establishment in May 1970. The administrative heads of all universities had received a communication from the Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee informing them that: 'The Director, JIO, would like to see an academic contribution (to JIO) made informally ... This might, for example, take the form of the establishment of consultative panels, analysis by academic specialists of specific problems, or the appointment of a small number of university staff for periods of, say, a year or two to work on the staff itself ... Any such contact could be arranged on a basis which would meet any requirement for discretion and informality'. 7.

The focus of JIO's intelligence assessments was, and is, regions of direct interest to Australia: namely, the Western Pacific and Indian Ocean areas, and the countries adjoining them. Red Moat promptly expressed the concern shared by many students and staff that any such contact could result in La Trobe becoming 'a "knowledge tank" utilized by the Defence Establishment to aid in the combatting of revolutions in South-East Asia, particularly in Malaysia, Indonesia, Papua-new Guinea, and the Philippines ...' Should institutional ties with the JIO develop, Red Moat warned, La Trobe would be placed 'in a similar position as American universities which have become "brothels" to be exploited by Military and Industrial concerns in the interests of the genocidal imperialist war in Indo-China'. 8. The demand to know whether the University had entered into any formal or informal relationship with JIO was a reasonable one.

The other issue running alongside Glenn concerned a clause which had been added to the University's admission policy by the Council at its meeting of 15 February. The new policy, which came to be known

as the 'exclusion clause', had been formulated by the Academic Board in January as a response to applications for enrolment by students who had been suspended or expelled from other universities. The clause stipulated that: 'In 1971, a person who has been excluded on disciplinary grounds from an Australian university and whose period of exclusion has not expired shall not be considered for admission to this university unless the Vice Chancellor, in consultation with the Deans, resolves that there are exceptional circumstances which justify a departure from this rule'. Various university administrations had co-ordinated their efforts to exclude student rebels. As early as July 1970 the acting Registrar of Sydney University had written to other registrars alerting them to the suspensions imposed on Haydn Thompson and Hall Greenland. Monash had informed the universities in October 1970 of the suspensions and expulsions imposed on five Labor Club members there. Notification of the suspension of two Queensland University activists, Mark Georgiou and Richard Shearman had similarly been circularized to the other campuses. And a week before the Academic Board had made its decision at La Trobe, the Assistant Registrar, Des Kennard, had sent an urgent memo to another senior administrator asking him to check whether any of a list of eleven suspended or expelled students from Monash, Sydney, Melbourne, and Queensland had applied for enrolment at La Trobe. As it turned out, only one student - Ralph Hadden (who had been expelled from Monash in August 1970) - was to be denied admission under the new policy. But that was all the student Left needed.

Earlier in the year representatives of the three Labor Clubs - Monash, Melbourne and La Trobe - met with a view to co-ordinate activities at all three universities against politically-based exclusions. Albert Langer and three other Monash activists had been excluded from Melbourne and so a basis for combined action existed. Moreover, university administrations had clearly 'united' and so it made sense that the rebel students should do likewise. The 'Campaign Against Repression' was thus born and went into action on 19 April - at Monash by staging a 'lock-out' of Council members and at La Trobe by convening the general meeting to discuss exclusions, as well as Glenn and JIO. The build up to the 19 April meeting witnessed the most intense promotional campaign ever conducted for a single meeting at La Trobe. The student Left was greatly assisted by the Right, which also saturated the campus with its leaflets. The 19 April general meeting became the talking-point of the university and a great success from the Maoists' point of view.

Despite the fact that it was promoted as an unofficial meeting, the attendance was as large as any meeting ever held at La Trobe. There were at least 1,000 students present. The meeting commenced with Labor Club member, Ken White, in the chair and an immediate challenge from the Democratic Club. A vote was taken and White was overwhelmingly endorsed as chairman for the meeting. From the start, the Right had been placed on the defensive, but their position was hopeless anyway. The campus mood was against them and the Left's motions of principle were carried virtually unanimously. The absence of minutes, which were rarely taken at unofficial general meetings, makes a complete picture of the decisions impossible, but one learns from the Minutes of Council, which was meeting that day, that a deputation of eight was elected to present three key motions. These were: 'That this general meeting of La Trobe students condemns the exclusion of students from other universities from gaining admittance to La Trobe as the result of political repression and calls on Council to rescind the 'exclusion policy ... demands that all correspondence and communication between La Trobe University and JIO be made public ... demands the resignation of Glenn and B. J. Callinan and all other members of Council'. 9.

Council resolved to ask the Vice Chancellor to examine the motions and to report back at its next meeting in May. The eight-person deputation had been elected as an alternative to a Maoist proposal for the presentation of the motions en masse. A movement had been initiated on 19 April and even the Right would have to acknowledge that 'All students agree on the validity of the causes.' 10. What was not so clear was how to fight for them and how to win. The Maoists' positivism was rejected by the more 'sophisticated' leftists, such as Andrew Giles-Peters, but moreover it possessed an in-built self-destruct mechanism. The logic which saw progress as a result of either concessions to struggle or repression of struggle did not take into account that 'struggle' cannot always be sustained in a repressive environment. The Maoist strategy eventually locked the movement into an almost blind activism, with the objective of an occupation of the Administration building assuming huge proportions and, at times, eclipsing the political objectives. An occupation which could disrupt the University's administrative functioning would either result in concessions being granted or repression. Either way, to the Maoists, the movement could not lose.

The Vice Chancellor's report to the Council meeting of 15 May revealed the seriousness with which the 19 April meeting was regarded, and provides an insight into the main events between 19 April and 12 May. The 19 April meeting had determined to continue at lunchtime the next day. That morning, the acting Vice Chancellor, Professor Eliezer, issued a statement noting that the meeting had 'not been convened by the SRC'. Nonetheless, the Vice Chancellor, Dr Myers, had agreed to meet with the eight-person deputation on his return from an Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee meeting in Sydney. Eliezer failed to address himself to the two principal issues, but signed off with the news that he had been 'empowered to state categorically that there has been no correspondence or communication between this university and the JIO'. At noon, one hour before the scheduled continuation of the general meeting, Andrew Giles-Peters and Andrew Stein delivered a letter to the Registrar on behalf of the 'April 19 Committee', which had been established by the meeting to deal with the exclusion clause. Two hours later, a much larger group returned to the Registrar to inform him that the general meeting just held had decided to invite Dr Myers 'to discuss the three motions' at a special meeting scheduled for Friday, 23 April.

The Vice Chancellor's response marked the beginning of the end of any prospect for a tranquil year. He declined to address the meeting, presumably because of its unofficial status, and issued a statement which merely promised to issue a statement to the SRC in the near future. In 1971, Dr Myers would communicate with the student Left via police and courts rather than through an unofficial general meeting; even though he had used the latter avenue in June 1970. The Vice Chancellor's action was interpreted as a rebuff by many students, including the 300 who turned up for the 23 April event. The meeting decided to march to the Vice Chancellor's office and demand an 'immediate statement' on the three motions. On Tuesday, 27 April, the statement was forwarded to the SRC President, reiterating that the university had not entered into any agreement with JIO and setting out the terms under which Ralph Hadden had been deemed ineligible for admission. The substance of the demand pertaining to Glenn was totally ignored.

The student movement could only find Dr Myers' eagerly-awaited statement a big disappointment. It had offered no basis for discussion. Students had not simply wanted to know whether an agreement with JIO existed, but had sought the publication of all

correspondence between it and the University. And they had not sought 'further information' as to how Hadden had been denied admission on non-academic grounds. They had challenged the legitimacy of such a policy. And the Glenn demand, which was the main issue, had been ignored. The following day, another general meeting was convened and threatened to 'occupy the Administration indefinitely from the first week of second term' should the demands not be met. A collision course had been set; in the first place by the Vice Chancellor's refusal to attend the 23 April general meeting, or to make some satisfactory gesture in response to all three demands and, thereafter, by the determination of the student movement, encouraged vigorously by the Maoists, to overthrow the Chancellor and the exclusion clause.

The campus was winding down for the first term vacation and the final general meeting - this time a GMS - was held on 12 May. Attended by only 120 students, it was nonetheless of great tactical significance. Convened on petition of Giles-Peters and Ian MacDonald, the meeting's decisions were binding on SRC policy because it was an official meeting, despite its lack of numbers. The meeting directed the SRC to 'withdraw all students it has appointed to University committees' including the Council, and to refuse to 'co-operate with the Administration', until such time as the exclusion clause was rescinded. The first term thus ended with an unprecedentedly wide separation between the Vice Chancellor, Administration, and Council on one hand and the student movement on the other. The 19 April meeting had rejected militant action but the failure of the eight-person deputation and other small-scale approaches was rendering the Maoist line of 'mass action' more credible. Underlying such a perception was the Maoist 'no-lose' logic which was nourished by the Vice Chancellor's intransigence. Enrages declared that: 'If Council adopt the tactic of granting concessions in order to stop or avert an occupation, then students have won a victory. If Council follow the tactic of state repression, then they are merely 'lifting a rock to drop it on their own feet''. 11.

During the vacation, the Council met and considered Dr Myers' report. At this juncture, an offer of discussion or negotiation - or any similar breach with the Vice Chancellor's inflexibility - might have averted the terrible campus storm that was to wreak havoc later in the year. The Council, however, resolved to stand by the exclusion clause for 1971. The student movement was in a strong position at the end of first term. Protest action against a Department

of Foreign Affairs recruiter in May had revealed a new leadership strata comprising students who had played no such role before. But despite the new militant leadership strata, which proved to be very short-lived anyway, the Labor Club's leadership was increasingly split over the recurring WSA issue.

On 28 April, when the anti-Glenn, anti-exclusion, campaign was underway, Dave Muller had distributed a broadsheet entitled 'Labor Club or WSA?' on behalf of the 'Committee to Establish a La Trobe Branch of WSA'. The leaflet had argued against the 'Campaign Against Repression' on the grounds that it reflected 'petty bourgeois concepts of student power' and did 'not serve the workingclass'. The distribution of such a piece, at such a critical moment, outraged the other Maoists who had effectively become leaders of the student movement through the Labor Club. Or more accurately, through the Action Committee of the Labor Club, which had been established by the Club in April to cater for the rapidity of developments on the campus. Muller's action caused great bitterness and personal division, and earned the repudiation of the Central Executive of WSA, which declared that it did not recognize his committee. Politically, however, the central WSA was more inclined to Muller's position. WSA endorsed a strategy 'to take the Campaign Against Repression off the campus as soon as possible, into the community at large'. 12.

The issue arose again during the vacation when the Labor Club met for a full day session on Saturday 29 May. The main agenda item, 'Revolutionary Strategy for La Trobe', pre-empted too much time being devoted to the proposal for a WSA branch. Nonetheless, Muller's persistence was expressed in his conference report which complained that, 'As the Labor Club over the last few months has become pre-occupied with internal student struggles, the preparations for May Day and other worker struggles were very much neglected'. 13. A La Trobe WSA branch was seen as the 'remedy' which would 'bring students into workingclass struggles ... as distinct from promoting militant student struggles on and off campus'. The activists present, however, were overwhelmingly pre-occupied with building the existing student movement and the WSA proposal was again unsuccessful. When second term resumed, the imminent confrontation with the Vice Chancellor did not eventuate and the threatened occupation did not transpire. An explanation is to be found in the dramatic developments affecting the anti-war movement at the time.

The so-called Pentagon Papers had been published in the New York Times in June and revealed, on the basis of official documents, that certain key propositions of the anti-war argument were matters of fact. These included evidence that the US had always opposed the holding of free elections in Vietnam; that while Lyndon Johnson was campaigning for Presidency on a 'no wider war' ticket, he was also planning the war's large-scale escalation; that the Gulf of Tonkin incident, which was used to justify direct US intervention, had been faked by the US Navy; and that Richard Nixon had advocated the use of nuclear weapons against North Vietnam in the 1950's. The latter revelation was especially traumatic, as earlier in the year Professor Noam Chomsky had warned of US plans to use tactical nuclear weapons to create a 'sanitized zone' in Vietnam. Furthermore, the US had invaded Laos and the Moratorium Campaign had established an 'Emergency Mobilization Fund' in preparation for an invasion of North Vietnam and/or the use of nuclear weapons. The anti-war movement had been placed on full alert and the third Moratorium - scheduled for 30 June became the central focus for anti-war action.

Specific student protests on campuses were invariably underwritten by the wider anti-war ethos and movement. But at La Trobe in second term the particular campus protest became eclipsed by the dire urgency of the wider movement. The two, of course, were interrelated but it was not until the demise of the latter that the anti-Glenn, anti-exclusion, campaign would re-surface as the central campus issue. The anti-war movement entered its demise after the June Moratorium and 4 July demonstration, and the anti-Glenn anti-exclusion campaign was revived in mid-July. Furthermore, some of the heat had been taken out of the anti-exclusion issue as a result of the Academic Board's decision, taken at its 2 June meeting, to establish a 'Committee on the Admissions Policy', with a view to formulating a policy for 1972 concerning the rejection of applicants on other than academic grounds. Initially, the committee was to comprise 18 elected representatives of the full-time academic staff. The Council meeting of 21 June, however, suggested that students also be represented and, after lengthy debate, the Academic Board resolved that six students be elected by the student body. Board members Professor Wolfsohn and Dr Joan Rydon recorded their dissent from the decision to appoint six elected students.

The Maoist hegemony over the Labor Club had become absolute by June, as a result of the virtual disengagement of the Evans group and as a result of the extended powers afforded to the Action Committee which met each morning. In theory, the Action Committee was an ultra-democratic body, as its membership was constituted on a voluntary basis. In practice, however, it only attracted those Club members who were dedicated (some might say, fanatical) enough to attend the morning meetings each day. These were, basically, the Maoists and their followers. At a Club meeting in early June to discuss 'the reorganization of the Labor Club along more democratic lines' the Action Committee was empowered to convene general meetings. At this point, the Labor Club became redundant, and the well-organized Maoist leadership led the student movement through the Committee. The meeting also decided to permit any faction within the Club to publish its own material, but anything published in the Club's name had to be discussed and voted on beforehand. In practice, this resulted in the end of Enrages as a regular agitational sheet and an anarchy of literature - mostly unauthorized, undated, and unnumbered - flowing and gushing from the Action Committee. The ultra-democratic semblance really camouflaged the fact that the Maoists had completed a coup. In early June, Grant Evans had warned of such a prospect when he argued that: 'At the moment the structure of the club gives the appearance of being ultra-democratic. Anyone can participate in meetings as there exists no formal membership or office bearers. However it is precisely this absence of structures which has allowed a non-democratic formation to emerge'. 14.

The campus crisis would almost certainly have erupted in June were it not for the new situation concerning the anti-war movement and the Moratorium scheduled for 30 June. The student Left, from Maoist to Trotskyist to Fabian, united behind the push for a student strike, during which the university would become an anti-war centre. Thus, even if the Glenn issue subsided temporarily, the fundamental question of the role of the university did not. A large gathering, estimated at 1,200, attended the GMS on 23 June, which had been petitioned by the Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA) to discuss the strike proposal. The meeting endorsed each Left proposal with virtual unanimity. A one-week student-staff strike was to take place from 28 June to 2 July, during which the La Trobe Moratorium Committee would be given priority in the use of all SRC facilities. An amendment seeking to ensure 'that both sides in Vietnam be presented during the week' was put and lost. The student mood sought to oppose the war. The Right suffered a thrashing and it was as a

result of such inability to win student support at general meetings that eventually it would turn to external bodies for support. La Trobe was definitely a Leftist campus in 1971. As Red Moat observed, 'A few years ago, such a call to strike for a week against the war in Indo-China would never have been passed so overwhelmingly'. Indeed, it is unlikely that it would have been carried at all.

The strike was a classic example of a 'united front' situation in which divergent political groups and individuals agree to subordinate their differences for the sake of a particular campaign. The strike motion, for example, had been moved by two normally irreconcilable groups: a Trotskyist, Ruth Champion, had moved the motion and it had been seconded by Maoist York. Similarly, the strike bulletins issued each day carried the authorization of York and the Christian pacifist Philosophy tutor, John Fox. The campus did not come to a standstill, but the anti-war forces were enormously successful. People were everywhere around the SRC office which had been taken over by the strike committee, and outside in the Agora square, organizing their own department-based action groups and seminars, or writing leaflets, or busily converting others.

The strike commenced on Monday 28 June, with a rally at 11.30 a.m. A Strike Committee was elected to oversee the week's events, and 'action groups' were formally constituted in English, Politics, Social Science, Education, and Science departments. Mountains of anti-war leaflets were printed on the SRC gestetner and distributed off the campus. Regular car cavalcades linked the campus and the outside community. Thirty-seven local schools and all the shopping centres were leafletted, as were 21 local railway stations each morning between 7.00 and 8.30 and each evening between 4.00 and 5.30. A 'Workers Group' was endowed with the task of leafletting or addressing campus building sites and contacting workers off the campus. A range of speakers from outside the university drew large audiences and covered various subjects, from Palestine to Vietnam. Staff-student seminars saw a questioning of the University's relationship with the external world as well as a functioning bond between staff and students.

The strike eclipsed the push for an occupation of the Administration building as part of the anti-Glenn campaign, but it also sustained anti-Glenn sentiments. The Moratorium Committee had argued for

the strike in this way: 'We seek not to close La Trobe but to open it up as a centre from which positive steps can be made to lessen the agony of Vietnam ... La Trobe at present is closed; closed to the interests of ending war in defence of the interests of those who profit from war'. 15. The anti-Glenn element was strengthened by the fact that the original motion endorsing the strike had described it as an action against the war in Indo-China and apartheid in South Africa. On Thursday, 1 July, a Strike Committee forum had been addressed by prominent overseas and local opponents of South African racism: Bishop Crowther, Peter Hain, Professor Marsh and Ken Good. The following day saw the strike officially conclude, but the hive of activity was still apparent, with banners and placards being prepared for a demonstration against the touring South African rugby team, the Springboks, to be held at Olympic Park on Saturday, 3 July.

La Trobe had a strong anti-racist position. Each year around 21 March, the Sharpsville Massacre would be commemorated in some way and, in March 1971, Rob Mathews headed an SDS sub-committee which directed the campus anti-apartheid movement. Notwithstanding the intrusion of publications from off-campus groups such as HART (Halt All Racial Tours), the main mobilizers of student support were the same people who 'stirred the possum' for the Moratorium and 4 July. The Springbok tour, however, provoked the involvement of campus groupings that normally refrained from such issues. The Sports Union condemned the Springboks in two editions of its journal, 'Sporticus Erectus' and the Asian Students' Association convened a special general meeting of its members which resolved to 'strongly oppose' South African apartheid. The Women's Liberation group also joined the campaign, stressing the triple oppression suffered by African women - as workers, as blacks, and as women.

On petition of the Left, a GMS was convened on 22 June. The 400 in attendance voted unanimously to support the Olympic Park protest and directed the SRC to donate money to HART and to set aside \$400 as a Bail Fund for La Trobe people. Staff support was also apparent and mainly centred around Professor Marsh, of the English Department, who had once been imprisoned in South Africa. The violence which followed the Springboks in Melbourne and Sydney resulted in Premier Bjelke-Petersen declaring a State of Emergency for the duration of the team's Queensland tour. As will be seen later, the State of Emergency served to dramatically revive the Brisbane

student movement, but in such a manner as to send shockwaves to all other Australian campuses.

The Olympic Park protest and the 4 July demonstration the next day had diverted campus attention away from Glenn and the exclusion issues. The question for the Maoists was how to direct the student movement once more against the two main targets. The Labor Club action committee met and resolved that the time had come to confront the Council. The Vice Chancellor's failure to even recognize the Glenn issue as a negotiable one features prominently in Left literature, and was attributed to the fact that students had not undertaken the sort of action that was likely to gain major response. The action committee proposal was for a general meeting to be convened on 19 July, and for a motion to 'blockade' the Councillors, who would be meeting that day, in their chamber. The resolution was a provocative one, born of the Vice Chancellor's perceived intransigence. Only 200 attended the general meeting. Perhaps students were not prepared to support militant direct action of the type proposed. Perhaps the natural end-of-term lethargy was at work. Perhaps the 'July Assault Against Imperialism', with its scores of arrests and bloodied heads, had intimidated as well as exhausted the militants. There is some truth in each proposition, but the consequence remains that the participants in the blockade were to be the student movement's hardcore. And the tactical separation of 'core' from 'mass' would enable the Council to feel all the more confident in the severity of its disciplinary measures.

The 19 July meeting reaffirmed the anti-Glenn, anti-exclusion, principles and condemned Council's failure to meet the demands. The key motion - 'to amass outside the Council room at 2.00 and from there an elected five-person delegation will proceed to inform Council that if student demands are not met immediately then Council will be blockaded indefinitely' - was put and carried. However, the fiery spirit that characterized the meeting two months earlier was absent. It was almost as if the militants sensed that, in translating principle into action, they would be unleashing a chain of events over which they would have little decisive control. Moreover, in accepting the logic of 'daring-to-struggle, daring-to-win', it was almost as though the hardcore had been carried, unthinkingly, into a confront-or-fail predicament. The other aspect of the contradiction, of course, was the Vice Chancellor who had had many opportunities to recognize at least a degree of validity in the Glenn issue. There is no such thing as a non-negotiable demand.

On 19 July, Dr Myers was to act comparatively sensibly. It would be the other councillors who, in failing to support the Vice Chancellor's effort to avert the particular confrontation, would be largely responsible for the blockade and its aftermath. Once more, for the most detailed and complete account of what transpired on 19 July, we must turn to the Minutes of the Council meeting. 16. It must have been obvious to the arriving councillors at 2.15 that the hundred or so assembled and jeering protestors meant business. At 2.20, the Business Manager entered the council room and informed the members that the Vice Chancellor had requested that the meeting be reconvened off the campus. Furthermore, both Dr Myers and Sir Archibald were at the proposed venue, and were waiting for them. The Minutes record that 'Some members of Council demurred at this proposal'. Other sources suggest that the Council's response was rather more adamant. The defiant councillors elected J.D. Norgard as chairman, in Glenn's absence, and commenced the meeting. The student deputation then entered and informed councillors of the general meeting's decision. Norgard agreed to place the motions on the agenda, provided the six students left. The deputation withdrew and the Council, increasingly annoyed at both the noise outside and the 'weakness' of Myers and Glenn, resolved to phone the duo and to request their immediate return. Only Dr Myers acceded to the request, by which time the student deputation had again been received. The six were permitted to speak in turn. Norgard then ruled that the motions would not be discussed by the Council, and the deputation left. The supreme governing authority of the university had aborted two opportunities to avert a campus crisis.

At 3.30, the Vice Chancellor arrived, informing Council that the Chancellor had been detained elsewhere. The meeting proceeded; but outside the rattle of chains and padlocks, and the noise of heavy furniture being pushed against exits and entrances, grew louder. The Minutes indicate that the motions which had been put by the student delegation with respect to the exclusion clause were eventually discussed as part of the Academic Board's Report on its staff-student committee on admissions. Up to a point, however, the Minutes are misleading. Only one motion had been presented by the delegation concerning the exclusion clause; the other issue concerned Sir Archibald. But the Council refused to countenance that matter. The extent of the immediate crisis did not become apparent until 4.45, when two councillors tried to leave. The Council room had been effectively blockaded. There was no way out, save for some

satisfactory response on the two issues or the use of counter-force. An offer to recognize Glenn as a negotiable matter would almost certainly have resulted in the removal of all padlocks and an 'opening of the doors' in more than one sense.

By 5.00, several councillors wanted to go home and one of them - John Galbally - succeeded via the second type of approach. Dr Phillip Law, the famed Antarctic explorer, had not been so lucky. His attempt at counter-force resulted in his angry return to the meeting with a complaint of assault. Dr Law chose that moment to telephone the police, which was his entitlement as a citizen. The meeting was then adjourned and the councillors remained incarcerated until 7.00 p.m., when the police arrived. It is remarkable that approximately 150 police responded to Dr Law's assault allegation. The blockaders, some of whom had armed themselves with stones and rocks in readiness for a possible police attack, dispersed. And the councillors went home. It was the first time police had been called onto a campus in Victoria to deal with student protests. The next day, La Trobe was in the headlines nationally. The 'Sun' devoted its front page to La Trobe's 'night of violence', featuring a half-page photo of Phillip Law, struggling in vain to force his way through two blockaded doors.

A special Council meeting was convened the following week and decided to invite the Vice Chancellor to take disciplinary action. Police prosecutions were also discussed. While the Council was meeting, another general meeting called by the Action Committee was taking place outside. At 5.00, the Council rejected a request from the general meeting that it be permitted to send in a deputation. That was all the students needed. Out came the chains and padlocks and it seemed that another Council blockade was on the cards. At 5.15, however, Dr Myers met the deputation outside the chamber and agreed to pass on its proposals: namely, that Council take full responsibility for the events of 19 July and that no disciplinary action be taken. A second blockade was thus averted. Ironically, among the items on the Council agenda was the need for greater student participation in university affairs. Council deferred consideration of the matter.

The response to the 19 July blockade had been heated and intense. The general mood of the student movement tended to the opinion that the Maoists had gone too far and that it had been a factional, rather than a popular, action. But the campus mood also dictated that in a

clash between the Maoists and the Council, there was little doubt that support should go to the former. The Vice Chancellor had made clear his intention to lay charges under the discipline statute two days after the blockade. The SRC convened a GMS on 22 July and resolved that the blockade was 'symptomatic of the overall questioning of the nature and role of a university' and urged the Council and Academic Board to join with the SRC to 'initiate discussion about the concept(s) of a university'. Two hundred and twenty students had attended, indicating that the 19 April issues were no longer a major controversy. Discussion tended to focus on who was to blame, rather than whether or not the blockade should have happened. SRC Secretary, Frank Wyatt, blamed the authorities and asserted that: 'There is no machinery for students to present their point of view to Council except on matters relating to its terms of reference'. 17.

But the most significant statement came from seven academic staff: 'When the members of Council arrived they were well aware of the blockade and the reasons for it. They had some time to consider this before the meeting was convened ... Council continued their meeting as usual, ignoring what was quite evidently a crisis situation in the University. It is difficult to view this action (or lack thereof) as anything other than gross negligence ... Finally the Council did act - they called the police on to the campus - to communicate with the students for them'. The statement continued: 'It is important to emphasize the context in which the Council appeal for police protection was made. Last year, La Trobe students were savagely beaten by police during a demonstration in Waterdale Road. Less than a fortnight ago, students and staff of La Trobe at the Springbok demonstration witnessed or were subject to vicious and unprovoked police brutality, of a sort that caused the Leader of the Opposition to call for a Royal Commission. It is not surprising then that students armed themselves with makeshift weapons against what they with reason expected would be another police attack. There is no evidence to suggest that the supposed 'range of weaponry' was intended for anything other than defence against the police. Some of us spoke to students outside the Council Room at 5.30 and many of them expressed fear of police violence. We in fact were witness to a show of calm and moderation by some demonstrators in the face of extreme agitation by another member of the University ... Until the Council and other University authorities realize that students are members of the 'academic community' and as such have a right to influence in decision-making within the University, they will continue to be responsible for the occurrence of action of this kind'. 18.

Some time later, Bill Hartley, a part-time student and Federal executive member of the Labor Party, would assert that: 'The responsibility for the showdown rests very largely with the University Council. It was the Council which refused negotiations ...' 19. Hartley's supportive attitude was based on an ALP State Council policy, but brought him into public conflict with State parliamentary Labor leader Clyde Holding. Holding's condemnation of the militant students earned him the 'one hundred percent support' of Liberal Premier Bolte. 20. Moreover, on 23 September the Moderate Student Alliance, which had become dominated by DLP-aligned conservatives, actually organized and sponsored an address by Holding on the campus.

The Maoist leaders, who would bear the brunt of disciplinary action, were satisfied that the blockade had been correct. At a fundamental level, it had served 'the protracted struggle to build a socialist revolutionary movement in Australia'. And, more specifically, it had provoked critical thought: 'Never before at La Trobe has discussion of the social function of the University in society been challenged in such a mass way ...' 21. Such discussion occurred in Rabelais, which published the conflicting analyses by York and Professor Goldman. While the involvement of a professor in discussion at the grassroots level was welcomed, Dr Goldman's argument betrayed a frightening and gross ignorance of his adversaries' viewpoint. Essentially, like other critics, Goldman had imposed a formula onto the La Trobe situation without actually analysing its intricacies. Thus, the blockade was at once 'classified with the events at Harvard and many other universities in America and Europe'.

The specifics of La Trobe's situation were not analyzed outside of the imposed stereotype. Thus, according to Goldman: 'It (the blockade) was a classical illustration of political tactics, predictable step by step, of using non-issues to gain spectacular publicity for the Maoist cause in which physical coercion, bullying, and cowardice are distorted into the brave acts of heroic revolutionaries'. The professor's portrayal of the 'non-issues' simply had no relationship to fact. On the main issue of Glenn and Callinan, Goldman claimed that: 'The argument here is guilt by association'. While it is interesting to note that the professor seemed to implicitly believe that Glenn and Callinan were, in some sense, 'guilty', he had nonetheless not understood the student movement's position. The abundant literature revealed that 'guilt by association' was never

argued. The contention was simply, to quote York's reply, that 'Glenn and Callinan are the choicest examples of those class interests which we maintain the university is geared to serve'. 22.

Another, more fundamental, flaw in Goldman's case was tackled by one of the professor's staff in the School of Education. Doug White drew attention to the lack of meaning in any discussion not based on practice. Doug White suggested that: 'The Martin Report, the activities of the Australian Universities Commission, the educational thought of such Council members as P.G. Law, Sir A. Glenn, and B.J. Callinan have been well publicized in recent times; they all involve an expectation of a kind of action for the universities and graduates which is not a subject of discussion. People come into the university for three or four years, and go out as attractively packaged units of human capital. This is the question we have to ask Dr Goldman - is that concept up for discussion? If it is, it must also be up for action, or the discussion is pointless'. 23.

Second term would have dwindled away, as it usually had, were it not for the continuing Australian tour by the Springboks. Fifteen hundred Queensland University students had sought to march to their parliament on 21 July to protest against the State of Emergency, only to sample the unrestrained power such a declaration placed in the hands (and fists) of the police. Each attempt at demonstration during that week was repressed by police whose brutality was 'systematic, premeditated, unprovoked, and unprecedented' (even by Brisbane standards). 24. In consequence of the impossibility of organizing effective legal protests against the Springboks, the Queensland students turned to the strike tactic. The Queensland University strike received enormous support and remains the most successful student-staff strike on an Australian campus.

On 29 July, strike leader Garry Malinas, who had been touring campuses for support, addressed a GMS at La Trobe in Glenn Dining Hall. Despite the fact that general meetings concerning the blockade had only attracted a couple of hundred students, a thousand turned up for the Queensland issue. The vast majority present endorsed a motion for La Trobe to strike 'in solidarity with Queensland University and as part of the continuing protest against the Springboks' and for La Trobe to become 'a centre for discussion of, and action against, racism'. The most significant feature of the meeting, however, was its rejection of the more militant resolutions (calling for picketing of classes, etc.) moved by the Maoists. The

student movement was no longer confident in its leadership and did not want to be locked into the confrontation-repression-confrontation cycle. This lack of confidence was accentuated as a result of an incident after the meeting, when a group of 40 militants spotted a police car entering the Library car park and literally chased it off the campus, shattering a windscreen in the process.

Like the blockade, the reasons for the action were widely understood but not widely supported. Only the laying of disciplinary and police charges over the incident would eclipse the strong tactical disagreement with the action by most on the Left.

CHAPTER TEN:

FANNING THE FLAMES AND REMOVING THE BARS

Third Term should have commenced quietly for the following reasons: the Maoists were strategically in a bind and isolated from their base of student support; the campus mood was altering, reflecting the demise of the anti-war movement and other student movements; and the campus was traditionally passive after August due to student preoccupation with the annual examinations in November. Furthermore, the Academic Board's Admissions Policy committee was dominated by anti-exclusionists and would clearly recommend the rescission of the clause. The Glenn issue, by itself, would not have sustained a militant and large student movement in third term.

A wise Vice Chancellor would have let matters rest. Dr Myers, however, chose to initiate disciplinary proceedings. The immediate consequence was to revive the old campus spirit of controversy and rebellion, re-unite the student movement and re-establish the Maoist hegemony (who were now also 'martyrs' for the cause). Dr Myers had established the preconditions for further militant action. He had decided to go for broke, accepting uncritically the Democratic Labor Party (DLP) view that 'an organization bent on criminal violence' was behind the campus troubles. 1. Pressure on Dr Myers to take a much harder line against student dissent came, quite publicly, from the Democratic Labor Party (DLP) off the campus as well as on. The Victorian DLP leader, Frank Dowling, for example, had blamed the Vice Chancellor for having 'repeatedly failed to take action against the pro-violence minority'. 2. Similar pressure came from Professor Hugo Wolfsohn, of La Trobe's Politics Department who, in late July, was quoted in the 'Herald' as saying: 'Any attempt to discuss the student demands would make the university administration appear weak and ridiculous'. 3. Professor Wolfsohn was an outspoken campaigner against the secret 'terror group which was trying to destroy La Trobe'. All that was needed, he believed, was the elimination of the 'thirty-five Maoist-line students' and their 'six ring-leaders'. 4.

The 'conspiracy theory' was consistently advocated by the conservative Right. The National Civic Council (NCC) publication, 'Newsweekly', accounted for the unrest at La Trobe and elsewhere in

terms of a campus 'pro-violent minority', aided and abetted by off-campus Communists. 5. The NCC supporters/members at La Trobe argued the same line, through 'Liberty' and other publications. There was a remarkable similarity between such campus newspapers as 'Radical' at Melbourne University, 'Democrat' at Sydney, 'Free Speech' at Monash and 'Liberty' at La Trobe. There is good reason to believe that Dr Myers was influenced by a 'Peace with Freedom' (PWF) group on the campus. PWF was essentially a Rightwing 'united front'. It was established around 1965 by B.A. Santamaria, of the NCC, and a Melbourne University academic, Dr Frank Knopfmacher. 6. The PWF, according to one speaker at an NCC conference on 'The Student Problem' in mid-1971, existed 'within each university'. A report in 'The Catholic Worker' revealed that: 'Ten to fifteen undergraduates and graduates form into a 'Peace with Freedom' group. These groups are autonomous but depend on the NCC for logistic support. Their task is to isolate and discredit members of leftwing groups, and to put out a volume of countervailing material themselves'. Of crucial importance was the claim that: 'The groups have representatives on university councils who can put pressure on Vice-Chancellors'. 7. The NCC was able to manipulate conservative opinion. Such manipulation would have been facilitated by the La Trobe Vice Chancellor's Advisory Committee (VCAC) which during 1971 met fortnightly, responding at critical moments to specific student activities without the benefit of discussion at Council and Academic Board level. The VCAC membership during 1971 reads like a Who's Who of La Trobe's senior academic and administration adherents to the conspiracy theory. All were firm opponents of the student movement, and there was no SRC representative. The de-liberalization of Dr Myers' attitude might have reflected the advice he was receiving from Professors Wolfsohn, Goldman and Eleizer, Chief Librarian Borchardt, Registrar Major-General Taylor and Business Manager Barnes.

On 5 August, with the term vacation in sight, Dr Myers announced that various charges would be heard against ten students on Monday, 23 August. These related to obstruction of facilities and undue interference with Dr Law and university property, arising from the blockade. Another charge - damaging the good repute of the university by throwing stones at a police car - arose from the 29 July incident. Of the ten students charged, nine could reasonably be described as 'chief conspirators': Ken White, Peter Dowling, Barry York, Rob Mathews, Tom Brennan, Ian MacDonald, Demos Krousos,

Fergus Robinson and Peter Cochrane. However, they were by no means the only militant leaders.

The Vice Chancellor's tactic of convening the hearings on the first day of term, at the Industrial Appeals court in the city, ensured that protest action would be minimized, but such manoeuvres would also arouse wide opposition. Nine of the ten withdrew from the hearing when requests for adjournments were turned down by the Proctorial Board chairman, William Kaye, QC. There is no doubt that in a civil or criminal case, the adjournments - to allow time to call witnesses - would have been granted. In addition to expressing a desire to call student witnesses, some of the nine sought time to call Sir Archibald Glenn as witness. When Rob Mathews was asked by Kaye why he sought to call Sir Archibald, he replied: 'Because of political issues; because of his exploitation of the people and resources of Vietnam and South Africa'. In viewing such applications as spurious, Kaye was making a political decision and prejudging the main issue underlying the campus disciplinary problems. 8.

Tried in their absence, eight of the ten were found guilty and excluded from the university for periods up to three years. One of the two acquitted, John Davies, published an account of his trial which thoroughly delegitimized the tribunal in the eyes of many moderate students. Titled Kangaroo Court, the leaflet paints a comic portrait of a 'toy court', with distinguished witnesses making the most elementary errors of identification. Davies was cleared by the Board, leaving many on the Left to believe that the Board sought to render unreasonable the position of those who had walked out, thereby minimizing their chances of winning student support. However, an indication of the degree to which the student movement was revitalized by the disciplinary proceedings and penalties is found in the formation of a 'Committee Against Repression' (CAR), which met each day during the first week of term, attracting a hundred or so students to each gathering. Despite the Vice Chancellor's warning to stay away from the university grounds, the eight defiantly continued their participation in the conflict. CAR now replaced the Labor Club's Action Committee as the vehicle for mobilizing student opposition. The base of active support for CAR had broadened; even though proposals emanating from the Maoist quarter prevailed.

CAR's first major move was to convene an unofficial general meeting of students for Wednesday, 1 September. All eyes were on this

meeting. It would determine, not only the extent of support for the eight, but also whether or not the Maoists had regained lost ground. Moreover, the SRC had convened a GMS for Thursday, 2 September to discuss the same issue. The extent to which a movement still existed, or had been revived, would be gauged by the numbers, voting patterns and spirit at the unofficial meeting. In the event, both gatherings were a great success for the Left. The Wednesday meeting packed out Glenn Dining Hall and saw motions condemning the Proctorial Board and urging the 'immediate reinstatement of the eight' carried with near unanimity. The revival of a spirited and large student movement carried over into the GMS the next day. The Right had petitioned the meeting with a view to isolating the eight. They were well-organized, with David Brown in the chair, and all their leaders in attendance: Sue Uniacke, Jan Sullivan, Neil Donahoo, Ian Blandthorn, Terry Monagle, Chris Curtis and Judy McCormack. A motion supporting the Proctorial Board was easily defeated and a foreshadowed motion, condemning the Board and recognizing the eight as students of La Trobe University, was carried - again with virtual unanimity. 9.

Losing on the matter of principle, the Right then argued tactically that the eight should exercise their right of appeal. Once more, the Right was rejected by the 600 present, and a foreshadowed motion - moved by the acquitted John Davies - carried in its place. The Davies' motion urged the eight not to appeal unless granted: (i) open hearings, (ii) hearings on campus, (iii) right to legal representation, (iv) costs of legal representation, (v) a transcript or notes of all evidence (including statements) presented at the original hearing, and (vi) proceedings to be initiated before the end of September. The meeting also called for the Appeals Committee to comprise two staff and three students. Finally, despite their excluded status, Peter Dowling and York successfully moved for an ultimatum to be issued to Council, threatening that if the conditions of appeal weren't met, students would meet on the 9th to consider action. September 7 was the deadline for appeals to be lodged.

It was on the issue of 'natural justice' that sympathy for those charged became widespread; for justice must not only be done but must be seen to be done. The demand for open hearings and hearings on campus became central in the Left's literature. However, it must be added that the student movement was not on solid legal ground in drawing analogies between Common Law and university disciplinary procedures. The Proctorial Board, like the Appeals Committee, was

only quasi-judicial in status. In other words, it had 'absolute discretion' in determining its own procedures. Nonetheless, the Proctorial Board and the Appeals Committee were generally perceived as violating natural justice in important respects, and the student movement cleverly exploited this perception. Furthermore, the Council's own Disciplinary Advisory Committee would recommend in October 1971 that '... disciplinary tribunals may operate more informally than regular courts of law, but their procedures should be consistent with the rules of natural justice'. 10.

Set up in late 1971, the Proctorial Board comprised William Kaye, QC (chairman), Professors Marsh and Reid, Dr Pat Woolley, and SRC nominee J. Gregor (who was to be withdrawn by the SRC). The Appeals Committee was also chaired by a Queen's Counsellor not associated with the University. The insufficient representation of students on both tribunals reinforced the general scepticism with which they were viewed, especially as the Vice Chancellor had in June 1970 personally recommended an Appeals Committee comprising three elected representatives of the Academic Board and three SRC nominees. The Council's Disciplinary Advisory Committee advocated the same balance for both disciplinary bodies: half students and half staff. Notwithstanding the inherent 'injustices', the very selective nature of the application of charges in the first place reeked of victimization. More than 200 students had been involved in unlawful protest activities, yet the numbers charged would never exceed 25. The Vice Chancellor's report on 'Apparent Breaches of Regulation 8.3(3)' identified five students who had breached discipline by actively maintaining the blockade but they were never charged. 11. The authorities, it seemed, were out to 'get' the known leaders.

The Proctorial Board and the Appeals Committee did not adhere to procedures based on natural justice but, being domestic tribunals established under subordinate legislation, they were not legally required to do so. The penalties imposed, however, suffered a lack of legitimacy in the eyes of most students as a result. And it must be stressed that the eight 'convicted' received some of the strongest disciplinary sentences ever handed out to university students in Australia. Four were excluded till January 1973, one till January 1974 and three till March 1974. Sympathy for the penalized was aroused additionally by the fact that they stood the prospect of becoming, and actually became (in some cases), victims of double

jurisdiction. Left literature wrongly confused this with 'double jeopardy', which refers to two prosecutions in the same system of courts for a single act. Nonetheless, the basic moral point was strong; the eight who were expelled (or 'excluded' to use the official jargon) were exposed to criminal charges by the police, civil prosecutions, and loss of studentships and scholarships, in addition to expulsion, all as a result of the essentially singular offence. Five of those expelled, for instance, were also arrested by police over offences for which they had been expelled. Four - Dowling, York, White and Brennan - faced charges arising from the blockade, while Robinson was also arrested over the police-car incident of 29 July. (La Trobe University's policy was actually inconsistent on this matter, as it had been prepared to withdraw a civil charge against Brian Pola because 'the student had already been penalized by the Proctorial Board'). 12.

The continued involvement of the excluded students in campus politics troubled the Vice Chancellor and the VCAC, which had become a virtual battle command centre against the rebels. At its 30 August meeting, for instance, it discussed preparations (including the provision of a megaphone) to deal with a feared disruption of an Academic Board meeting. The agenda was mainly occupied, however, by discussion concerning the appearance of excluded students on the campus. Dr Myers recommended that not 'too rigorous a line' be taken until the appeals deadline had transpired. 13.

On 6 September, the eight lodged appeals with the Vice Chancellor, along the lines urged by the 2 September GMS. Two days later the Appeals Committee was established by a special meeting of Council. It failed entirely to meet the requirements of the general meetings and the SRC, and instead was to comprise three lawyers with no association with the university; one being a QC and chairman of the committee. It would determine its own procedure. In accord with the 1 September ultimatum, a general meeting was held on the 9th to consider action. The meeting's mood was against militant action for various reasons. There was certainly no desire for another blockade-type confrontation, but the more decisive explanation is to be found in the consensus within the student movement which recognized that the future course would be determined by the nature of the appeals procedure. That is to say, the next tactical step would necessarily revolve around the appeals. As long as there was a chance, no matter how slim, that the committee might adopt a

procedure with some important points in common with those sought, then the student movement knew that it would have to give it a go.

Another significant factor concerned the Academic Board's Admissions Policy Committee (APC) which was about to issue its report to the board. The appeals were scheduled for 29 September and the APC report had to be submitted on the 17th. Coincidentally, the next meeting of the Academic Board, at which the report would be considered, was also to take place on the 29th. A GMS was held on the 21st, in response to complaints of police harassment of student leaders. The meeting condemned 'police surveillance and intimidation of students around the precincts of the campus' and also reiterated the demand for 'open hearings on campus' as a condition of appeal. The GMS was important in reviving the original theme of the struggle, which had been overlooked since the movement had been placed on the defensive; namely, the question of the role of the university. The 'anti-exclusion campaign' was to be broadened by recognizing that 'This university perpetuates capitalist society not only through its research and training but by strengthening, through selection procedures, an hierarchical stratification resulting in the exclusion of the majority of students from workingclass homes'. Thus, added to the demand for reinstatement of the eight, and the rescission of the exclusion clause, was another anti-exclusionist position, namely: 'That from 1973 the university cease to recognize the quota system and immediately gives preference to Aborigines, handicapped students, migrants, wards of the state, etc., and that the La Trobe University fee increase of 1971 be redirected to the SRC as a trust fund for scholarships for needy applicants and that the portrait of Glenn in the Library be sold and the money used for the same purpose'.

The added dimension was an attempt at strategic reorientation at a time when an activist-oriented movement was being compelled by circumstances to refrain from direct action - at least until 29 September. The concern over the exclusion of disadvantaged people helped establish a milieu in which the university could establish an 'early leavers scheme', making twenty places in the School of Humanities available to non-matriculants. However, as a strategic reorientation it was unsuccessful. The essential dynamic of the student movement was to be found in its relationship with the authorities: a repression-resistance dialectic over which, in late 1971, the students had little control. The outcome of the two crucial events of the 29th - the Appeals committee and the Academic Board's

consideration of the APC report - would elevate the cycle to a new height of intensity. The APC had recommended in mid-September that, 'Applicants who are currently under suspension from another educational institution should not be rejected on that ground, and such applicants should be treated in exactly the same way as other applicants'. In other words, it recommended the rescission of the exclusion clause.

The Academic Board had established the APC in June and had stressed to its chairman, Michael Schneider, the need to report by mid-September. Yet on the 29th, the Academic Board declined to accept the APC recommendation and instead deferred the matter until its next meeting in late October. An outraged Dr Schneider immediately circularized all APC members pointing out that if he was invited to the next Academic Board meeting he would decline the invitation. It was not only the deferral that had annoyed the chairman, but also the Academic Board's handling of the report. 'For the greater part of the time', he stated, 'I had to sit listening to comments not a few of which were insulting to the members of the APC'. 14. The next issue of *Rabelais* featured the Schneider letter on its front page. An editorial summed up the student movement's response well: 'If the authorities who run the university will not consider the arguments or listen to the opinions of others it can hardly be expected that those who are the subject of their decisions will pay them that compliment'. 15. The deferral of the Academic Board decision would have been sufficient in itself to provoke direct action. On the very same day, however, the Appeals Committee added more fuel to the flames when it rejected the conditions sought by the eight, by general meetings, and by the SRC. The Vice Chancellor had once again missed an opportunity for resolving the conflict. The Appeals Committee could have been constituted as a three staff, three students, proposition - as Dr Myers had recommended in June 1970. It was not impossible for it to be open to representatives of certain interested parties. And the excluded, in having their conditions met, or largely met, would have been bound to accept the appeals' outcome - or at least would have been expected to do so by the student body.

The appellants attended the committee hearing at the Industrial Appeals Court, only to withdraw when the conditions were rejected. Mr Lloyd, QC deemed the appeals to have been abandoned. 16. The Maoists' gesture ran hot with the news of the appeals fiasco and urged students to attend an unofficial general meeting with a view to taking action the next day. The few hundred who gathered in Menzies

Lounge on the 30th could either take direct action or surrender. There was little room for compromise, given the circumstances. The motion for an occupation was put and carried, and implemented by the hundred or so who gathered in the student administration area of the Social Science building. The staff, being unable to work, were sent home and the university thus disrupted. The Maoists had achieved their tactical objective, but it had placed them and their supporters in a strategic bind. Support would inevitably diminish as there was little to do other than continually seize the administration building. The Vice Chancellor could have issued a condemnatory statement and sat back and waited. Or, more wisely, could have recognized the validity of the student demands. Dr Myers opted for neither choice. Rather he called the police, 200 of whom promptly arrived on the campus.

The following day, Dr Myers issued a statement explaining his actions and pointing out that the excluded students were not covered by the university's discipline statute. The statement might have made sense were it not for the fact that the only person arrested was one of the better known enrolled students, the SRC President, Brian Pola. During the occupation, various Administration documents were taken from the Registrar's files. These caused a great sensation, as they included confidential material relating to the campus conflict. Copies of the documents were displayed on the SRC windows and discussed at an unofficial general meeting on 4 October.

September 30, 1971, marks the first occasion in Australian history when police entered a university campus to disperse a student sit-in. It is hard to reconcile the Vice Chancellor's action with previously-expressed views. In 1969, for instance, he had warned of the dangers inherent in police involvement in campus disputes, pointing out how 'The arrival of police often turns a quiet demonstration into a riot where people are injured and property is damaged'. 17. He was aware of 'the risk that these steps might threaten the academic freedom of the university community'. 18. The consequence of his decision to call in the police was predictable: an unofficial general meeting condemned the 'invasion' and another occupation - this time as an act of defiance as well as protest - took place. The numbers involved never totalled more than 200, and campus opinion was sharply divided whenever direct action occurred, but there is no doubt that the rebels were supported by hundreds of other students who, for various reasons, were not willing to join them. Fear of expulsion and of police was no doubt one

factor, but there was also enormous pressure emanating from the media against student militancy. Individuals who vaguely matched the unkind stereotype portrayed in the newspapers experienced significant social pressure outside the campus. Hostility and derision combined to isolate the militant minority, and had great success in the community at large. Within the university, however, unfair media treatment of student rebels aroused sympathy for them. Students, like police, had their own group-solidarity. Apart from trade unionists, it is difficult to identify an activist minority which has been subjected to greater negative stereotyping in the press than students. Uncritical acceptance of the viewpoint of those in authority, failure to seek out the militants' viewpoint and a preoccupation with violence characterize the mainstream media's coverage of student unrest.

The militants, on the whole, were placed in a very strong position, politically speaking, as a result of the appeals' failure. The occupation, after all, had happened at a time when all legal channels had been exhausted. The Glenn issue was still classified as non-negotiable, and while the exclusion clause was close to rescission the student movement would not accept delivery of anything but the goods. If the movement's response to the events of the 30th had been predictable, then so had the Vice Chancellor's. On 6 October, Dr Myers announced that charges would be heard against enrolled students who had been involved in the occupations of the 30th and 1 October. The question of the participation of excluded students would be put to the university solicitors, and senior staff involved in occupations were asked to list excluded offenders separately from enrolled ones. The new lot of disciplinary charges, coupled with Dr Myers' rejection of an invitation to send a representative to the general meeting arranged for the 6th, meant that it was a foregone conclusion that the 200 students who constituted the student movement's militant mass would vote once again to occupy the Administration offices. That both sides had become locked into their respective strategic patterns was revealed not only in the occupation itself but also by the repeat use of police to disperse it. A Keystone farce ensued, with students leaping from the ground-floor windows whenever police approached, and re-occupying whenever they retreated.

The following day, another general meeting resolved to support the students who had taken direct action and to condemn the police. The natural thing to do, from the Maoist viewpoint, was to occupy again.

However, a successful attempt at strategic intervention came from outside the student movement when some of the academics who had criticized the Council over the blockade suggested that the meeting endorse an ad hoc student-staff committee 'as a final effort to communicate and gain reasonable response from (the Administration).' The proposal was accepted, but viewed with extreme caution by the hard-core. Its great appeal to the movement in general was that it offered an alternative to confrontations between the Administration, police, and students.

The stated objective of the ad hoc 'October 7 Committee', as it was known, was to convince Dr Myers to hold over all penalties 'until such time as the university community has time to consider and reach a decision about the issues which are at the base of the strife'. 19. The Vice Chancellor, with the Registrar and Deans, met with representatives of the committee (Gerry Gill, Ed Lagdzin, Brian Pola, Doug White, Nick Szorenyi and Heinze Schutte) on Wednesday, 13 October, to discuss four issues: why open hearings had not been granted; why police had been called; why the university's disciplinary powers and responsibilities had been handed over to outside bodies; and why established legal institutions were not used if allegedly criminal actions had occurred. In endorsing the 'October 7 Committee', the militants had clearly sought a 'way out' of seemingly indefinite confrontations. The committee thus represented another way in which Dr Myers could have sought to resolve the antagonisms. His attitude to the committee representatives, however, was anything but reconciliatory. The Vice Chancellor refused to discuss any suggestion that disciplinary penalties and procedures be temporarily suspended, and gave each representative a copy of one of his bulletins which had conveyed his case to the campus community. The committee was laid to rest by Dr Myers' infamous weapon: the rebuff.

The following week, the Vice Chancellor's hard line was expressed again - in a manner which shocked moderate and militant students alike. In an unprecedented move (in Australia and possibly the world), Dr Myers had heavy-gauge wire gratings rivetted over the windows of the ground floor of the Administration building. The 'bars' covered the same windows from which students had escaped arrest. There was little doubt that they were a temporary fixture, as the Administration was planning to move to a new building at the end of the year. 'The sole purpose of the "bars"', argued one leaflet, 'is either to act as a deterrent for occupations this week, or failing that,

aid in setting up a trap to enable the police to make mass arrests'. 20. With the 'swat-vac' and examinations only weeks away, the student movement by mid-October was reduced to its most loyal 200 or so. In response to the 'bars', they gathered on Monday, 11 October, and voted to remove them. A statement by the 'removalists' explained that: 'We could have pulled the bars down in the dead of night, but it was decided that the Administration was hoping to intimidate all students by the bars. That is why we pulled down the bars in the open, in a mass way. The lesson for the Administration is clear. The student body will not be intimidated'. 21.

It would seem that the Administration did indeed learn the lesson. Despite the fact that evidence had been collected by senior staff, no punitive measures were taken. The removal of the bars was the final student protest action on the campus in 1971.

The Proctorial Board met for the second time from 21-27 October to hear charges against 24 students arising out of the occupations of 30 September, 1 October, and 6 October. Twenty-three were found guilty, five being excluded and fined (Brian Pola, John Cummins, Sharon Conroy, Ian Coulter and Rod Taylor) and 18 fined. Fines totalling \$3,175 were imposed. No-one was excluded for more than a year; hence precluding any right of appeal. The 21-27 October hearings were also the subject of accounts by those who had participated. As a result of the absence of transcripts, the student body could only look to the Left for detailed 'inside' reports. John Cummins' published statement, 'Fascist Proctorial Board Hearings', was widely circulated and drew attention to what Cummins regarded as the 'tyrannically domineering' figure of Kaye, QC, who, according to Cummins, declared to those charged: 'You have no rights here'. 22. Prosecution witnesses, according to Cummins, were granted permission to refuse to answer any questions when cross-examined.

While the Proctorial Board was handing down its penalties, the Academic Board was meeting to finally determine its response to the APC report. The main opponents of the report argued that, if admissions in 1972 were made without taking account of any exclusions from other Australian universities, the administration of discipline within the university could suffer. Furthermore, they suggested that any rescission of the clause would 'weaken the position recently taken in relation to breaches of discipline and could be construed as partial vindication of incidents on campus directed against the admissions policy for 1971'. 23. Despite the

strong dissent of Professor Wolfsohn, who represented the Board on the Council, the APC report was accepted. The clause's rescission came as a morale-boost for the activists, who were fatigued as well as demoralized by the harshness of the penalties against them. At the Council meeting of 15 November, however, the student victory briefly hung in the balance as some councillors expressed opposition to the Academic Board's decision. The rescission, it was felt, ran contrary to the stand taken in recent disciplinary proceedings'. 24. Nonetheless, the Council accepted the Board's report, noting that to do otherwise 'would impair relations with staff'.

If the rescission of the exclusion clause had been a morale-booster to the Left, the next victory was seen as a complete vindication. A few weeks after the rescission, the university would be stunned by a small headline in the Sun newspaper: 'I Want to Quit, Says Uni Chief'. 25. In early December 1971, Sir Archibald Glenn took the unusual step of announcing his intended resignation prior to the termination of his appointment. His main stated reason - his election to the board of ICI in London - rang hollow in the ears of the student movement as he had in fact been elected to that position in 1970. The SRC was probably accurate in attributing the resignation to 'student pressure'. 26. The Chancellor would formally resign in June 1972, but the announcement in December was all it took to convince the militants, and no doubt some others, that their way was the right way.

The final weeks of the year may have been uneventful as far as direct action was concerned, but decisions were being formulated within the confines of the SRC office and the Council Room which would fundamentally affect the campus in 1972. The fifth SRC, which was evenly divided between 'Left' and 'Right', with one or two 'swinging voters' holding the balance, held its fourth meeting on Tuesday, 2 November, and resolved to put the following policy to a GMS in the first week of term, 1972: 'That in 1972, the SRC shall pay, from the Bursary Fund or such other fund as the Finance Committee recommends, that part of a student's university fees which exceeds the normal fee for the course or courses for which the student enrolls'. 27. Fees were defined as 'all moneys which become payable to the University Administration before the student is recognized as enrolled; that is, Tuition Fees, General Service Fees, and such fines as were imposed by the Proctorial Board, but not Library fines'. In other words, the SRC had decided, subject to a GMS, to pay the Proctorial Board fines. And at its fifth meeting, on 7 December, it

resolved to continue to recognize Brian Pola as an SRC member and President, despite his exclusion which would come into effect in January 1972. Both policies were conveyed to the Council in the SRC's December report.

Some members of the Council had been concerned for some time that the SRC had been using its funds in ways which they believed contravened the La Trobe University Act. It was not surprising then that the decision to pay fines should have been seen as the last straw. At its meeting of 20 December, Council responded to the SRC's policies by warning it that legal action was being sought concerning the use of SRC funds and that 'as Mr Pola would not be a member of the university in 1972 he could not be recognized as a member or President of the SRC'. 28. Legal action, it advised, was also being sought regarding the presence of excluded students on the campus.

The SRC's recognition of Pola created a huge gap between it and the Council when, at its 20 February meeting, the latter body refused to accept the SRC's report on the grounds that the meeting had been unconstitutional due to Pola's participation. 29. The February Council meeting was decisive in ensuring that 1972 would be another year of student unrest at La Trobe. It launched an all-out legal assault on SRC autonomy and its treatment of Pola had 'presented the student Left with a tailor-made martyr to kick off the academic year with'. 30. The Council's reliance on Supreme Court action against SRC funds and against excluded students would preoccupy the campus.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: INJUNCTIONS AND GAOLINGS

Orientation Week 1972 began with the usual flood of radical literature, but one publication stood out. A special edition of 'Red Moat' appeared in newspaper format. It summed up the previous year's events, arguing that despite 'the calling of hundreds of police onto campus, the exclusion of twelve students, the fining of twenty-three \$3,175, and the laying of civil charges', it had been a 'year of victory'. Furthermore: 'A broad and vigorous progressive student movement developed ... Glenn, the Chancellor, was forced to resign before his term of office ended and the university authorities were forced to rescind the exclusion policy'. 1.

The special Red Moat marked the birth of its new publishers, the La Trobe branch of the Worker-Student Alliance (WSA), and its emblazoned title summed up the student movement's response to the Council's support for Supreme Court action against SRC finances: 'WAR'. In light of the fact that the Council's decision had been made in February, the summer vacation period was as important in 1972 as it had been the previous year. It was a period in which the activist core of the student movement could take stock of past experience and formulate strategies and specific propositions concerning the new year. It was during this period that a WSA branch was finally established at La Trobe and recognized by the WSA central executive.

The proponents of WSA, however, had not changed their derogatory attitude to students. Indeed, the WSA State Conference in September 1971 had directed students, where possible, to get part-time jobs during the year. The policy would have had a disastrous effect for activists on a campus like La Trobe, which required virtual full-time political workers. In 1971, while there was no WSA branch, there were nonetheless La Trobe members of suburban branches. Two, Fergus Robinson and Barry York, were identified as 'student-liners' who resisted any practical steps to strategically reorientate the movement away from its campus targets. Robinson and York criticized the WSA Conference's denigration of the La Trobe events. 'Eight members of WSA are involved in a major struggle at La Trobe', they wrote, 'They are facing severe repression. This was only one example of current struggles that were virtually ignored by the Conference. Motions relating to La Trobe, although carried,

were not discussed at all'. 2. Nonetheless, there was sufficient support for the establishment of a La Trobe branch in 1972.

The Heidelberg WSA branch, while totally eclipsed by the fury of the 1971 campus events, served to maintain a loose nexus between the student movement and the WSA central executive. But most importantly, a group of trade unions, recognized for their militancy, had supported the excluded students in August 1971. The Building Construction Workers & Builders Labourers Federation, the Plumbers and Gasfitters Union, the Boilermakers and Blacksmiths, the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union and the Waterside Workers Federation (WWF) were to underwrite the publication of 50,000 leaflets explaining the issues underlying the blockade to their members. On 29 August, a deputation comprising two excluded students, Robinson and Ian MacDonald, had addressed a meeting of the 27 'Rebel Unions' who had withdrawn from the Victorian Trades Hall Council. From this meeting came the threat, by some of the unions, to impose blackbans on La Trobe building projects until such time as the eight were reinstated. 'Worker-student unity' was thus seen to have a basis in fact, as well as enormous political potential.

Leaving aside the ideological attraction WSA offered to student activists who adhered to the Maoist dictum of 'integrating with the working class', the fact remains that the La Trobe activist core had taken a beating from August to October 1971. The various structures established in response to circumstance - the Labor Club, the Action Committee and the Committee Against Repression - had collapsed by November. Due to the persistence of the WSA lobby within the student movement, the organizational vacuum was readily filled. Moreover, the 'WSA-liners' had emerged comparatively (and in some cases remarkably) unscathed; the activists with the greater commitment to the student movement were the ones to suffer most. Thus, while Robinson and York were interstate avoiding arrest, Dave Muller was able to convince the activist core of the advantages of a WSA branch. Under the circumstances, his task was easy. WSA was growing rapidly and carried considerable weight within the anti-war movement. In January 1971, it had five branches in Melbourne but, by 1972, there were sixteen Melbourne branches and branches in South Australia, Western Australia and New South Wales. On Saturday, 5 February, at a 'Conference of the La Trobe Left' held in Glenn College, it was decided that the excluded students should return to the university in 1972 and that the La Trobe WSA should lead the

campus struggle. The central WSA newspaper, 'Struggle', regularly reported on the La Trobe campaign, after the campus branch was formed. And it was presumably the WSA concept that attracted the continuing support of the militant trade unions in 1972. Perhaps the most significant trade union action was a delegation, representing eight unions and headed by Ted Bull of the WWF, which protested to Dr Myers on 9 May over the imprisonment of Robinson and Brian Pola. The worker-student strategy also resulted in the highly effective action of students distributing leaflets to the employees of companies in which members of the Council were known to have interests. Essentially though, the central WSA body maintained a love-hate relationship with La Trobe; supporting it 'because it was there' but really wishing it would go away. The La Trobe branch constituted a tension within the student movement. Its efforts to redirect the movement strategically away from the centre of the conflict contributed to a leadership crisis when - under the influence of the 'WSA-line' - certain excluded activists decided not to return in 1972.

For other campuses in Australia and throughout the world, 1972 commenced quietly and would have at La Trobe were it not for Supreme Court action against SRC funds. The hundreds of first-year students were not part of the 1969-71 'tradition', were not aware of the complicated origins of the conflict, and may have had a more cautious attitude to campus activism. Had the SRC simply been allowed to pay the fines, as it had been allowed to pay at least one student's fine after the Waterdale Road demonstration, then 1972 would almost certainly have begun passively at La Trobe. Instead, a basically new leadership strata emerged, centred on the moderate Leftists on the SRC, who combined with the established remnant Maoist activists in WSA.

Concern over SRC expenditure had first been raised by the Academic Board in July 1971. SRC funds had been expended on various controversial matters, usually on direction of an SRC General Meeting of Students (GMS). In 1970 and 1971, \$500 and \$300 had been set aside for bail for any La Trobe person arrested on the Moratorium. And in August 1971, the SRC had been directed to donate \$260 to subsidize a bus trip to Sydney for an anti-Springbok demonstration there. The University Business Manager, Frank Barnes, had met with solicitors Blake & Riggall that month to discuss whether the SRC had the power to use its funds for such matters. While the most intense concern emanated from balatantly

political quarters, there was certainly a bona fide legal problem involved. Thus, any expenditure not directly connected with La Trobe students became controversial; including an SRC decision to donate \$300 to Pentridge Prison for educational purposes. Government concern had been expressed by the State member for Hawthorn, Mr Jona, in September 1971 and by the Federal Minister for Education, Malcolm Fraser, in 1972. Fraser had written to all Vice Chancellors seeking advice on the control of expenditure from student funds for purposes which might be inconsistent with the broad purposes of the university. A precedent for Supreme Court intervention had been established at the Australian National University. The ANU Students' Association had voted to donate \$200 to the local Moratorium Committee, only to find an injunction had been taken out by two conservative students restraining it from doing so. It was commonly believed by the student Left that legal action taken in early 1972 against student representative bodies at Melbourne, Sydney, Queensland, Macquarie and Monash universities had been co-ordinated by the National Civic Council. The individuals concerned tended to be identified with the 'Democratic Club' network.

It is possible that the La Trobe Vice Chancellor would have supported other means of deterring the SRC from paying the outstanding Proctorial Board fines had the student representative on Council, Jan Sullivan, not been so enthusiastic and well prepared to pursue the Supreme Court avenue. As late as 20 January, for example, the Vice Chancellor's Advisory Committee (VCAC) was considering the cancellation of any re-enrolment in 1972 of any student whose fine had been paid out of SRC funds. A month later, however, Sullivan dropped her bombshell. It took the form of a letter to Dr Myers concerning SRC finances and resulted, after considerable discussion at Council's 21 February meeting, in three decisions which were to guarantee further trouble on the campus. First, in relation to Pola, whose exclusion had taken effect on 1 January, the Council decided not to recognize any SRC decisions 'in which the votes of a person who has ceased to be a member of the SRC have been taken into account'. Secondly, it resolved to 'assist the SRC to manage its affairs effectively' by approving Sullivan's request for reimbursement 'for such legal costs as may be reasonably incurred by her and by such member, or members, of the SRC as she may nominate in applying to the Supreme Court for an injunction'. And thirdly, Council agreed to withhold 'all payments from the University to the SRC ... in protection of the finance provided by students and to avoid any risk of these funds being applied in any manner other than that which

accords with decisions of the SRC properly taken'. 3. Moreover, the SRC was to be informed that payment of Proctorial Board fines would constitute an illegal use of SRC funds.

It was a sensational meeting from beginning to end. Indeed, it had commenced with the audacious Pola comfortably in the seat previously reserved for him as SRC President and ex-officio councillor. He was persuaded to leave, much to the Council's relief, but their pleasure soon soured when the SRC Report was received. The SRC had decided to 'refuse to recognize the administration' until such time as the excluded students were reinstated. 4. And it had implicitly recognized Pola as a continuing member, despite his exclusion. 5.

Sullivan and co-plaintiff Suzanne Uniacke, both SRC members, were aware of SRC policy at the time of Sullivan's letter to Dr Myers. The extent to which they were prepared, prior to the 21 February Council meeting, and confident of a favourable Council decision, is revealed in the fact that the application for an injunction came before Justice Newton only two days later, on Wednesday, 23 February. His Honour granted an interim injunction, restraining the SRC defendants from signing any cheques drawn for the purpose of paying student fines, and directing that the case be reconsidered in a week's time. On 1 March, Justice Lush ordered that all SRC funds (some \$4,000) be frozen, and adjourned the matter for hearing by Justice Newton on 10 March.

It is interesting to note that in seeking the injunction against SRC funds, Sullivan and Uniacke, and the Council, had anticipated that the GMS scheduled for 7 March would endorse the SRC decision to pay the fines. It must be remembered that Sullivan and Uniacke could have attended the GMS to argue their case before the student body. Or, they could have petitioned a referendum to allow the student body to determine the matter. The SRC, despite its fine balance, would express 'no confidence in the actions of Sullivan and Uniacke' and call for 'their immediate resignation from the SRC and, in the case of Sullivan, from the Council'. 6.

There was good legal reason to believe that the application for an interlocutory injunction would be granted on 10 March. In terms of the La Trobe University Act, the SRC could not legally make donations to bodies which had no direct connection with La Trobe students. Section 33(1) stipulated that 'All fees and all other moneys received by or on behalf of the University under the provisions of

this Act or otherwise shall be applied by the Council solely for the purposes of the University'. The purposes of the University were not defined in the Act but the objects of the University were listed in section 5 and related to the provision of facilities for study and education, the fostering of advancement and learning, and the general welfare and development of students. The SRC was established to assist in the latter object. Thus, argued Blake & Riggall, the Council could grant funds to the SRC but 'The SRC is not, of course, free to devote these funds to any cause whatsoever. On the contrary, it must act within the confines of its Constitution and of the Act'. 7.

The fundamental principle involved, at one level, was the right of the SRC to interpret its own constitution. Paragraph 2(k) of the statute establishing the SRC empowered it 'to use the funds of the SRC for payment of any work done in furtherance of the aims of the SRC'. The main 'object' of the SRC (there were no stated 'aims') was to protect and develop the interests of the students. Whereas the SRC would have argued that the payment of fines constituted a protection of student interests, the university solicitors saw things differently. Essentially, both were making political decisions. Blake & Riggall had classified the 'Bail Fund for draft resisters' as being outside the SRC's financial scope because it was not 'closely enough related to the general welfare and development' of the students; a value judgement, if ever there was one. The key criterion lay in the degree of nexus between the use of funds and La Trobe students as students. However, nobody really expected the Supreme Court to uphold the SRC's right to undermine the university's disciplinary statute by paying fines, even though the necessary 'nexus' was there.

The GMS to ratify or rescind the SRC decision to pay the fines took place on 8 March and was a critical event for the student movement. It would either establish a basis for a continuation of the struggle or it would thoroughly preclude the prospect of further student action over discipline and SRC autonomy. In the event, it was a solid success for the Left. Approximately 1,000 students attended, and formulated the platform for the ensuing campaign. By overwhelming majority, the GMS demanded the reinstatement of the excluded students, the dropping of civil charges and the resignation of Sullivan and Uniacke from the SRC. Despite threats from the Right to the effect that anyone speaking against the injunction would be liable to contempt proceedings, various SRC members and excluded students put the anti-injunction case. The GMS condemned 'the action of the Council in withholding all payments to the SRC' and

unanimously (presumably because the hard-core Right refused to vote for a motion they considered 'sub judice') ratified the SRC's policy on fines. 8. The meeting concluded with an invitation to the Vice Chancellor to attend a rally, organized by La Trobe WSA, to be convened the next day. A delegation of a few hundred then presented the resolutions to an administration officer. The scene was set, not only for a continuation of the student movement, but also for a revival of direct action. Dr Myers did not attend the meeting on the 9th, but 800 students gathered and voted to establish a 'broad, non-sectarian, open united front against repression at La Trobe' to be known as the 'Term One Committee'. The Committee became the organizational vehicle through which tactics could be thrashed out among the various factions. However, it also served to promote the new layer of leaders alongside the established Maoist-SRC alliance.

The summons for the interlocutory injunction came on for hearing as scheduled, on 10 March. However, various difficulties concerning the position of the university in the application resulted in the Vice Chancellor formally joining Sullivan and Uniacke as co-plaintiff on 14 March. The injunction was continued, and the hearing adjourned until the 22nd. The battle lines were now more clearly drawn and, during this period, SRC representatives visited various campuses seeking support. The principle of 'student autonomy' and 'student control over SRC funds' struck a resonant chord interstate. A total of \$5,600 was raised, either in grant or loan form, at ten universities and a technical institute. Back at La Trobe, the Term One Committee met almost daily, attracting between 100 and 300 students.

The Supreme Court hearing on the 22nd marked the end of the legal conflict over SRC funds and Pola's status. The eight SRC members who had been named as defendants feared that the enormous costs involved would be awarded against them, and had no guarantee that the SRC would be permitted to pay their costs. On 23 March, Justice Newton handed down his order, granting the interlocutory injunctions specifically against SRC payment of fines and against Pola's membership. While Newton was considering his verdict, Pola was defiantly chairing a GMS on La Trobe's Moat bank; a role reserved for the SRC President. 'I will take notice of the total acceptance of the SRC', he declared, 'and not the court order'. 9. The GMS was attended by about 600 students; the mass base of the movement at that point. The meeting demanded 'full autonomy for students in the management of their finances', requested Pola to 'resume full duties as President of the SRC irrespective of any court

injunction to the contrary' and directed the SRC to pay the fines immediately (which of course, it was unable to do). Finally, indicative of the direction in which the moderate Left was being shoved, SRC members Peter Taylor and Ray Cloonan moved for direct action. A delegation of a few hundred presented an ultimatum to the Administration, threatening further action if the SRC funds were not released within four days.

With the Supreme Court defence having been taken as far as realistically possible, the confrontationalist strategy was revived with renewed credibility: 'The most traditional argument against mass militant action has been that it is only justifiable when legal methods have been exhausted ... All the legal channels have been exhausted. We can only rely on our own efforts to gain justice. No other channels are open'. 10. The ultimatum to the administration expired on 28 March and another, larger, GMS revealed that the movement was alive and well. Once more, some of the excluded students played leading roles - most notably, Pola, Robinson and York - and joined with former 'moderates' in advocating direct action. More than 700 students voted for the occupation proposal; proportionately, the largest expression of support for militant action on an Australian campus. While technically an 'indefinite' action, the protestors began to dwindle by the 30th. During the three days, however, the administrative functioning of the university was brought to a standstill. Even the Vice Chancellor and the Registrar were denied access to their offices. The administration building became a rebel centre, as well as a virtual publishing house. One of the many thousand leaflets produced summed up the demands of the occupiers: 'Reinstate the expelled 12 (i.e., those who had not paid their fines by 13 March joined the excluded ranks), Drop all fines, Withdraw all civil charges, Student control of student money'. 11.

On 30 March, when the rebels decided to leave the building, an ideal situation existed in which to attempt to resolve the conflict. Police had not been used against the occupation and disciplinary charges were not laid. The occupation had represented a pinnacle of sustained direct action, leaving little alternative other than for a demise of similar activity. Essentially, all that was needed was a positive conciliatory gesture from the Vice Chancellor. What transpired, however, would result in an event unprecedented in Australian university history: the imprisonment, for an indefinite period and without trial, of three excluded students. On the last day of the occupation, Major-General Taylor, on behalf of the Vice Chancellor,

approached the Supreme Court to obtain an injunction restraining Pola, Robinson, York and Rod Taylor from entering the campus. Justice Newton granted the order, which was to take effect 'forthwith', but which would be reviewed on 7 April.

At this point it is necessary to digress to consider the nature of injunctive relief and the process of Dr Myers' decision to seek it. An injunction is an extraordinary legal procedure, in that it sidetracks all the normal processes of the law. Invariably, in the case of trespass, civil or criminal or quasi-criminal action would be available. Indeed, the Summary Offences Act's 'besetting' provisions had been used against Pola in late 1971. A violation of an injunction invokes the Court's contempt power. Thus, for non-criminal conduct the offender who is held to be in contempt of the court is imprisoned indefinitely (in theory can be detained forever); is not charged specifically; is not tried by jury; is not able to appeal; and may only find release by a purging of contempt (that is, apologizing to the court and promising to abide by its order). Moreover, actual damage need not be proved to support application for an injunction; only rights of property need be established. Injunctions are enormously broad in scope, and are enforced as writs either commanding an act or restraining an act. Daniel Bell once asserted that when a university takes out an injunction it is saying: 'These are our rules. We want you to take over and enforce them for us because we are, in effect, incapable of doing so'. 12.

Dr Myers was well versed in the American injunctions experience. Following a trip to the United States in 1969, which included visits to 'some of the universities which had been centres of student dissent', he reported that: 'Generally, the injunctions had been formed in such a way as to specify a particular act or particular acts of aggression but not to restrict the right of dissent or protest. They were aimed primarily at preventing interference with the university in the performance of its proper functions'. 13. The importance of framing injunctions to deal with specific acts was also stressed by the American Bar Association, with a view to 'responding more effectively to the disruption while avoiding unduly broad limitations upon freedom of expression'. 14. In 1969 Dr Myers was favourably disposed to injunctions that were specifically framed to deal with particular acts. Yet by 1972, he would become plaintiff in an injunction which was framed in the widest terms. The injunctions against the four excluded students restrained them from entering upon or remaining on the premises of La Trobe University. The Vice

Chancellor might have avoided both goalings and disruptions in 1972 had he reconsidered the 1970 advice of his Legal Officer, Maurice Lavoipierre. Presumably consulted after the 1969 August 'walk-in', Lavoipierre's statement was headed 'Court Injunctions Against Students' and referred to the experience at Sydney University and the London School of Economics. Yet the Legal Officer was less than enthusiastic, pointing out that: 'Students who decide on concerted action do not always think of the consequences. If they are determined to persevere on a course of action eventual punishment for contempt would, if anything, deter them less than the possibility of permanent exclusion'. 15. That, needless to say, was but one opinion.

Dr Myers found solid contrary evidence in some American events; most particularly the Columbia University experience. In April and May, 1969, the Columbia campus authorities had obtained injunctions restraining anyone from interfering with the operation of the university. Students had defiantly occupied two buildings, but when the court issued warrants for their arrest, they quickly dispersed. Time described it as 'a humiliating defeat for SDS'. 16. Columbia was placed on a pedestal as an example of how to deal with the disrupters. A dozen universities immediately wrote to the university president for details and touring administrators from other countries usually managed a visit, including Dr Myers. Suddenly, injunctions became all the rage in America. In elevating injunctive relief to the level of a 'final solution', university administrators sometimes overlooked other remedies available in law but, more importantly, became oblivious to methods based on discussion, negotiation, and persuasion. Above all, the injunction became the easy way out; especially in cases where student grievances were essentially just. When the president of the Michigan Institute of Technology obtained injunctive relief in November 1969, for example, he was not only restraining protestors from 'disrupting school activities', but was failing to confront the fact that MIT's role as a 'war researcher' was a legitimate source of student concern.

Injunctions were also taken out in England, against 'trespassers' at Bristol, Hull and Essex universities. The 1969 case of the London School of Economics (LSE) is notable for its similarities with La Trobe. Both student movements directed their energies against a 'non-negotiable' target which, they said, summed up the 'universities' subservience to capitalism. The LSE movement

challenged the position of director, Walter Adams, whose investments included holdings in South Africa. And the authorities' response was similar, bringing down injunctions only against the few 'ringleaders' and as a last resort. The LSE injunctions were notable for the specificity with which they were framed. They restrained¹³ student leaders from: '... interfering with or conspiring ... or inciting other person or persons to damage or interfere with ... any property of the plaintiff ... acting in a disorderly manner at the premises or doing any act or thing derogatory to the character or welfare of the plaintiffs or contrary to any rules made or directions given by Dr Walter Adams or under his authority; or conspiring ... or inciting other person or persons to do the same ... interfering in any manner whatsoever with the proper management and running of the plaintiff's school, or conspiring ... or inciting ... other persons to do the same'. 17.

The 13 were also restrained, in terms similar to the La Trobe injunction, from 'entering ... the LSE ... save at such times and in such part or parts as the plaintiffs may direct or permit'. However, two important distinctions need to be drawn, reflecting contrasts at both administration and legal levels. Firstly, Dr Adams had made clear in a letter to each of the 13 the circumstances under which they could enter the school. These basically related to educational matters (use of library facilities, etc.), but extended to use of cloakrooms, lavatories, and significantly, the refectory in the Student Union building. In effect, the injunction sought to restrain the 13 from political activities. Indeed, Adams had made clear that the permission to use the refectory did not include permission to attend Union meetings which were sometimes held there. While the La Trobe injunction allowed for Dr Myers to stipulate conditions of entry to the campus, he chose not to do so until August, by which time Fergus Robinson had been imprisoned for four months. Secondly, the English judge showed greater concern for the scope of the injunction, and rejected the section which effectively gave Dr Adams ultimate discretion. It is also noteworthy that, while writs were eventually served against some of the 13 with a view to committing them to Brixton Prison for contempt, the judge was not prepared to imprison them. His decision read, in part: 'I should have had no doubt that if they had been willing to offer a simple promise to comply with the injunction, I would have been right to accept that promise. My position is made more difficult by the fact that in conscience they refuse to give such a promise ... I am convinced that if I were to send these two defendants to jail for a short time, it

would do more harm than good. If I sent them to jail indefinitely, it would definitely do more harm than good'. 18.

It is true that at La Trobe the situation was complicated by the fact that the banned four were excluded students who were no longer subject to internal disciplinary regulations, but the La Trobe disruptions were insignificant compared to the consequences at LSE, which at one stage was compelled to shut down. By 1972, Dr Myers had available to him a body of local knowledge emanating from three Australian universities which had sought injunctions against disruption. Sydney University was the first Australian campus to seek such relief when, in March 1970, it obtained injunctions to restrain six students from 'damaging university property or interfering with university staff in the performance of their duty or to incite anyone to do this'. The injunction had been granted by Mr Justice Street on 24 March, and was successful in curbing occupations. It is significant that the Equity Court sharply rejected an application to have the injunction extended to an order to ban one young rebel from entering the campus premises at all.¹⁹ Later in the year, Mr Justice Pape of the Victorian Supreme Court would grant injunctions to the Vice Chancellor of Monash University to deal with rebels there. Various campus demonstrations had culminated in an occupation of the Monash administration building in October 1970. On 6 October, Justice Pape agreed to restrain a dozen or so ringleaders from 'entering or remaining upon the premises of the occupied building'.²⁰ Despite violations of the injunctions at Monash, the tragedy of indefinite gaolings was averted by the far-sighted attitude of Vice Chancellor Matheson. The day after obtaining the injunction, Dr Matheson addressed a meeting of 5,000 students to inform them that controversial exclusions, which had provoked the demonstrations, would be resolved by a staff-student referendum and that a special Council meeting would discuss the results.

Dr Myers had first raised the prospect of injunctive relief against excluded students at a meeting of his Vice Chancellor's Advisory Committee on 7 October 1971.²¹ The successful application for an injunction by the Queensland University Vice Chancellor in July had impressed Dr Myers to such an extent that he approached Zelman Cowan in November for the details. The Queensland injunction had been granted by Justice Stable on 28 July with a view to restraining 133 students from continuing an occupation of the campus Union building as part of the strike. The purpose

behind the order was to enable the Council to meet in the building; hence it only applied until 2 August.²² As Dr Myers did not seek an injunction against disruptive activity per se, nor against as many participants in such behaviour as could be identified, and as he did not seek an order that would be restricted in time, it would seem that the Queensland experience carried little weight. To understand the importance of Queensland, it is necessary to consider the ancillary injunction taken out on 30 July against an excluded student, Michel Thompson. In this injunction Dr Myers found his model. Thompson's continuing involvement in student politics had been classified as 'detrimental to the University's welfare' and so Justice Stable had agreed to restrain him, not from a particular building or activity, but from 'entering the lands and buildings under the University's control'.

Prior to Dr Myers' contact with Queensland University, the La Trobe solicitors, Blake & Riggall, had advised against any application for an injunction. The VCAC accepted the advice, 'for the time being', but resolved to be prepared. That the Vice Chancellor's primary concern was with disruptions involving excluded students was reiterated at the VCAC during its first meeting in 1972. Injunctions, it was decided, would be sought immediately if any unrest occurred in which the excluded participated.²³ Council had begun the process of seeking legal advice in December and by February was dealing with the specific proposal for an injunction against the 'trespassers'. On 7 March, with the GMS to discuss the injunctions against SRC funds only a day away, Dr Myers wrote to another law firm, Phillips, Fox & Masel, seeking advice as to 'the circumstances in which the University might obtain an injunction against a person or persons, such as excluded students, who persist in being on the campus'. Two points must be stressed. First, the excluded students had been notified in August that '... by virtue of their exclusion they are not permitted to enter the campus of the University or to use any facilities of the University and that, should they do so, action for trespass may be taken against them'.²⁴ And secondly, on 18 February, Blake & Riggall had informed the Vice Chancellor of the range of civil and criminal action available against trespassers. On 30 March Dr Myers opted for the big guns.

The 7 April Supreme Court hearing before Mr Justice Anderson resulted in a continuation of the injunction against the four excluded students and the issuing of 'show cause' writs against Pola and Robinson. Various affidavits from senior administrative staff and the

Vice Chancellor established that the restraining order had been violated. It is necessary to emphasize that, apart from the Registrar's application on 30 March, none of the affidavits specified disruptive behaviour on the part of the four. The issue was simply whether or not they had entered 'the premises known as La Trobe University'. Thus, the evidence against Pola centred on his participation in a general meeting on 6 April, while Robinson had been seen 'walking in a southerly direction between the social sciences building and the library'. 25. Evidence against York and Taylor was presented on 11 April. The former had been identified walking across one of the Moat bridges on the 11th and standing outside the campus State Savings bank the next day. 26. The only affidavit to imply a specific act of disruption was tendered against Rod Taylor, who had been seen entering the administration building while it was under occupation on 12 April. Taylor, however, was also the only one of the four not to be gaoled.

The four defied the injunction and continued to participate in campus political life as usual. The wide scope of the restraining order was regarded by the student movement as an attempt by the university authorities to debar the four from putting their point of view. As the defendants had expressed it to Justice Anderson on 7 April: 'The University authorities have lost the debate of ideas and now are relying increasingly upon the use of force to maintain their unpopular role'. Writs of attachment against Pola and Robinson were issued on 11 April and, by the next day, Robinson had been lodged in Pentridge Gaol. The absence of any trial or rights to bail or appeal, coupled with the indeterminate nature of the 'sentence', revived an old controversy within legal circles as to the issue of contempt. An attempt to seize Pola at the SRC office the same day failed, due to protection afforded by students.

The response to Robinson's gaoling was immediate and angry. An unofficial general meeting was convened for 1.00 that afternoon. With Pola in the chair, the thousand present unanimously condemned the imprisonment and reiterated previous policies. The general feeling on the campus was that things had gone too far. However, it was also unprecedentedly polarized as far as direct action was concerned. 27. The motion to occupy the Administration building, moved by Pola, provoked a clear division, with a slim majority (563) voting for it. The mood of the rebels was extremely militant and more determined than it had ever been. The gaoling had created a desperate situation. The student movement was once again being

sustained well beyond its time by the over-reaction of those in authority. It seemed that a new cycle of repression-resistance would be unleashed as the Registrar entered the building to read the 'riot act', warning those inside that: 'All unauthorized persons who have failed to leave this building in accordance with my previous direction are now considered to be in breach of university discipline or the Summary Offences Act'. Twenty-four hours later, the occupiers were still in control of the offices and it seemed that another police invasion was imminent. The threatened cycle was broken, however, when a small group of academic staff approached the students with an offer to mediate between them and the Council. The Vice Chancellor rejected the offer, as the occupation was still under way. Finally, on the 14th, the rebels decided to end the siege as a sign of willingness to negotiate.

The student movement had reached its final bind. The direct action strategy had exhausted itself. A staff-student deputation, it was decided, would present a 'good faith' motion to the Council at its 17 April meeting. The Council meeting, while having received the student-staff deputation, was unwilling to arrange anything vaguely resembling negotiations and instead resolved to establish a 'Working Party' to organize campus discussions. Its attitude to the critical issues was unchanged. Civil action, for example, was to proceed; the Proctorial Board penalties were 'not subject to negotiation'; and the Vice Chancellor was directed 'to proceed in the Supreme Court actions if he is satisfied that a breach of the injunctions has taken place'. 28. The student movement had not been offered any way of winding down the struggle, apart from total surrender. 29. A student surrender, however, was impossible so long as Robinson remained incarcerated and gaol loomed over the heads of the other three. The 200 or so students who had consistently participated in direct action since 1971 knew that they were, individually, just as 'guilty' as Robinson; yet it was he who had become a scapegoat. At this juncture, the morale and determination of the imprisoned individual became decisive. On 16 April, a smuggled message revealed Robinson's view of the context in which his gaoling had occurred and left little doubt as to his fortitude. 'Without the large anti-imperialist movement in Australia', he declared, 'without expressions of support through moratoriums, workplace and university struggles (particularly La Trobe), the Indo-Chinese people would be in a much weaker position today. The fact that, as yet, a nuclear weapon has not been dropped on Hanoi, and that Nixon has not recommitted US or Australian troops is largely a result of the mass movements in the US and Australia'.

Robinson's moral fibre was also proven when he was transported from Pentridge to the Supreme Court and given an opportunity to purge his contempt, but declined to do so. Essentially, at this time, the La Trobe student movement existed in response to the individual. Had the gaoling not occurred, the movement would almost certainly have dissipated after the 28 March occupation. The other predominant issues of 1972 - the injunction against SRC funds and Pola's status - had become lost causes.

On 14 March, those students who had not paid their fines became excluded and hence the question of SRC payment of fines became academic. And on 25 April, the SRC would vote, by narrow majority, against recognition of Pola as a member. The problem confronting the student movement was how to maintain the pressure on Council while at the same time move away from the confrontationalist strategy. The solution, as perceived by WSA and the SRC Left was to popularize the single demand for 'Amnesty' - an end to exclusions and gaolings and an end to direct action. A strategy was required that would sustain the involvement of large numbers and that would exploit divisions within the Council. An SRC Referendum, conducted in accord with the SRC Constitution and hence a legal expression of student opinion, was seen as the solution. Petitioned by two members of the SRC's Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee, the Referendum was divided into three parts. The first sought to amend the SRC Constitution to enable an elected member to be dismissed by simple majority of a GMS; the second sought the removal of Sullivan and Uniacke from the SRC; but the third section was decisively important from the movement's point of view. Divided into five propositions, it sought to test student opinion regarding the basic demands of the struggle: the withdrawal of Supreme Court action against the four; against SRC funds; the immediate reinstatement of the excluded students; the dropping of outstanding fines; and an end to action against student activists, including police action already instigated. The Referendum was a clever tactical move, especially as the Vice Chancellor had consistently expressed the view that only a small minority of students supported the activists' demands. Dr Myers was placed on the defensive when WSA declared that it was prepared to bind itself to the decision of a legally-constituted staff-student referendum and challenged the Vice Chancellor to do the same. 30. The Right, however, opposed the Referendum steadfastly and a threat of contempt proceedings was issued by Sullivan and Uniacke's lawyer, Ian Spry, against those who had moved for it. 31.

The Referendum went ahead from Wednesday, 10 May, to Friday, 12 May. Arguments and leaflets flew thick and fast, with the Democratic Club activists determined to secure an anti-Left vote. The student Right was well aware of the implications of an anti-Council result. 32. In the event, the constitutional amendment and the move for Sullivan and Uniacke to resign were rejected but a clear 'mandate' was given to the Left as far as the five basic issues were concerned. Of 1,667 students who voted, 1,005 sought the discharge of the injunctions against the four; 988 sought the disbandment of the injunction against SRC funds; and 963 sought an 'amnesty', an end to further discipline or police action. Indicative of the polarization on the campus, the resolutions pertaining to the immediate reinstatement of the excluded 12 and the rescission of outstanding fines were not carried so overwhelmingly; the vote being, respectively, 806 (for) to 759 (against) and 824 (for) and 751 (against). 33. The Referendum was a boon to the student movement and especially its militant core, which had regained the support of many moderates because of its preparedness to abide by the results. It was now up to Dr Myers to respond in some meaningful way; the nearest opportunity presenting itself at the Council meeting on 15 May.

The Council, however, was unmoved by the results and would not compromise. Campus cynics commented that the most positive feature of the meeting was its announcement that Dr Myers would be on leave from the university during May and June, and would be replaced by Professor Wardrop. The vote against the injunctions was largely a product of the traditional view that universities should handle their own internal affairs but also reflected campus concern over the imprisonment of Pola, who had been picked up by police at his parents' farm in Nhill, 190 miles from Melbourne, and lodged at Pentridge on 1 May. Term One concluded with the movement in a position of moral strength, but rather weak numerically. The experienced activists who had not returned in 1972 were badly needed, as were Pola and Robinson, who had been important strategists. The Term One Committee had effectively disintegrated. Yet the activists had no choice. Two of their comrades were in prison, and a third was about to join them. On the final day of the referendum, Mr Justice McInerney ordered that York show cause why his continued presence on the campus should not be regarded as contempt and, on 17 May, a writ of attachment was issued against him. Any opportunity on the part of the movement to call a 'truce' in light of the Referendum had been laid to rest.

Term Two commenced with a decline in activism and some isolated adventurism. General meetings during the first fortnight, whether official or unofficial, failed to attract more than a few hundred participants. In anticipation of a possible compromise solution arising from the 19 June Council meeting, a delegation of 200 students had visited Professor Wardrop in the new Administration building on the 14th. The Council remained unmoved by the fact that any prospect of future disruption, against which the injunctions had been originally sought, was non-existent and that the militants were themselves urging a non-confrontational resolution of the conflict. At its June meeting, Council declared that the initiative for the release of Pola and Robinson was in their own hands. The next day, some 300 students gathered in the Agora to formulate a response to the Council's stance.

Demoralized and confused, the movement was waging a purely defensive struggle out of moral obligation. It could only lapse into past tactics. A delegation of 200 again marched to Wardrop's office, giving him 24 hours in which to 'work out conditions acceptable to Brian and Fergus under which they would be allowed onto campus'. The movement placed basic faith in Wardrop, whose opposition to conscription and the war had been expressed in 1970, when he had signed a statement by academics in support of the Moratorium and in 1971 when he had chaired a forum during the Moratorium campus strike. The acting-Vice Chancellor assured the delegation that he would address students in a lecture theatre on the 21st and that he deeply regretted the gaolings. A packed theatre listened attentively the next day as Wardrop explained that he had arranged for two councillors, Dr MacCaughey and Dr Sinclair to visit Pola and Robinson on the 22nd to 'exchange views' and 'come up with something specific by the end of the week'. 34. At last it seemed that a settlement was in sight. But only one thing was wrong. While Professor Wardrop had been addressing the students with his message of reconciliation, a Supreme Court sheriff and some police were preparing to enforce the writ of attachment against York. That afternoon, as he drove away from the campus, York was stopped by police and directly lodged at Pentridge. The degree of trust that Wardrop had earned was suddenly and dramatically lost. While the movement's numbers remained small, the old militant mood had returned. The general meeting and occupation of the administration offices that followed were inevitable.

Two significant features emerged from the action. First, the pattern of diminishing participation in campus protest activity was not altered in any drastic way by York's gaoling. It seemed that the student body, including the militants, had become emotionally and politically more adjusted to the prospect of the gaolings. They had defined for themselves a new symbiosis with the changed political environment. Gaolings had almost become the norm. Secondly, Professor Wardrop had threatened to call the police, but did not do so. The gaoling of York revealed a stalemate situation. The Council was divided between those who sought complete surrender and those who sought a compromise solution. The student movement had dwindled to an activist core which was no longer successful in mobilizing large numbers. It was reduced to purely symbolic protest, sometimes gathering off the campus at such targets as the Supreme Court and Pentridge Prison. The final 'mass action' for the year took place on the campus on 27 June, when a general meeting of 400 voted to strike in protest at the gaoling of York. It was a dismal failure when compared with the previous year's strike for the Moratorium. Neither the numbers, nor the faculty-based action groups, were achieved; with the notable exception of the School of Education, where Diploma of Education students went en masse to protest to the Vice Chancellor. The movement's dilemma was portrayed by one activist thus: 'Students have grown tired of both the issue and the never-ending preceding occupations. The ever important atmosphere/mood/spontaneity was just not there'. 35.

To understand the changed mood it is necessary to understand that the 1972 events did not rely to any great extent on the influx of first year students that year. The new intake did not provide activists of the 1969-71 type. The 1972 struggle centred around a generation of student activists whose politicization had occurred under extraordinary circumstances (such as the Waterdale Road marches). They represented a 'tradition' which, even by mid-1972 no longer tallied with the prevalent 'spirit' on Australian campuses. The new orientation among the student Left favoured 'personal' rather than confrontational politics. The displacement of the established campus Left began on 22 June. While the old guard were mobilizing their 'mass delegation' to visit Professor Wardrop, a group of 50 students - who were fed up with the established Left's 'dialectical simplification, imported dogmas, threadbare cliches, and weary jingoisms' held their own meeting to establish an 'alternative group' known as 'The Commune'. Based on 'socialist collective humanist tenets', it was opposed to the injunctions but saw the dilemma as

being a byproduct of confrontationalist strategy. The Commune emphasized lifestyle and campaigned for the establishment of a food co-operative, a drug advisory centre and for the abolition of examinations. A benefit concert for the imprisoned three was planned for 2 August.

Despite the rapid demise of the established student Left, there was no end to the struggle in sight. The gaoled three, politically speaking, could not purge their contempt so long as it would necessitate an undertaking to abide by the injunctions. And the Council, while increasingly divided over the necessity for maintaining injunctions, had argued itself into a corner through its insistence that the three were responsible for their own release. Nonetheless, the divisions within the Council were significant and reflected, as much as anything else, the enormous moral pressure emanating from the continuing imprisonments. At its meeting of 17 July, Council would reject a motion for the disbandment of the injunctions by the narrow margin of 12 to 8. As the councillors gathered for their meeting, passing by the hundred or so assembled protestors, more than a few must have reflected back on the scene a year earlier when the blockade had taken place. On this occasion, Council would not be interrupted by the noise of chains and padlocks but by a deputation comprising the parents of Robinson and York. Council could have simply reiterated its position that responsibility lay with the prisoners themselves. However, it didn't. A breakthrough had finally come. The meeting resolved: 'That subject to the Vice Chancellor receiving written assurances from the former students currently in gaol that they undertake to repudiate: any form of violence on campus, any form of destruction of property, any form of obstruction to the lawful pursuit by its officers of university business, any form of obstruction to the academic functions of the institution, Council requests the Vice Chancellor to approach the Supreme Court and ask that these persons be released from gaol, in the anticipation that they will abide by the undertakings given to the Vice Chancellor'. 36.

On the 20th and 22nd, the Vice Chancellor visited the three at Pentridge to discuss the proposal. On the 31st, an amended version was agreed upon by both sides and signed by the Vice Chancellor as well as by the three. It read: 'I join with the Council of the University in repudiating any form of violence on campus any form of destruction to property any form of obstruction to the lawful pursuits by its officers of university business or any form of

obstruction to the academic functions of the institution'. It was vitally important to the Pola, Robinson and York that the Vice Chancellor should sign on behalf of the Council because in that way the undertaking was neutralized. Dr Myers was initially taken aback by the suggestion that he too should sign the undertaking but eventually agreed and, on the basis of the signed statement, Myers requested Justice Anderson to discharge the writs of attachment. Two days later, on 4 August, Pola, Robinson and York were brought before Justice Smith, who granted the University's application for their release. The three had not purged their contempt but in his Honour's opinion they had been in custody long enough. Morale among the student Left should have been high, but the atmosphere was overwhelmingly one of relief that it was all over. The release of Robinson, Pola and York marked a victory for the La Trobe student movement, but also signalled its end.

CONCLUSION:

KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH THE FUTURE

The demise of student activism in Australia occurred concurrently with the demise of the Vietnam/ conscription protest movement toward the end of 1971. The last Australian combat troops were withdrawn on 8 December, and two months earlier the Defence Minister had announced that conscripts would not have to serve overseas. The other issue - apartheid - was similarly 'cooled' when the Australian Board of Control for International Cricket withdrew an invitation to South Africa. Furthermore, the protest tendency within the youth culture had been abandoned by most of its original heroes.

It is a fact that the post-war 'youth movement' grew up. This is not to imply that there was anything spurious about its political activism or cultural rebellion but, by 1972, many had entered the adult world with all its extra responsibilities. Not surprisingly, those who remained loyal to the 'sixties tradition' sought to develop a protest style that coincided with their new adult interests and ambitions. Publications such as 'Go-Set' and 'Revolution' had collapsed and a new venture, 'Living Daylights', attempted to appeal to the 'twenties and thirties'. It stressed 'personal liberation' and 'a deep suspicion of organization' but failed to sustain itself into the increasingly difficult 1970s. 'Personal liberation' was a luxury that even the nouveaux middle class could not afford for long. The affluence of post-war capitalism had shown signs of abating by 1970. As far as university graduates were concerned, the future could no longer be regarded with grand confidence. Coinciding with unprecedented graduate unemployment came a financial squeeze on universities. Perhaps it is strange that financial attacks did not arouse the same militant and sustained student movements that were sparked by such things as CMF units and disciplinary proceedings. Perhaps it is true that under such circumstances 'idealism sinks back into a personal and private realm without public expression'.

1.

The 1972 Federal election campaign and the eventual lowering of the voting age may also be seen as factors in the demise of the youth political movement's; for young people had become more co-opted into the institutionalized electoral system. Perry's observation at Monash probably applies to all campuses, and certainly to La Trobe:

'The last term of 1972 saw many staff and students helping the ALP in the Federal campaign, with many of the ex-Labor Club supporters joining forces with deans and lecturers who had been described only a year earlier as the worst kind of 'reactionary freaks and monsters'. 2. Many of the La Trobe students who had marched in the Moratoriums or along Waterdale Road, who had occupied their administration offices or voted against exclusions and Glenn, were lured by the attractive Labor campaign and the "It's Time" slogan. Whether it was a desire for a Labor Government with 'socialist policies' or simply a desire to do away with conscription, the Left and its supporters were basically united behind Labor. Their efforts paid off with the election of Whitlam in December. 'In the latter months of 1972', reported the Victoria Police Department, 'the frequency of street demonstrations was reduced'. 3. By 1974, they were 'no longer a significant police problem in the City of Melbourne'. 4.

On the La Trobe campus, the demise of the student movement had been evident prior to the release of Pola, Robinson and York on 4 August 1972 but the occasion of their release was used by some commentators to remark on the new direction in campus politics. An 'Age' journalist summed up the changed atmosphere at La Trobe with the observation that: 'For the first time in the memory of many first, second, and third-year students, the Vice Chancellor has actually strolled across the campus to visit the SRC office without being called a "fascist pig"'. 5. The Labor election campaign had resulted in the Labor Club being re-established in October, with considerable support from the newer students who had no direct experience of the 1969-71 conflicts. It had very little in common with the old club; the sixties 'zeitgeist' was no more. The drift back into institutional politics was given additional push as a result of a right-wing offensive against Australian Union of Students and against the SRC's distribution of funds to left-wing clubs. The student Left became determined to capture the SRC once and for all, formulating a 'united ticket' to avoid the usual splitting of the Left vote. The seventh SRC, elected in mid-1973, was overwhelmingly dominated by socialists of varying shades of red, including the Maoists. Robinson and Pola, and others who had been excluded in 1971, were elected; with Pola again in the president's seat. Generous donations were made to various 'non-student' causes, ranging from the Vietnam Aid Appeal to the Zimbabwe freedom fight. The 'unlawful' Bail Fund was also re-established. The student Left was now in the fold of statute 2.4.1. However, it was also in a

position to finally resolve the issue of SRC autonomy in the handling of funds.

The gauntlet was thrown down by Robinson, when he successfully moved that a \$250 donation be forwarded 'directly' to a fund established by striking workers at Ford's Broadmeadows plant. It is possible that, in order to avoid trouble, the Council would have turned a blind eye, and the SRC would have established a de facto autonomy. The issue was never finally tested, however, because in his capacity as ex officio Council member, Pola had assured the councillors that: 'The present SRC (has) no intention of making improper use of SRC funds by using them for non-university purposes'. Referring to the Ford strike donation, he stressed that 'substantial honoraria had been given to two visiting speakers'. 6. Pola's position was typical of many who had developed politically during the campus' turbulent days. He had found himself confronted by experiences, such as the Waterdale Road demonstrations, which threw into question various propositions about the nature of society which he had previously taken for granted. He had been part of a movement for change which rejected conventional methods as well as conventional styles. He had been prepared to make large sacrifices for his beliefs. Yet suddenly, without explanation as far as the accepted revolutionary theories were concerned, the 'revolution' vanished. Australian capitalism proved that it was not at breaking-point but had proved itself remarkably resilient and adaptable. When he was released from prison, he 'simply dropped out'. 'The pre-jail Pola', reported the 'Herald', 'had a strong Marxist-Leninist bias ... The post-jail Pola aims at projects like a fifty-acre permanent ecological-study camp for the university'. 7.

While the student movement culminated in 1972, student protest activity continued sporadically during the next few years. In 1973, a South Vietnamese consular official was evicted from the campus by opponents of the Thieu regime. During 1973 and 1974 the campus Prisoners Action Group mobilized scores of students against the Social Welfare Minister, Vaisey Houghton, who also sat on the Council. The remnant Maoists, now operating through the Radical Student Movement (RSM) and later Students for Australian Independence, played leading roles until their graduations in 1975 and 1976. (Those who had been excluded until 1974 were reinstated one year earlier). The WSA branch had folded up in a state of 'personal and political disunity, bitterness, disorganization, (and) recriminations' after the release of the three. 8. RSM had been

established in 1973 by WSA's 'student-liners' as a radical nationalist alternative to the 'proletarian' dictum of 'integration with the working class'.

By 1976, the La Trobe student political scene comprised entirely new faces; individuals who had just entered secondary school when the student movement generation had been marching along Waterdale Road. Similarly, the composition of the Council and senior Administration contained new blood. Justice Smithers had replaced Glenn as Chancellor, and Dr Myers would be replaced by a similarly uncontroversial figure as Vice Chancellor. At the academic ceremony to mark Dr Myers' retirement on 25 November 1976, some of the old rebels returned to assist their highly imitative successors in the distribution of a pamphlet exposing the former Vice Chancellor's record as a 'jailer'. It was as though Dr Myers and his former adversaries had combined in time to produce a real-life glimpse of a foregone campus era. It was, in effect, their final bows.

Many of La Trobe's former radical students may be seen today at teacher stop-work meetings, social service conferences, May Day parades, or demonstrations for nuclear disarmament. I am confident that a study of how they think today would reveal a similar picture as that drawn by Anne Draper in her study of Adelaide's former activists: 'In retrospect, most of the radical students interviewed admitted that some of their aims and methods were naive and misdirected ... The dogmatism and youthful intolerance has largely given way to a more moderate and considered approach ... Essentially they failed to bring on the social revolution that they hoped would develop, and they admit this. The heartening thing is that in general, they have not given up trying to bring change about'. 9.

The Vietnam War has left its mark on a generation who fought against it as much as those who fought in it. Many who stormed the barricades remain determined to do away with social systems which give rise to wars like the one in Vietnam but find themselves confronted with a timeless moral dilemma. An American activist expressed it thus: 'I simply don't know yet whether I can forge the idealism needed to begin with the realism needed to finish, whether I can combine a personal life and nonpolitical career with the contact I feel I must keep with the political movements of the future. Somehow the questions and doubts never lie down and surrender'. 10.

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NAMES INDEX

- Adams, Walter 147
 Anderson, *Justice* 149-150, 157
 Arnold, Rupert 37, 66-67
- Barcan, Allan 81
 Barker, Fran 79
 Barnes, Frank 124, 139
 Bennetts, Robert 50, 83, 99
 Bishop, Rod 72, 76, 87
 Bjelke-Petesen, Joh 114
 Blandthorn, Ian 126
 Bolte, Henry 39, 41, 97-8, 119
 Borchardt, D, 124
 Boyne-Anderson, 66
 Breen, Shane 87
 Brennan, Tom 83, 96, 99, 124, 128
 Broadbent, Bob 69, 88
 Brown, David 126
 Bryant, Gordon *MHR* 62, 98
 Bull, Ted 139
 Bury, Leslie *MHR* 65
- Callinan, B J, 99, 103-4, 107, 119-20
 Calwell, Arthur *MHR* 38, 65
 Champion, Ruth 113
 Chipp, Don 36
 Chomsky, Noam 111
 Cloonan, Ray 144
 Cochrane, Peter 50, 83, 96, 99, 125
 Conroy, Sharon 83, 96, 99, 134
 Coulter, Ian 83, 96, 99, 134
 Cowen, Zelman 39, 134
 Crowther, Bishop 114
 Crunden, Diana 73-4
 Cummins, John 134
 Curtis, Chris 86, 126
- Dalton, Tony 87
- Davies, John 125-6
 Donahoo, Neil 126
 Dowling, Frank 123
 Dowling, Peter 71, 83, 99, 124, 126, 128
 Draper, Ann 162
- Ebel, John 96
 Eliezer, *Professor* 108, 124
 Ellis, Brian 91
 Evans, Grant 48, 66, 70, 73, 81, 83-4, 91, 93, 97, 99, 112
- Fox, John 113
 Fox, Paul 87
 Fraser, Malcolm 65, 140
- Galbally, John 117
 Georgiou, Mark 106
 Giles-Peters, Andrew 85, 107-9
 Gill, Gerry /133
 Glenn, Sir Archibald 44-5, 50, 58, 87, 103-9, 115-20, 125, 135, 137
 Goldman, Ronald 119-20, 124
 Good, Ken 114
 Gorton, John 87
 Grant, Margaret 83, 99
 Greenland, Hall 106
 Gregor, J, 127
 Grumont, David 96, 99
- Hadden, Ralph 106, 108-9
 Hain, Peter 114
 Hamel-Green, Michael 87
 Hartley, Bill 119
 Henry, M, 45, 49-50, 57
 Henry, Reg 91
 Hester, *Brigadier-General* 62
 Hicks, Barry 79
 Hill, Ted 93
 Holding, Clyde 98, 119
 Holt, Harold 35

Houghton, Vaisey 161
 Hughes, Tom *Attorney-General* 87
 Humphreys, Dany 96
 Humphries, Max 42

Johnson, Lyndon (LBJ) 35, 37, 111
 Jones, Barry 76

Kaye, William QC 125, 127, 134
 Kennard, Des 106
 King, Bromley 70, 96
 Knopfmacher, Frank 50, 67, 124
 Krouskos, Demos 83, 90, 96, 99, 124

Lagdzin, Ed 133
 Langer, Albert 68-9, 76, 84, 106
 Lavoipierre, Maurice 146
 Law, Philip 117, 120, 124
 Little, Graham 48
 Lloyd, Mr QC 130
 Loh, David 72, 87
 Lush, *Justice* 141

MacCaughey, *Dr* 154
 MacDonald, Ian 71, 78, 83, 87, 91, 109, 124, 138
 Malinas, Garry 120
 Marsh, *Professor* 114, 127
 Matheson, Louis 31, 38, 148
 Mathews, Robert 50, 83, 99, 114, 124-5
 Matteson, Michael 87
 McCormack, Judy 126
 McNerney, *Justice* 153
 McLeod, *Inspector* 99
 McMahan, William 36
 McQueen, Humphrey 37
 Menzies, Robert 30, 32, 36, 43

Monagle, Terry 126
 Moore, Phil 70, 81
 Moran, Terry 88
 Muggerridge, Malcolm 73, 76
 Muller, David 66, 71, 83, 85, 103, 110, 138
 Murdoch, Rupert 40
 Myers, David 35, 44, 46, 54, 58, 80-1, 89, 91, 97-9, 108, 116, 123-4, 128, 130-3, 139-43, 145-9, 152-3, 157, 162

O'Donnell, Denis 66

Newton, Justice 141, 143, 145
 Norgard, J D 116

Pape, *Justice* 148
 Parsons, Ian 95
 Perry, P 159
 Platfuss, *Inspector* 96
 Pola, Brian 48, 83, 128, 131, 133-4, 136, 139-41, 144-5, 149-50, 152-4, 157, 160-1

Redenbach, John 71, 83
 Reid, Paul 65, 79, 88
 Reid, *Professor* 127
 Richards, Jack 55
 Robertson, Keith 72
 Robinson, Fergus 50, 71, 91, 96-7, 99, 125, 128, 137-8, 144-5, 147, 149-54, 156-7, 160-1
 Robinson, Ian 77, 89
 Rodger, Andy 54, 69
 Ross, Brian 87
 Rushgrove, Ken 96
 Ryan, Ronald 41
 Rydon, Joan 111
 Rylah, Arthur 98

Santamaria, B A 124
 Schutte, Heinze 133

Schneider, Michael 130
 Scott, John 87
 Shaw, Julian 85
 Shearman, Richard 106
 Sinclair, *Dr* 154
 Smithers, *Justice* 162
 Spry, Ian 152
 Stable, *Justice* 148-9
 Standfield, *Inspector* 99
 Starrs, Chris 85, 95, 99
 Stein, Andy 108
 Street, *Justice* 148
 Sullivan, Jan 126, 140-3, 152
 Szoreyni, Nick 133

Taylor, Peter 144
 Taylor, Rodney 134, 150
 Taylor, T S *Registrar* 124, 144
 Thompson, Haydn 106
 Thompson, Michel 149
 Townsend, Simon 66

Uniacke, Sue 126, 141-3, 152

Van Elden, Peter 96
 Van Moorst, Harry 72-4

Walter, James 47, 48, 50-1, 56
 Wardrop, *Professor* 153-5
 Warne, Stephen 96
 Warner, John 94
 Waterhouse, John 89, 92
 Watson, Alan 88
 Watson, Don 72
 Watts, Robert 66, 70, 77, 79
 White, Bill 37
 White, Doug 120
 White, Ken 107, 124
 Whitlam, Gough 38, 160
 Whitrod, *Commissioner* 66
 Wolfsohn, Hugo 46, 111, 123-4, 135
 Woolley, Pat 127

Wyatt, Frank 118

York, Barry 71, 99, 113, 119-20, 126, 128, 137-8, 144-5, 153-7, 160

Zarb, John 24

SUBJECT INDEX

- ABSCHOL 40, 86
 Academic Board (see under **La Trobe University**)
 Adelaide University 72
 Administration (see under **La Trobe University**)
 adolescence 21-2
 Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union 138
 American Bar Association 145
 Amnesty International 62, 86
 anarchists 71, 85-6
 apartheid 86, 104, 114, 159
 'April 19 Committee' 108
 'Arena' 19
 Asian Students Association 114
 ASIO 73
 Association of Sociology Scholars 86
 Australian Labor Party (ALP) 37-8, 41, 88, 119, 160
 Australian Paper Manufacturers 32
 Australian National University 72, 140
 Australian Student Labor Federation 63, 65-6
 Australian Union of Students 160
 Australian Universities' Commission 29-30, 61, 120
 Australian Universities' Student Union 40
 Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee (AVCC) 61, 64, 105

 BHP 97, 138
 baby boom 21, 29-30, 76
 'Bakery, The' 63
 'Beginnings' 100
 Berger Paints 32
 Berkeley (USA) 31, 35
 'Black Barb' 85
 Boilermakers' & Blacksmiths' Union 138
 Bristol University (UK) 146
 Builders' Labourers' Federation (BLF) 97, 138
 Burns, Ronnie 25

 Campaign Against Repression 106, 110, 125, 138
 capital punishment, opposition to 39, 41
 'Catalyst' 80
 'Catholic Worker' 124
 censorship 37, 76
 China Society 86
 Christian Union 86
 Citizens for Democracy 85
 Citizens Military Force (CMF) 73, 78-80, 91, 159
 college system (see under **La Trobe University**)
 Columbia University (USA) 146
 Comalco 33, 44
 Commonwealth Crimes Act 73
 Commune, The 86, 155-6
 Communist Party of Australia (CPA) 40, 92
 Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) (CPA M-L) 40, 92-3
 Community Aid Abroad 86
 conscientious objectors 78, 87
 conscription 35, 37-8, 40, 64-5, 70, 72-4, 78-80, 87, 159-60
 Council (see under **La Trobe University**)
 Defence Department 52, 86, 89, 92

- Defence Forces Protection Act 41
 'Democrat' 124
 Democratic Club 53, 69, 76-7, 81, 85-6, 88-9, 105, 107, 140, 153
 Democratic Labor Party (DLP) 119, 123
 Democratic Socialist Club 47, 57, 62-3, 65, 69, 86
 discotheques 23
 Dow Chemicals 68
 draft resisters 75-6, 86-7, 142
 Draft Resisters Union 86

 Ecological Society 86
 Education Society 86
 'Enrages' 46, 59, 70, 73-4, 77, 79, 81, 103, 109, 112
 Essex University (UK) 146
 Evangelical Christians 94
 exclusion clause 106-7, 109, 123, 129, 137

 'Farrago' 77, 88
 Federation of Australian Universities Staff Associations 64
 'Fire' 85
 'Flowering Rifle' 85
 'Free Speech' 124

 'Gas' 24
 'Go-Set' 24-5, 159
 Gulf of Tonkin 35, 111

 HART 114
 Honeywell 84
 Hull University (UK) 146
 human capital 33, 120

 Imperial Chemical Industries (ANZ) 32, 44-5, 47, 72, 86, 104-5
 Imperial Chemical Industries 135
 'International Day of Protest' 35

 Joint Intelligence Organisation (JIO) 105-8

 Ky, Air Vice Marshall 37

 La Trobe Communists 47, 61, 70-1, 80, 84, 86
La Trobe University:
Academic Board 43, 52, 58, 106, 111, 116, 123-4, 127-30, 134-5, 139
Administration 53, 58, 78, 90, 107, 109, 113, 131-4, 144, 151, 162
Admissions Policy Committee 129-30, 134-5
Appeals Committee 126-8, 130
college system 58-9, 73
Council 43-4, 47, 52-3, 58, 61, 73, 79-81, 85, 92, 99, 105, 107-9, 111, 115-9, 126-7, 133, 135-7, 139-42, 148, 151-7, 161-2
inauguration 35, 43
Labor Club 46, 51-3, 61, 63, 65, 69, 71, 74-5, 77-8, 81, 84, 86, 90, 92-7, 99, 101, 103-7, 110, 112, 115, 125, 138, 160
physical development 33, 54-7, 83
Proctorial Board 125-8, 134-5, 140-1, 151
Staff Association 64, 76
students, bonded to Education Department 49

- students, social composition of* 47-51
- Students Representative Council (SRC)* 43, 51-4, 61-2, 65, 69, 72, 74-5, 78, 80-1, 85, 87, 89-92, 97-8, 101, 105, 108-9, 112-3, 118, 126, 128, 130, 135-7, 139-44, 149, 152-3, 160-1
- Vice Chancellor's Advisory Committee* 124, 128, 140, 148-9
- Labor Club (see under **La Trobe University**)
- Labor Club, Monash 38, 41, 62-3, 68-9, 101, 106
- Labor Club, Melbourne 58, 106
- Liberal Club 85-6
- 'Libertarian Revolution' 85
- 'Liberty' 77, 85, 124
- 'Living Daylights' 159
- London School of Economics (LSE) 146-8
- Macquarie University 140
- Maoism/Maoists 40, 63, 70-1, 77, 84-5, 93-7, 99-101, 103, 106-7, 109-10, 112-3, 115, 117-20, 123, 125-6, 131-2, 138-9, 143, 160-1
- Martin Report 29, 32-3, 120
- media, portrayal of students 132
- Melbourne University 17, 39, 41, 47-8, 50, 75, 84, 106, 124, 140
- Michigan Institute of Technology (USA) 146
- Moderate Student Alliance 85-6, 95, 104, 119
- Monash University 17, 31, 38-41, 47-8, 50, 71, 100, 106, 124, 140, 148, 159
- Monterey International Pop Festival 25
- 'Moot Point' 85
- Moratorium 24, 85, 87-9, 93-6, 98, 104, 111-4, 139-40, 151, 154-5, 160
- Murray Report 29-32
- 'Nation' 105
- National Civic Council (NCC) 104, 123-4, 140
- National Liberation Front (Vietnam) 38, 41, 63, 93
- National Service Act 24, 36, 62, 64, 66, 87
- 'National U' 40, 42, 71-2, 84, 88-9
- National Union of Australian University Students (NUAUS) 40, 62, 71, 96
- Nationwide Food Services 74-5, 79-80
- New Left 16-7, 19-20, 25, 38-9, 41, 61-3, 70, 72, 76-7, 84, 93, 99
- 'Newsweekly' 123
- 'October 7 Committee' 133
- Peace With Freedom (PWF) 124
- Pentagon Papers 111
- Pentridge Gaol 140, 150, 152, 154-6
- Plumbers and Gasfitters Union 97, 138
- police, *attitudes to young people* 22
- police, *clashes with students* 39, 68, 94-6, 120

- police, *responses to protestors* 37, 66-7, 94-7, 99, 117, 120, 131-2
- 'Police Life' 67
- pop music 23-5
- Postgraduate Association 84, 86
- 'Print' 69
- Prisoners Action Group 161
- 'Probe' 84-5, 99
- Proctorial Board (see under **La Trobe University**)
- Proctorial Board, Sydney 42
- Public Order Act 98
- Queensland University 33, 41-2, 72, 84, 106, 120, 140, 148-9
- 'Rabelais' 56, 62, 72, 80, 84, 88, 96, 119, 130
- racism 39, 114, 120
- 'Radical' 124
- Radical Student Movement 161
- radio, *transistorised and portable* 26
- 'Red Atom' 85
- 'Red Moat' 47, 61-3, 65, 69-71, 84, 88, 95, 104-5, 113, 137
- 'Red Ned' 85
- Research Workers Union 85
- 'Revolution' 24, 159
- Revolutionary Socialist Students Alliance 63
- Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) 80
- Social Involvement 86
- Socialist Club 57-8, 86
- Socialist Students Alliance 63
- Socialist Youth Alliance 112
- South Africa 39, 104, 114, 125, 147, 159
- 'Sporticus Erectus' 114
- Sports Union 114
- Springboks 114, 118, 120, 139, 148
- 'Struggle' 139
- Strawberry Collective 86
- Student Action 39-40
- Student Christian Movement 86
- Students for Australian Independence 161
- Students for Democratic Action 42
- Students for a Democratic Society (SDS):**
- La Trobe* 46, 61, 63, 71, 78, 80-1, 85-6, 92, 96, 114
- Melbourne* 66, 72
- national* 73
- Sydney* 42
- USA* 146
- Students Representative Council:**
- La Trobe* (see under **La Trobe University**)
- Monash* 37
- Summary Offences (Trespass) Act 98, 145, 151
- Supreme Court 52, 54, 136-7, 139-40, 142-5, 148-9, 151-2, 154-6
- Sydney University 39, 41-2, 72, 83-4, 106, 124, 140, 146, 148
- teenagers 22
- television 24-7
- 'Term One Committee' 143, 153
- Third University Committee 54
- 'U' (see also 'National U') 40

universities, *expansion of* 11,
18, 29-31, 33, 40

Vice Chancellor's Advisory
Committee (see under **La
Trobe University**)

Victorian Teachers Union 55

Vietnam Aid Appeal 160

Vietnam Co-ordinating
Committee 68

Vietnam Day 68

Vietnam Group 70

Vietnam protest movement 35-
7, 41, 62, 64, 68, 74, 78-9,
86-7, 93-5, 111-2, 159

Vietnam war 17-8, 25-7, 35,
38-40, 62, 64, 68, 72, 78-9,
81, 87-8, 104-5, 111-4, 125,
151, 159, 162

Vietnam Withdrawal Campaign
68

'Wall' 46, 71

Waterdale Road 87, 93-100,
103, 118, 139, 155, 160-2

Waterside Workers Federation
(WWF) 97, 138-9

White Australia Policy 39

Women's Liberation Group 114

Worker-Student Alliance (WSA)
63, 84, 86, 100, 103-4, 110,
137-9, 143, 152, 161-2

youth clubs 22

youth culture 21, 23, 25-6, 36,
41, 43-4, 53, 159