

05  
C2  
Strong Room

# WRE LINK REMAINS

# ON DIT

VOL.39  
NO. 7

Last Friday afternoon, the special University committee investigating the use of the computer, rejected a motion which stated: "In view of the fact that the Weapons Research Establishment is a military agency this committee recommends that the university not make the computer available for work by the W.R.E." The motion was put by student Phil McMichael and seconded by student Jon Gillis. The voting was 3 for and 6 against.

Mr. Hugh Stretton (History) then put a compromise motion, "That this committee recommend to the Council that no new work be accepted by this university from W.R.E." This motion was also lost, 4 in favour, 5 against. The committee then resolved to meet once again to put before the Education Committee and the University Council the "facts" as they saw them of the relationship between the University and WRE. The motions were rejected despite strong indications that many staff and students supported moves to immediately sever the link between the computer and WRE. This was made clear at the S.D.A. meeting last Wednesday where over 600 voted to sever the link. (See report last ON DIT, No. 6).

Phil McMichael, in proposing the motion, spoke of the direct military nature of W.R.E., as he saw it, linked closely with present American military activities in Indo-China. He believed that the University as an institution should be insulated from all such military agencies. Phil McMichael last year made a minority report in the same committee that in principle all research to be financed by military agencies not be accepted. He referred to this principle in explaining in this immediate concrete situation why he thought the University should sever its links with WRE. One of the experiments at present conducted could be applied directly to weapons research, but the argument related to the association of WRE as an institution and the University. He said there were other areas of research in the University linked to the military-industrial complex which he would criticise, (like the new Applied Psychology course or research directed towards oil exploration), which in themselves were complicated problems, but that it was here possible to draw the line and make a decision against the WRE.

Professor Rutland (Geology), sensing his particular interests threatened by such an argument, immediately demanded an explanation of Mr. McMichael's intentions, saying that if students were interested in oil exploration he could not see why they should not learn about the scientific principles involved. McMichael replied by saying that obviously big money speaks, that oil corporations have access to the university's knowledge by securing research contracts, and over a period of time this results in the structuring of the Department along lines which would financially benefit those particular interests. The Chairman pointed out that this was not the subject matter of the motion.

Dr. Rodda then put forward his arguments for not supporting the motion. He said that the principle built into the motion was that the University should not have anything to do with military agencies, the WRE in this case being in McMichael's view, socially undesirable. It followed from this, continued Dr. Rodda, that all research contracts would be subjected to the same principle and that it was therefore impossible to satisfactorily enumerate a principle or make any decisions which would as a result put a stranglehold on university research. He accused McMichael with subjecting this University to his own subjective analysis.

Phil McMichael pointed out that earlier Dr. Rodda had agreed to establishing a

committee which would look closely at each future piece of research and make a difficult decision whether or not in its judgement, that research should be financed by a particular outside body. He reiterated his view that it was possible to make a decision here and draw a line against WRE using the computer. The University should be against a situation allowing the legitimisation of military agencies.

Mr. Sved said he could not support the motion because he could envisage a situation where it would be justified for the University to conduct weapons research for defence and military purposes. He reminded the committee and all those students present that he had fought Hitler with everything he had and that the situation might arise again.

Students at this point seemed to think that this was happening in the form of American activities in Indo-China and that by opposing WRE on campus it was part of the anti-war effort.

Dr. Elford could not support the motion because of its wide implications that could possibly lead to the blocking of research contracts. Dr. Rodda agreed that the wide implications of the motion might allow challenges against any type of research that might be said to be supporting capitalism. Hear! Hear! was the response from most of the 30 present as observers.

Professor Rutland characterised McMichael's points by saying that the arguments were that all such associations were wrong. He considered that the practicalities were that the University in fact, was only selling time on the computer to WRE, that the University needed the money and that the WRE was only another customer. He could thus not support the motion. The mover, he continued, could have two reasons for the proposal. Either he was a pacifist or that his political views saw that WRE's activities supported the wrong side. Despite the Chairman's reminder that his political views were not under question, McMichael replied that the second was the situation. Professor Rutland declared that he was against the Vietnam War, that it was a moral outrage, but that his political views should not play a part within the University. He stated that an individual should not have the right to persuade this University to act as an institution against the Government's policies. He ended by claiming that all the motion was likely to achieve was the destruction of the University as he knew it. Many of the students present saw that this remark was directed at them.

Mr. Sved tried to move an amendment adding "with direct military implications" on the end of the motion, but nobody could quite understand what this exactly meant. Hugh Stretton then finally spoke saying rather confusingly, that he supported McMichael's reasons, but that he could not vote for the motion because it was not direct enough.

The motion was then put and lost.

Hugh Stretton then played the role of the compromiser by moving that the University not accept any more work from WRE. This

was lost. Professor Rutland asked for the reasons of the move. Mr. Stretton replied that he had always thought the University had to play some sort of prudent politics as best it could. This he admitted was a purely subjective judgement, but in this case it was a good action for the symbolic and political reasons of not continuing the link with WRE. He considered that there were precedents for trying to make such a broad political judgement even though some individuals scientists may be inconvenienced. He did not have any clear guiding principle, but believed that it was part of the prudent politics that the University had to play to gain some semblance of independence in our society. Dr. Rodda and Professor Rutland refused to accept Mr. Stretton's judgements saying that they saw them as very imprudent acts that would only cause harm and halt the independence that the University already enjoys. There were further arguments about the consequences of such action before the motion was lost, 4 in favor and 5 against.

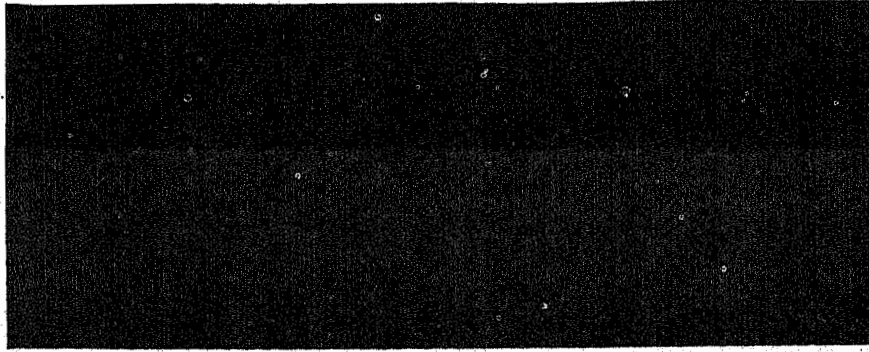
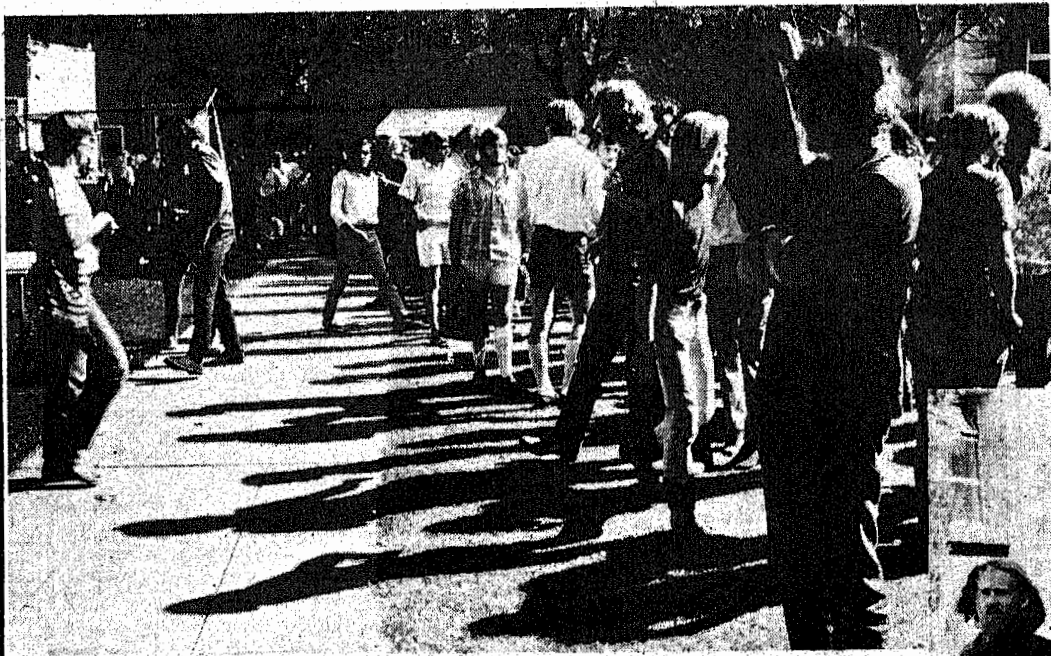
Dr. Rodda then tried to put a confusedly worded motion, suggesting that the committee had examined all the facts and had agreed with the criteria for the use of the computer as explained by Dr. Capon. Mr. Stretton said he could not agree, because one of the experiments could be applied directly to military purposes which he was against. The committee then resolved to meet a last time to put forward the facts of the situation as they saw them.

The moves up the right channels are thus almost exhausted . . .

Another subjective and probably inaccurate report by Chris White.

## SRC STUDENT MEETING

Union Hall, April 29th, 1.00 p.m.  
Social Responsibility of Scientific Research.  
Speakers: Professor Flentje (Deputy Vice-Chancellor), Professor Carver (Physics), Dr. Capon (Head of Computing Centre).



## POLITICAL ART?

The Editor, ON DIT.

I can't make out whether or not your (unsigned) review (first issue of ON DIT) of the play "Oedipus Rex" is a send-up of Chairman Mao. Instead of a review we get an analysis of the play's effects on the prospects for revolution. It is condemned because "the ruler is treated with utmost respect" and this serves to maintain the class system. No concern for the play itself; purely political criteria are brought as in if this was the only basis for judgement. The reviewer's criterion of a "good" play (or poem, novel, picture?) is one which (I quote) "stimulates an audience to action." This is a totalitarian attitude, which treats art as propaganda, whose sole aim is to serve the revolution. The production is criticised because the ruler "is even made physically taller than the masses by means of raised shoes." Baddies must be stunted and ugly, and proletarian heroes strong and handsome, lest the viewers suffer ideological corruption. What contempt this shows for their intelligence! They must be fed only primitive nursery tales of good workers and bad Capitalists.

The review concludes "Culture is a capitalist plot", (where's your revolver?). It looks like thought is too.

John Chandler.

## DEMOCRACY?

Dear Sir,

Last Wednesday I attended a meeting called by the Students for Democratic Action (S.D.A.) at one day's notice on the Barr Smith Lawns, to discuss a proposed march against the University Computer. The first half of the meeting was taken up by S.D.A.-sponsored speakers, after which the 'impartial' chairman said "Does anyone want to speak FOR war research?"

The speakers of the rest of the meeting managed to sort out the two main issues, and finally the meeting voted against the Computer/W.R.E. link and also against the proposed march. When the second vote was taken the chairman suddenly became unable to count it, called for a division, and refused to count that either; the minority then marched off behind the S.D.A. red flags to demonstrate outside the Computing Centre.

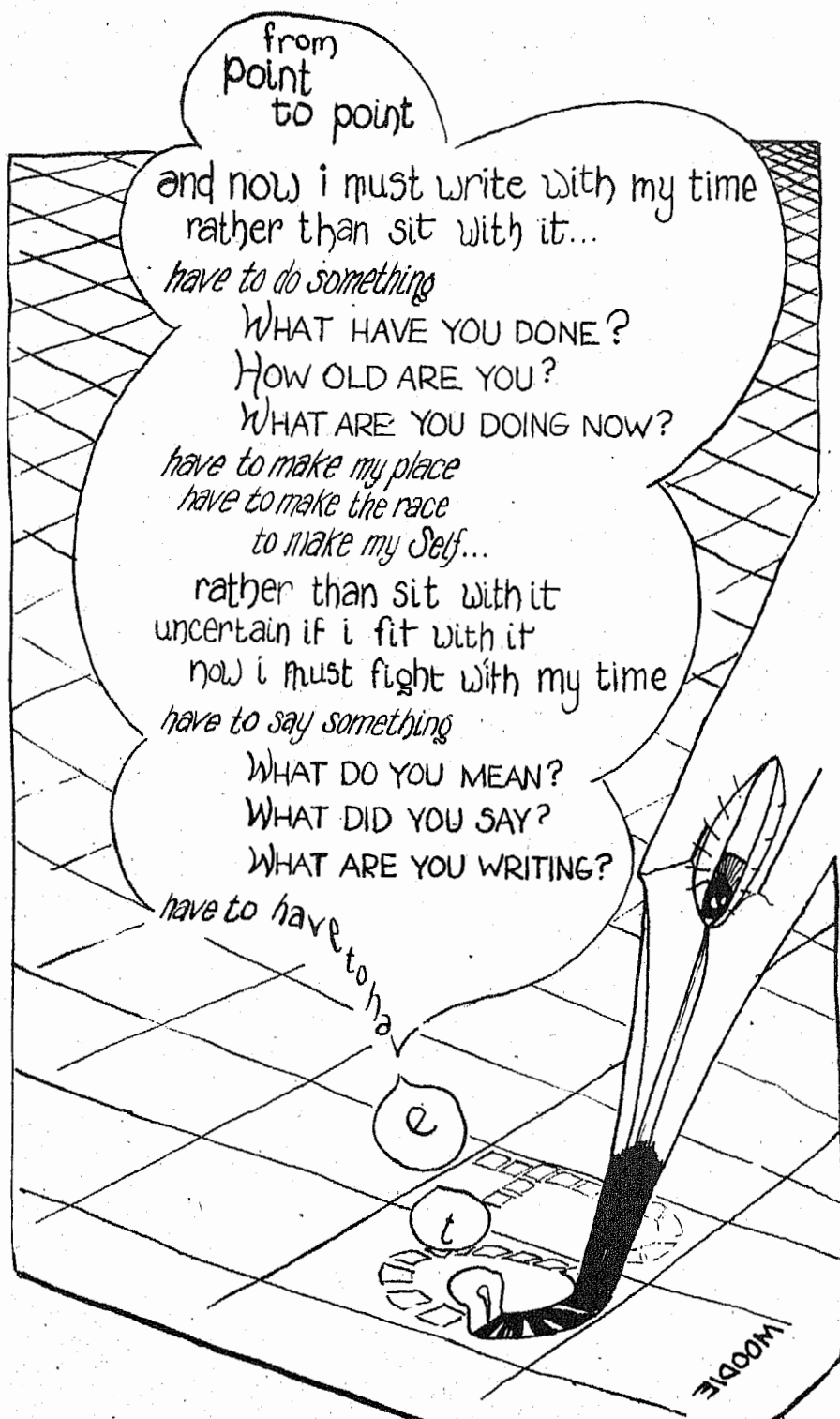
May I suggest that the S.D.A. change its name to S.A.? Any confusion with South Africa, South Australia or Sex Appeal is unlikely.

Postscript - Friday Evening.

"If we accepted that vote it would be the acceptance of total dictatorship by the majority... The criticism was levelled at us that we use a student vote as a mandate when we win the vote and disregard the student vote when we lose the vote. OF COURSE... we do not see ourselves as the voice of the people... When we lose a vote it does not mean that we are wrong but simply that people do not agree with us." (GRASS ROOTS, April 5th)

COMMENT: If the S.D.A. doesn't believe in carrying out decisions of meetings it has called itself it is certainly time that it stopped putting up a screen of bourgeois respectability by using the title "Democratic". Its comments on "dictatorship by the majority" are of course applicable to Marxist organisations generally, and I hope that people will be encouraged to apply them to the S.D.A. itself next time it wins a vote. As it usually calls meetings at such short notice that only the faithful can get there and as by now most people can't be bothered with them this will probably be soon.

Yours truly,  
DAVID HESTER.



## SRC - WHY BOTHER?

Dear Editors,

The Union Hall debates in 1969 highlighted many of the unsatisfactory aspects of student government, student staff representation on the University Council and the structure of the existing Union and S.R.C. And as everybody but some Tibetan monks now know student representation was won on the Council, but the question of actual student government was left unresolved. John Bannon's radical constitution for incorporating the S.R.C. in an expanded Union lapsed after a number of Union Hall meetings last year. Recent history notwithstanding the question of S.R.C. reform was again tiresomely raised at a lunch time meeting of Wednesday, April 7, by the President of the S.R.C. himself. The old arguments were again rehashed - the problem of involving students in their government, general student meetings to consider major policy decisions, etc. etc. The gleaming new structure was to be a series of committees not like the reformed A.T.C. setup. This much most who attended the meeting are clear about, but what happened thereafter nobody seems too sure of. Liberal Club Secretary, Grant Battersby, realizing perhaps the futility

of the whole thing proposed a "Trade Union" like arrangement to work on behalf of the Student Body; he began by suggesting students may find themselves committed to positions they might not care for and, finally moved a motion that Reform Proposals be dropped. Then followed Durbridge and McEwan both doing their radical things - W.R.E. on campus, etc. etc. The motion that the reform proposals be abandoned was lost, half dozen voted against it. And then the confusion really began; a motion for a Co-ordinating Committee was forwarded and duly passed. Then several speakers addressed themselves to the mystified crowd, and somebody wondered what was to happen now to the clubs-handout, and to add the final touch of farce, Battersby moved that all of the present S.R.C. members constitute the new Co-ordinating Committee motion. A ballot in the second term to elect the new Co-ordinating Committee was defeated, and the chairman then appealed to the audience for suggestions as to what to do next - silence - nobody seemed to know, least of all the convenors of the meeting, one suspected. Could anyone possibly tell the student body what is going on and which way the S.R.C. is going? I doubt it.

Yours etc.,  
Tony Bell

## CULTURE

Dear Editors,

Just a few notes directed at Bob Catley in relation to the insinuations that he made about radical counter-culturalists in his film review in ON DIT 6:

(1) Elliot Gould has never been a counter-culture hero, and films made in Hollywood about counter-culture or radical issues have never been applauded by cultural revolutionaries, or accepted as examples of counter-culture. Cultural revolutionaries maintain that all Hollywood films eat shit.

(2) Isn't it funny that Catley, who would normally reject out-of-hand any Newsweek analyses of the Vietnam War, American foreign policy etc., is prepared to accept that particular magazine's interpretation of Mick Jagger and use it as an authority to make jibes at cultural revolutionaries?

(3) Certainly Bob, people who have been identified as contributing partly to the establishment of counter-cultural life-styles etc., have in many cases made a lot of money. But so do you, and you are to be condemned for it just as much as they; perhaps even more, because you claim to be a revolutionary whereas Jagger and Co. never have.

However, a more important point here is that people like the Rolling Stones are not accepted by cultural revolutionaries as models for the counter-culture, but as contributing something, in some aspects of their behaviour, towards subverting the established rationality. Sure, they need to have their consciousnesses exploded so that they do become conscious and consistent revolutionaries, but so then do you and I.

(4) The danger of being co-opted and defused is recognised and one that can be overcome (a) by continually searching for new forms of attack and confrontation - that is, by not trying to establish the counter-culture, but by continually trying to go one step beyond what the establishment can, absorb! Its a growing, creative process, not a search for a static utopia (b) it is of course necessary to unite revolutionary culture with revolutionary politics. In isolation, the power-structure may be able to absorb hash smokers, just as it is able to absorb radical intellectuals. What is necessary is a concerted total assault on the whole of bourgeois society, in all spheres of activity, on all levels of existence and consciousness.

John Tapp.

## APOLOGY

The editors and the printers wish to apologise to the Vice Chancellor for accidentally removing his name from a letter appearing on page 4 under the heading TRUTH. We reprint the letter again in full, written by Professor G. M. Badger.

Dear Editors,

I have read your article "University Drafted" in the latest edition of ON DIT with some interest; but it did not give the complete story. The Australian Vice-Chancellor's Committee was informed that the Joint Intelligence Organisation wished to approach experts in the Universities to take part in economic, social and political assessments in the Asian and Pacific areas which have no relation to security intelligence; but no agreement was sought with the Vice-Chancellors. The Vice-Chancellors' Committee took the view that if any member of a University were approached and he wished to take part he could.

Professor G. M. Badger,  
Vice Chancellor.

## REFECTORY MANAGEMENT - A REPLY FROM THE BOARD

Since September, 1969 the operations of the Union Refectory have been directed by the Refectory Management Board. This Board consists of three nominees of Union Council and two nominees of the S.R.C. It holds approximately two meetings per month and one of these meetings each month during term time is specifically advertised as an open meeting with time made available for observers to ask questions or make comments on refectory service.

The members of the Board are sincere in their desire to be as well informed as possible as to the opinions of all union members and welcome all suggestions as to the ways in which refectory services could be improved. Surprisingly its efforts to obtain these views and suggestions have met with very little success. A total of eight observers have attended the ten open meetings which have been held. A survey conducted through On Dit in 1969, used a returnable questionnaire form but less than 200 replies were received.

Thus, with reference to the editorial article in Edition 4 of On Dit this year (headed "Good Food - Why the - - - don't we get it in the Refectory") the Board welcomes any comments which purport to

represent general student opinion about refectory services. The suggestion that a health foods section should be established when additional space becomes available in second term will be considered by the Board this month. Similarly we have passed on to the caterer in charge of the Asian Foods section the suggestions relevant to this area.

The following comments are relevant to other issues raised in the article:-

(1) The price comparison table given in the article conveyed a misleading impression of refectory prices. Very small numbers of both items and institutions were given, differences in the size of serve were ignored and no mention was made of the fact that in some places the costs are subsidised either directly by management or club subscriptions or indirectly by liquor sales. Incidentally, the cost of a salad in the Staff Club, equivalent to the 48 cents Refectory salad, is 60 cents not 33 cents as given in the table. At the beginning of each year the Board has made a comprehensive survey of prices in city cafeterias and at Flinders. These surveys have shown that over a very wide range of items refectory prices are lower than those charged elsewhere. Price increases in 1971 were caused by the fact that employees in the catering industry have recently been

awarded wage increases of the order of 15-16%. The Board does not aim to make profits on ordinary refectory operations (as distinct from catering for external functions). It attempts to avoid making losses in order that other Union services (e.g. sporting facilities, club activities, On Dit), are not forced to be curtailed.

(2) Most catering is NOT "done by outside firms." The only section where outside caterers are involved is the Asian Food section. Most of the cooked food is actually prepared in the Union's own kitchens which include a bakery. Bread and meat pies are purchased from outside suppliers.

(3) The Union employs ONE not "two professional chefs."

(4) The smorgasbord salad bar as conducted in the Union foyer during first term 1970, was discontinued only because of lack of customer support. Sufficient evidence of demand for this service will lead to its reintroduction.

(5) Serves of coleslaw at 8 cents per serve have been available in the Grill Bar for many months.

The next open meeting of the Refectory Management Board will be held on Friday, 30th April at 1.00 p.m. in Union Secretary's Office, Lady Symon Building.

# S.R.C. PRESIDENT REPLIES

Dear Editors,  
Your article "SRC IN SHAMBLES" made certain allegations about the student meeting held on Wednesday, 14th April, which in certain instances must be refuted and others placed in their context.

The reason why the original date of the meeting was changed was because you, Sirs and Madams, brought Issue 5 of ON DIT out 3 days later than the date you originally told me (probably no doubt because you are not good bureaucrats). Because of the lack of publicity which would have resulted and the need for notice to be given of a general meeting there was little alternative but to defer the date of the meeting.

It was obvious at the meeting that because of the change of date and the general lack of interest by students in a non-controversial subject (we all want reforms!), the meeting would lack a quorum of 50 (Sect. 29 of SRC Constitution). It was thought that "shock treatment might stimulate interest, thus Grant Battersby's proposal that SRC reform be dropped." The motion was lost.

Even though the meeting lacked legality as binding on the SRC, it was allowed to continue so that we could obtain some guide lines which would govern any reform proposal made by the SRC.

Possible guideline that can be formulated from voting pattern at the SGM:

(1) Majority of people who voted at the meeting wanted an administrative body; whether it was to be a 5 man co-ordinating committee or the present SRC members they were unsure. They clearly rejected the motion of the SRC being a representative body of student opinions and exercising the political rights of individual students.

(2) This motion of participatory democracy then becomes a prerequisite of any bureaucracy created in the non-administrative arena.

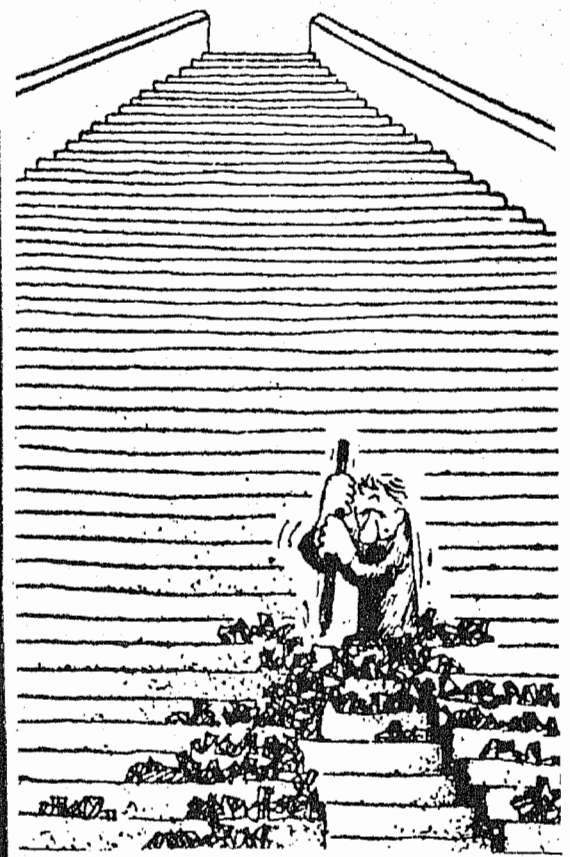
## RESULTS:

(1) The SRC still exists as there was not a quorum of 50 voting members at SGM. Section 29 of the Constitution and also Section 35 states that any resolution altering the SRC Constitution must be approved by the Council of the Adelaide University Union. As this had not been obtained any motion abolishing the SRC Constitution had no binding force, but was merely a straw vote as to what the meeting of students wanted to do.

(2) As stated above, guide lines which can be deduced from the motions at the meeting suggest that students are satisfied with the administrative function of the SRC. But because of the unrepresentative and bureaucratic nature of the present SRC which impedes and deters the exercise of a student's right to participate in important political questions, the SRC was not accepted as a representative body.

(3) The communication gap which was demonstrated so clearly in the lack of interest of students and voting pattern at the General Meeting can only be bridged by a greater commentary in ON DIT on the activities of officers of the SRC. This was acknowledged in the straw vote taken at the General Student meeting held on Friday, March 26th, on this issue where an overwhelming number of students voted in favor of a similar proposal to increase communication by more articles in ON DIT.

David M. Johnson  
President SRC



Individualist

# OH! NOT AGAIN.

WILL THE SAGA NEVER END? Nationally known student Maoist Albert Langer seems to be trying for the record of favourite agitator of the decade most liked by University administrations for staying away from the university. Anyway most administrations have indicated that they don't want him and Adelaide is no exception as shown by the letters printed below. They are self-evident. Our Academic Registrar is refreshingly honest about the reasons. It is for this that we print them. The irony may of course be spotted by those enthusiasts who observe that Albert is an expert on computers and wanted to enrol for Computing Science.

The reasons for his refusal of admission takes on interesting implications. Was it because of the reasons made clear by the Academic Registrar? Or did Dr. Capon think it was too close for comfort to have an "inside" man working on the computer? Or did S.D.A. put pressure on the Administration because it disagrees ideologically with Langer's tactics? Perhaps the Academic Registrar received some answer from the Vice-Chancellor of Monash which could give the real reasons.

It is interesting to note, although we don't reprint the correspondence here, that Albert's wife first applied to both Adelaide and to Flinders under her maiden name of Kerry Miller. It was not until it was realised that she was in fact Mrs. Albert Langer that her application for admission was knocked back. Still given the ideology of this University it is not really surprising.



THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE  
ADELAIDE, SOUTH AUSTRALIA 5001

PLEASE ADDRESS REPLY TO  
THE ACADEMIC REGISTRAR

OFFICE OF THE ACADEMIC REGISTRAR

NEWS/ENI

7th January, 1971.

Dear Mr. Langer,

Our Applications Committee is considering your application for admission to a course in this University in 1971.

At the Committee's last meeting some members said they understood, from statements in the public news media, that while you were a student at Monash University you were involved in activities of a non-academic nature which apparently were designed to disrupt, or had the effect of disrupting, the normal work of that University. They understood also that those activities had brought you into conflict with the University authorities.

The Committee believes that these are matters which it cannot ignore. However it has no authoritative information on these; and accordingly it has directed me

- (a) to ask you to state explicitly whether you were involved in such activities;
- (b) to invite you, if you were so involved, to submit to me a statement about those activities; and
- (c) to ask you whether you have any objection to my seeking, from Monash University, such information as the administrative authorities of that University may be able to give about your non-academic activities within the University.

Yours sincerely,

*A. E. Keating*  
Academic Registrar.

Mr. Albert Langer,  
1/14 Wellington Street,  
ST. KILDA, Vic. 3102

The Academic Registrar, The University of Adelaide  
Dear Sir,

In reply to the specific questions in your letter of 7th January I state as follows:

(a) While I was a student at Monash University I was not involved in activities of a non-academic nature which apparently were designed to disrupt, or had the effect of disrupting, the normal work of that University. In other words, the answer to your question is, "explicitly", NO.

(b) I was not involved in activities of the sort about which you are enquiring and am therefore unable to submit to you a statement about those activities. If you are interested in allegations of "disruptive activity" made against me by individuals at Monash and outside your "Applications Committee" can of course continue to rely on statements in what you quixotically refer to as the "public news media". You should note however that these media are not "public" but very "private" in their ownership by a handful of monopolists who use them, like the Universities, to further their own interests and those of their Yankee backers in promoting capitalists and imperialist domination of Australian economic, cultural, educational, social, political and military life.

If on the other hand you are interested in the involvement of the Vice-Chancellor and other senior administrative personnel at Monash "in activities of a non-academic nature which apparently were designed to disrupt, or had the effect of disrupting the normal work of that University" then you should be able to obtain information about this, and about my participation in mass student struggles against these abuses through a study of such publications as Lot's Wife, Vanguard, Print and miscellaneous broadsheets published by the Labor Club at Monash.

While from the sources to which I have referred you may obtain "authoritative information" about allegations against me and about the true facts of the situation at Monash I feel that neither of these matters are relevant to the matter about which you have enquired and that they can bear no conceivable legitimate relation to my applications for admission to the University of Adelaide. I will therefore not be submitting to you a statement about these matters. Nor will I be submitting to you a statement about the political

situation in Peru or the price of fish in Kwangtung and I would greatly appreciate it if you would confine your future correspondence to matters relevant to my application for enrolment and would refrain from passing on totally irrelevant requests from members of your "Applications Committee" for information about matters they may have read in the capitalist press, about the weather, or about anything else not directly related to my enrolment.

(c) I do indeed object, MOST STRONGLY to your seeking, from Monash University or anywhere else ANY information about my non-academic activities within or for that matter, outside that University. I have already given you "authoritative information" about the matter which appears to concern you and, quite frankly, I consider that my non-academic activities are in any case ABSOLUTELY NONE OF YOUR BUSINESS. I am not applying for appointment as the Vice-Chancellor of your University but for admission to studies in it and I believe that irrespective of what the members of your applications committee may "understand" from their leisure reading I am entitled to have my application dealt with on the basis of my academic qualifications in the same way as all other applicants, rather than on some special basis involving my reputation in the eyes of the "public media" or the administrative authorities at Monash.

Having, despite their being none of your business, fully answered the questions you have raised, I would like to add some further comments.

First, you refer to a belief that the activities about which you are enquiring may have brought me "into conflict with the University authorities." It occurs to me that as your Committee has adopted the strange practice of using statements in the "public news media" in considering applications, it may have concluded from statements in the daily press that I have been expelled from Monash University. I wish to state categorically that I have not been, either permanently or for any period. Last year my application to enrol for a preliminary course for an MSc in Information Science was rejected by the Science Faculty Board. In fact this was an attempt to exclude me on the same sort of political rather than academic grounds as is suggested by your letter and this was subsequently admitted in some press reports. However the Monash authorities do not share your charming and refreshing honesty (for which, despite my resentment at your making the enquiries you have, let me congratulate you for at least stating the situation openly instead of continuing correspondence about "residence qualifications" and the like). They have made repeated and even indignant public statements that non-academic criteria were not involved that I was simply rejected due to lack of qualification for the course. As this is the official record, you of course must accept it as being the case.

Second, you state that "The Committee believes that these (statements about me in the 'public media') are matters which it cannot ignore." I submit that they are matters which the Committee not only can but must ignore and that by taking them into consideration the Committee is grossly exceeding its authority and acting illegally against me. I request that you notify me of the names and positions of all members of the Committee and I further request that those members who have already revealed their prejudice by acting in a manner which appears to be illegal as well as contrary to all University traditions should be barred from taking any further part in the consideration of my application. Also please provide me with a copy of the rules under which the Committee is constituted and the criteria it usually adopts in considering applications and inform me on what authority or precedent the Committee relies in deciding that it cannot ignore allegations made in the 'public media' about the non-academic activities of candidates for admission. Has this attitude ever been taken before and why is it being taken now?

Third, I would like to remind you that my main application is for admission to the Diploma in Computer Science. I am pleased to learn of your delightful informality in considering an application on the basis of a letter requesting further information and in not using application forms to process applicants (since you even have a form for preliminary application I would have assumed that you, like most other University bureaucracies, would have had at least one and possibly two forms for admission to a post-graduate Diploma!) However I am still surprised that I have as yet received no communication from the Department about my application, not even a request for further information as to my qualifications in Computer Science. I would have thought that this application would be a Departmental matter rather than one for your "applications committee" and would be grateful if you could inform me as to what the situation is.

Fourth, in view of your apparent interest in the question of the disrupting of the normal work of Universities, I would like to point out that my application is to enrol in a course for the purpose of improving my qualifications for further research or employment. I do not need and would not bother requesting, your permission to become involved in activities of a non-academic nature which disrupt the normal work of your University and it would be rather time consuming to be involved in heavy full time course work as well as in fulfilling your paranoic nightmares about "interstate" (or international!) "agitators". I am confident that the students of Adelaide are quite capable of doing their own 'disrupting' without me and that your own actions and attitudes, as expressed in correspondence will be far more influential in persuading them to adopt such a course than anything I could, or would wish, to say or do.

I enclose a "Notification of Appeal Against Exclusion and Request for Information" from my wife. She is entering a change of preferences to replace Adelaide preferences by other ones in view of her exclusion but asks you and the Admission Office for Higher Education to note that her original preference should stand in the event of her again becoming eligible and that her first preference is still for Adelaide Arts. In the event of my application being rejected please treat the enclosed letter as also being signed by me and act accordingly. I am sure that this will not be necessary now that I have cleared up the misconceptions held by members of your Committee at their request and in view of their expressed wish to only act on the basis of "authoritative information."

Yours sincerely,  
Albert Langer.

ON DIT 7

EDITED AND DESIGNED BY CHRIS WHITE.  
MELBOURNE EDITOR: PAT LEWICKI

STAFF (Being all those unlucky helpers whose names have been omitted by accident in past weeks.): Jack Barbalet, Jim Cane, Bob Catley, Keith Darwin, Rob Durbridge, Ann Game, Adrian Hann, Doug McEACHERN, Mike Duigan, Phil McMichael, Trevor Mules, Debbie Robinson, Pauline Mutton, John Reid, John Tapp, Mike Willis, Adrian Vicary.

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## STUDENT JOURNALISM GRAPHICS ET ALIA

Free demonstration/lectures  
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# NEW CAR PARK PROPOSALS

John (JJ) Reid is one of the members of Rape. This article arose from a meeting held by Rape last Wednesday, week.

## THE NEW CAR PARK PROPOSALS

### FACTS NOW

The University is considering the possibility of building a carpark in the area between North Terrace, the Elder Hall, Mitchell Building and Bonython hall. The area is now covered with lawn in the centre of which is a statue. Moreton Bay fig trees line the area and there are some other younger poplars around the area. The proposal is to build a two-storey underground carpark with vehicular access from the existing Napier underground carpark by tunnel: there is to be no other vehicular access. Pedestrian access will be by stairway as shown in artist impression. It is anticipated that the park will be funded 2/3 by parking fees (which will have to be raised) and 1/3 by the Australian Universities Commission. Parking fees are now \$12.50 (Red permits for professors et sim), \$10 (Yellow permits for staff, mainly on upper level), \$5 (White permits for academic staff working on the lower level and ancillary staff over 21 years of age). There are also small numbers of various other type permits of which the most common are after-hours permits (\$2.50) and motor cycle or scooter permits (\$2.50).

The carpark top surface will be seeded with lawn, and trees will be placed in shafts of soil in the carpark. Go up and see for yourself what it looks like now, compare it with the illustration. Restoration to the pictured state would take about 3-5 years from completion of the construction work.

### ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS

There is no area on campus large enough to build a multi-storey carpark — and the aesthetics would militate against it anyway. The site between the Union Hall and the Fisher Building is unsuitable because of the high level of underground water beneath the entire lower level of the University. Carparks off the campus are infeasible because of the impossibility of obtaining land near enough; the area used by S.A.I.T. Union as a carpark has been thought of but no co-operation from S.A.I.T. could be expected, as far as we know; as they own the land, that proposal cannot be implemented. Inner-suburb carparks across the parklands were also rejected.

### THE PAK-POY REPORT.

The University in 1968 commissioned the firm of P.G. Pak-Poy and Associates to undertake a survey of existing and anticipated requirements in the University's traffic flow and parking. At that time there were 770 parking places in the University (there are now about 750 — 260 in the Napier, 90 others on the upper level and 400 on the lower level). There are 1220 permits valid at all times and 1435 valid at certain times only on issue now. When surveyed at the gates, users made these comments:

150 (38%) said the parking was satisfactory.

87 (22%) reported difficulty in leaving the University by North Terrace gates.

36 (9.6%) commented that the gates in Frome Rd. were too narrow.

Other comments had frequencies of 5% or less.

Note that since that time the traffic flow on North Terrace has been made much heavier by the installation of John Martin's carpark and associated traffic lights. The Pak-Poy report eventually recommended

(1) That most of the university be declared a pedestrian precinct (except for service vehicles only, and)

(2) that either more parking area would have to be provided, or issuing of permits further curtailed, and

(3) that traffic flow be arranged so that the University is not used as a throughway to avoid congestion in the streets.

**ADVANTAGES.** The advantages the carport will bring, are as I see it quite few. Firstly, it will provide a small extra incentive for staff to work here. It will make life easier for ancillary staff not holding permits because they will probably get them. It will also make servicing the university much easier — presumably "loading zones" near all buildings would be established for the benefit of delivery vehicles. These could also be used by those students holding 10-minute permits. There are no particular aesthetic advantages, but nor in my opinion will there be a degradation if the visual environment.

**IMMEDIATE DISADVANTAGES.** In 1968 there was already a problem in escaping from the Napier carpark. This will be accentuated. The A.U.C. finance to this university in the triennium 1970-72 is at an all time low: even if the situation improves, 1973-75 will not be fat years: we could spend the amount of money in many other areas to greater benefit of the university community in general.

**WIDER HORIZONS.** At the moment demolition work is proceeding uptown on Gawler Place behind David Jones for the "Site A" development, financed by Dillingham Developers with the approval and help of the Adelaide City Council. This is to include a 780 car carpark with access through Gawler Place from the northern side of the city. The A.C.C. intend to turn Kintore Avenue into a fourlane

expressway which will them swing around along Victoria Drive between the University and the river, cross the river by the Zoo over a beefed-up Albert Bridge and thence into North Adelaide, via Frome Road. This plan was adopted after consideration of the alternatives which were: bridge across the river at Kintore Avenue with a new road to North Adelaide, or bridge across the river at Kintore Avenue and fourlane expressway along War Memorial Drive to Frome Road, thence to North Adelaide.

The Torrens would be rerouted slightly to allow a few feet of grass on the bank. Then the freeway (80'), (which would be sunken a little to abate the noise problem), then a footpath past the University fence. Footbridges would be provided for access to the river. Quite an aesthetically pleasing sight, indeed. The University was understandably perturbed when it heard of this and applied as much pressure as it could to change this — not for purely aesthetic reasons, but because the noise and air pollution would make P. & I. Dept., Botany and Geology uninhabitable and the Union unpleasant. The S.R.C. and the Union passed motions till they were blue in the face, to little effect. (To illustrate the reality of the problem, the University has already received a grant of \$7000 to soundproof the Fisher building from Frome Road noise).

**UNDERCUT!** Now the University cannot in conscience on the one hand oppose a carpark uptown and its associated works while on the other increasing the use of cars by its own members. The University is supposed to be a leader in community self-awareness — it is time this University showed the way by consciously reducing the use of cars. 38% of the air pollution in Australian cities comes from the use of motorcars — we can stop the urban rot now prevalent in the motorized, freeway-crossed cities in the U.S. IF WE ACT NOW. The University, the leader of the community, can and should lead.

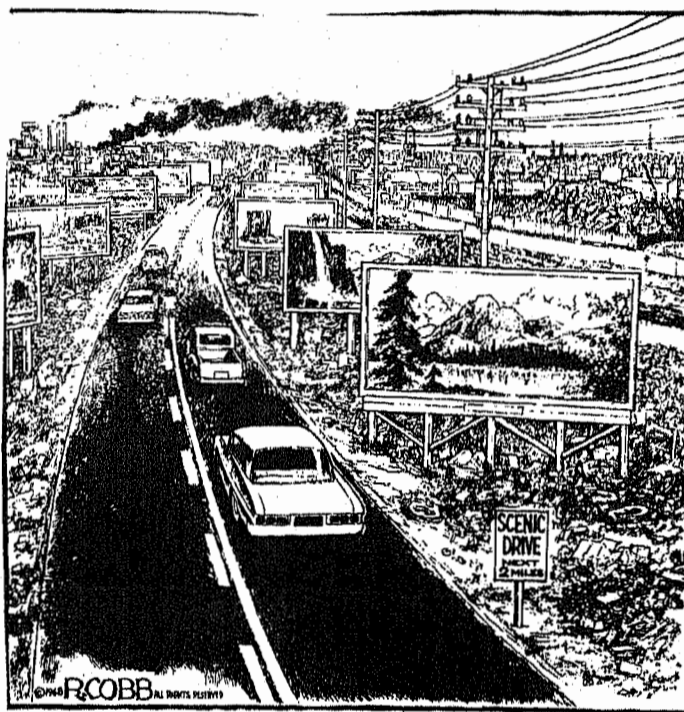
### OTHER SOLUTIONS:

Some years ago the University of Melbourne had the same problem — too many permits for the available spaces. They increased the permit fee to \$60. Surprisingly many staff found that they could come to the university by public transport after all. Adelaide's suburbs have a reasonable public transport system, particularly in the Linden Park-Burnside-Kensington Gardens-Brindale sort of area, where most staff live anyway (Pak-Poy report, exhibit 5). Less than 10% of staff live in suburbs further out than Brighton, Mitcham, Burnside, Newton, Gilles Plains, Enfield and Woodville; they and the ones who work late at night (after 10, say, when public transport virtually stops) should have first preference for the reduced number of permits available because they need them most. After all, Pak-Poy's recommendation was either more parking or fewer permits. We propose the latter rather than the former.

### WHEN?

All of this proposal is for the 1973-75 triennium and is under discussion at the moment by the A.U.C. Submission Committee of the University Council. RAPE with its emphasis on reasoned argument would be happy to prepare a fuller submission for that Committee. I consider that the University will lose more than it will gain by construction of the proposed parking station. If you agree or if you don't, if you can see anything that has been overlooked, tell me.

J. J. Reid



Campus Theatre, the seat of experimental theatre, the didactic arena of social and political protest, within a new, dynamic and exciting form, is undergoing a crisis. The cultural blight that has descended upon theatre in Adelaide and the astounding rejection of theatre by audiences who demand that they be entertained allows little scope for the intellectual, whose wish it is to provoke an apathetic society to instant action against the many ills that prevail.

Theatre, in spite of its artistic slant and feeling for the dramatic, must face facts. It must make a profit if it is to function effectively and thus present the type of theatre which it appreciates. It must also meet the overhead expenses that the luxurious Union Hall extracts, even from the student body. After all the Union also relies on profit to maintain its institutions, luxurious or otherwise. In the light of such financial pressures, University Theatre must turn to the source of its income, the audience. As a result of bad productions in the past and the increased appeal of films and academic demands, the University student no longer feels inclined to support his own theatre. Obviously one can not rely upon such woeful support when one stages a show that could cost at the very least \$600.

Campus Theatre, rejected by its own kind, compelled to show a profit if it is to be permitted by the Union to use the Hall and hounded by the S.R.C., who can see no point to expenditure that will obviously offer no return, the economy of the pragmatist, continues its desperate struggle to remain active and provide drama for University students, who have not succumbed entirely to the system. In hope and despair, the organizations behind University theatre must turn to the general public for support. Although this may be considered a prostitution of ideals, at least it will provide bread. No theatre can survive on ham alone.



The general public, that wonderful band of citizens who control the culture and purse strings of our society and its many sub-cultures want to be entertained. They do not want to be shocked, moved or lectured to. They want to laugh and be merry, and surely the true function of the theatre is to provide the public with its needs. If the intellectual or the theatrical snob wishes to remain aloof, then let him starve. If the true theatre lover wishes to see theatre prosper then let him do an excellent job on a commercial venture and prosper. As the Guild collapses and the University Drama Society becomes more indebted and Footlights loses Capital, it is time to take a hard honest look at Campus Theatre, and decide fully what its real obligations are. If people wish to be entertained isn't it the duty of any theatre, on campus or Angus Street, to entertain the masses.

By inviting me to produce, A.U.D.S. have instantly committed themselves to commercial theatre, not because I think it is the best, but because I think it is the best that A.U.D.S. can afford, will give the greatest pleasure to the greatest number and will hopefully enable the society to make money and continue to function as an integral part of University activity. To assist this a play has been chosen that is at once a fine play and a wonderful piece of entertainment. "Arsenic and old Lace" may appear to be a trivial replica of outdated and banal theatre to the ignorant, intellectual snob, who has never seen or read it. To those who know it it is a charming period play, which seeks merely to delight the audience and does so superbly. In order to ensure that the standard that this play deserves should be maintained, a cast has been carefully selected that has already been seen to great advantage on Adelaide stages. Some members, such as Joanne Mason, John Potter, Arwed Turon, Grant Elliot, Bruce King and Geoff Usher, Roger Smith are ex-Uni students. Some such as Lindy Powell, Laurence Lever and Peter Barnes are present students. Some such as Lola Blachowicz, Ian Gray and Ric Venus are not University students. However all comprise an excellent cast that will undoubtedly do this charming comedy full justice when it opens on April 28th. A.U.D.S. are making a conscious and commendable effort to achieve an excellence that has long been lacking in Campus Theatre. To achieve this the society needs the support of the University, which has also, justifiably or not, been dismally lacking in the past. In addition an attempt has been made to encourage the general public to visit Union Hall and judge for themselves whether University theatre deserves to flourish or would be better forgotten within the insular confines of the campus. "Arsenic and Old Lace" promises to be an excellent piece of theatre and a most entertaining night out. It could also be the sweetest Swan Song ever heard. The decision rests with the ultimate judges, the audience, or the lack of them.

Director: Peter Wilkins

# LIFE AND DEATH IN INDO-CHINA

## (i) INTRODUCTION.

"The Vietnam War is the outcome of post World War II American policy towards the world and its efforts to resolve the United States' greatest dilemma in the second half of this century: to relate its industrial power to the political and ideological realities of popular revolutionary movements in the Third World."<sup>1</sup> American policy has been to destroy everything the Vietnamese revolution stands for. This policy has been escalated from support for the French to disregard the Geneva Accords, the support and maintenance of a succession of corrupt Saigon regimes, bombardment of North Vietnam and finally to a grand scale invasion on the whole of Indo-China, which, in the last analysis, amounts to the physical, cultural and political genocide.

The nature of American Imperialism in this onslaught is two fold. On the one hand, an attempt to make the world "safe" from Communism, and on the other, to acquire an acquiescent third world open to American exploitation. For, "the last need of imperialism is not for raw materials, exploited labor and controlled markets: it is for a mankind that counts for nothing."<sup>2</sup> The attempt to break peoples' will to resist has led the United States inexorably to a policy of social destruction - that is - of genocide. The ironic element in this is that the United States stands condemned by the very principles and actions which it itself established. And therein lies the rub, for its principles were a victor's principles and its judgements were a victor's judgements. It is the absence of a "victor" that will make the prosecution of any future war crimes tribunals impossible.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the crimes remain, despite the United States refusal to ratify the Genocide Convention.<sup>4</sup>

My main thesis here is to establish an argument for calling American policy in Indo-China, genocide. In the

first instance that policy is an attempt to destroy the Vietnamese revolution. "Vietnam is proof of the fact that whenever a nation tries to put an end to the capitalist system, or even whenever a dependent nation seeks the abolition of its inferior status relative to some industrial power, those efforts will be resisted by force and violence. South Vietnam was the first case where agreement was reached among the great powers that election would be held (in 1956) to determine whether a country would take the capitalist or socialist path."<sup>5</sup> The United States prevented those elections from being held because the result would have been overwhelmingly in favor of Ho Chi Minh's Government in Hanoi.<sup>6</sup>

Samuel Huntington has put the extension of that policy more succinctly: "the Viet Cong is a powerful force which cannot be dislodged from its constituency so long as the constituency continues to exist." The conclusion to that clarification, says Chomsky, is obvious and "Huntington does not shrink from it."<sup>7</sup>

Not long after the Geneva Accords were signed by the participating countries United States President Eisenhower said: "...The United States has not been party to or bound by the decisions taken at the Conference... the Agreements contain features which we do not like... The United States is actively pursuing discussions with other free nations to establish an organization of collective defence of South East Asia..." (July 1954).<sup>8</sup> The United States has followed a similar course whenever there were situations which it did not like. The escalation required to destroy the Viet Cong's constituency has led to a scorched earth policy. As escalation has increased it has been accompanied by the appropriate rhetoric to legitimize it.<sup>9</sup> The escalation and the shifting rhetoric are indicative of the failure of United States aims - failure to win the hearts and minds of the people.

## (ii) GENOCIDE.

The Genocide Convention confirms that "...genocide whether committed in time of peace or in time of war is a crime under international law which the parties to the convention undertake to prevent and punish." Article II of the Convention defined genocide as:

"...any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnic racial, or religious group as such:

- (a) killing members of the group;
- (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group..."<sup>10</sup>

Conspiracy, incitement and complicity are also punishable under the convention.

Jean Paul Sartre says that every case of genocide is a product of history and bears the stamp of the society which has given birth to it.<sup>11</sup> The Americanization of war has meant the increasing use of technology, described by Chomsky as "an automated murder machine"<sup>12</sup> and by others as "exciting new horizons."<sup>13</sup> Sartre contends that genocide before the Second World War was essentially a product of colonialism.

"Colonization cannot take place without systematically liquidating all the characteristics of the native society - and simultaneously refusing to integrate the natives into the mother country and denying them access to its advantages."<sup>14</sup>



# MORATORIUM MAY 30TH.

After the war it underwent a transformation because the nature of colonialism changed as did the political and social consciousness of the victims of colonialism.

"It is no accident that people's war with its principles, its strategy, its tactics and its theoreticians, appeared at the very moment that the industrial powers pushed total war to the ultimate by the industrial production of atomic fission."<sup>15</sup>

"The American Government is guilty" Sartre concludes "of having preferred, and of still preferring, a policy of war and aggression aimed at total genocide to a policy of peace . . . guilty of continuing and intensifying the war despite the fact that every day its leaders realize . . . that the only way to win is "to free Vietnam of all the Vietnamese"; . . . is guilty of consciously carrying out this admonitory war in order to use genocide as a challenge and a threat to all peoples of the world."<sup>16</sup>

This "definition" of genocide has the fault of defining generally a situation from a particular case and then reapplying the criteria so gained; but is not useless, for Sartre has said elsewhere that: "the question in this case is not one of condemning a policy in the name of history, of judging whether it is or is not contrary to the interests of humanity; it is rather a question of saying if it infringes existing laws . . . It is not at all a question of demonstrating the indignant disapproval of a group of honest citizens, but of giving a juridical dimension to acts of international politics, in order to combat the tendency of the majority of people only to judge the conduct of a social group or of a government in expedient or moral terms . . . We only have to try and find out whether, in the course of this struggle, there are people who are exceeding the limits; whether imperialist policies infringe laws formulated by imperialism itself."<sup>17</sup>

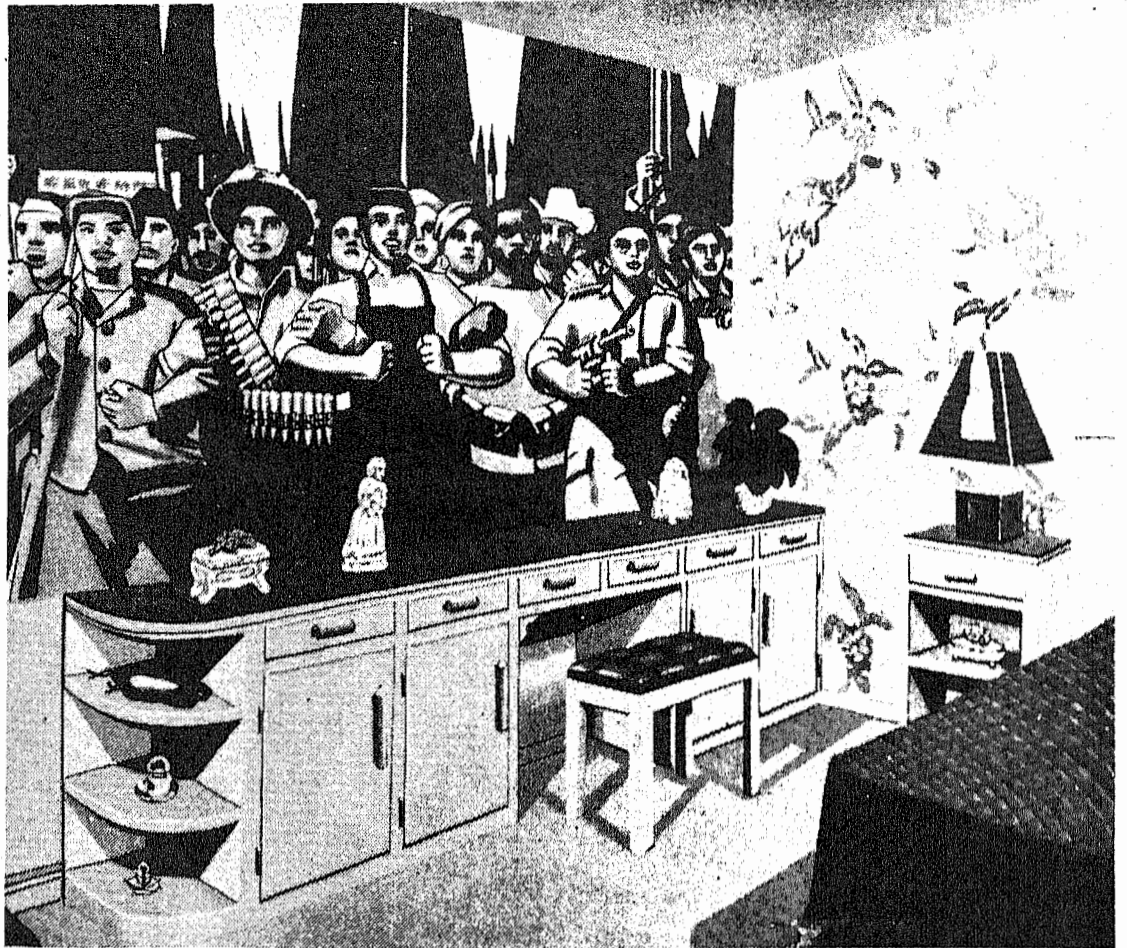
### (iii) RUSSELL INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL.

The Tribunal set itself six questions to investigate:

- (1) Has the United States and its co-belligerents (Australia, New Zealand and South Korea) committed aggression according to International Law?
- (2) Has the United States bombarded targets of a purely civilian character?
- (3) Has the United States made use of or experimented with, new and/or weapons prohibited by the Laws of War.
- (4) Have the prisoners of War captured by the armed forces of the United States been subject to treatment prohibited by the Laws of War?
- (5) Have the Armed Forces of the United States subjected the civilian population to inhuman treatment prohibited by the Laws of War?
- (6) Do the combination of crimes imputed to the Government of the United States in its war in Vietnam constitute the crime of genocide?<sup>18</sup>

Jean Chesneau suggests that the International War Crimes Tribunal for the Far East is a more relevant criterion against which to judge American action in Indo-China for, unlike Nuremberg, the sole initiative lay with the United States. That Tribunal distinguished three categories of crimes:

- (1) Crimes Against Peace: To have projected, prepared, released or launched a war of aggression with or without declaration of war, or a war violating international laws, treaties, agreements or guarantees . . .<sup>19</sup>
- (2) Crimes Against the Rules of War: investigations as to whether the practices and laws of war were violated.
- (3) Crimes Against Humanity: to investigate murders, extermination, degrading to slavery, deportations and other inhuman acts, committed against any civilian population before or during the war, or persecution for political or racial reasons and any other crimes subject to the Tribunal's jurisdiction, whether against the internal legislation of the country in which the crimes have been committed or not.<sup>20</sup>



Chesneau comments that "even though the term is not specifically mentioned in the documents from the Tokyo Trial - (such crimes) were considered genocide. The charges against the Japanese were made invoking the international conventions of the Hague (1907) and Geneva (1929).<sup>21</sup> Similar invocations are now ignored by the American Administration. Chesneau cites fourteen crimes against humanity which were spelt out in Tokyo:

- (1) inhuman treatment of Prisoners of War.
- (2) illegal manpower utilization of Prisoners of War.
- (3) refusal to provision Prisoners of War.
- (4) excessively severe measures of punishment against Prisoners of War.
- (5) bad treatment of the sick and wounded.
- (6) infliction of humiliation upon Prisoners of War.
- (7) withholding of mail to and from Prisoners of War.
- (8) impedimentation of Red Cross activities.
- (9) the murder of surrendered enemies.
- (10) use of poisonous products against the civilian population.
- (11) destruction of the enemies welfare facilities without justification or necessary military purpose. (i.e. pillage etc.).
- (12) attacks upon the Rights and Honors of Individuals or Families or the Life of Individuals within the occupied territory or deportation of said persons.
- (13) the murder of survivors from sunken ships.
- (14) contempt for the safety of army and navy hospitals.<sup>22</sup>

The United States, he concludes, was directly responsible in Tokyo for a solemn condemnation of war crimes committed by Japan in the Far East. "They have, therefore, themselves created precedent binding unto themselves and which, moreover, took place in the same geographical area . . ."<sup>23</sup>

Evidence given in support of the third question - bombing of civilians and hospitals - was presented by a medical team who toured North Vietnam:

"The general destruction of health institutions up until February 1967 was 95 with nearly all the technical equipment also damaged or destroyed. There were 87 administrators, nurses and doctors killed and 35 wounded - of the patients 262 were

killed, 246 wounded and 65 civilians in the near vicinity were also killed."<sup>24</sup>

And later:

"... attacks on health institutions are not due to target areas . . . rather [they are] the principle object of attack. For example, the hospital of Bac Thai . . . completely destroyed by bombs and rockets . . . is outside the town and relatively isolated . . ."

There are quite extensive documentations of attacks against educational establishments (pp. 151-154) places or worship (154-156) and heavily populated areas (156-159). For example:

"... A short time after they had been attacked, the Fourth Commission visited the following zones: the village of Thinh Sam (a district of Do Lung in the heart of the province of Nghe An), absolutely isolated in the middle of rice fields and meadows, which was hit on March 24th, 1967 at 15:00 hours by twenty-four aerial bombs. There were ten deaths and sixteen wounded . . ."<sup>25</sup>

And so the documentation goes on. It is illustrative of the nature of the war to quote a report in the New York Times:

"... Tactical air support is used extensively. It is difficult to ascertain whether the people who are being killed by napalm and fragmentation bombs are guerillas or merely farmers."<sup>26</sup>

A Japanese delegation filed the following report: "In bombing civilians and civilian targets, the United States Air Force uses various types of bombs in a deliberately chosen deadly, combination. Of these bombs CBU's and napalm in particular by their very function and structure demonstrate that they are fundamentally designed to strike civilian targets and civilians. These two types of bombs and their use as unlawful weapons of mass slaughter in violation of international law has been presented . . . What must be pointed out here is that these bombs, napalm and CBU's . . . are ineffective against military targets of iron and concrete. But they are devastating against the population of underdeveloped countries . . . where civilian buildings are made of wood and bamboo. The very fact that these types of weapons are being used as the main weapons of attack convincingly demonstrates that the United States bombings have from the very beginning been deliberately aimed at targets of a non-military nature . . ."<sup>27</sup>

Ralph Schoenman, Director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation describes the type and intensity of American bombing:

"On one village and school were dropped one thousand pounds and lazy dogs . . . a lazy dog is a grenade-like bomb containing two hundred and fifty slivers of razor sharp steel. There are forty such bombs in a cylinder: 10,300 pieces of steel in a sudden storm of hail, lacerating anyone exposed or seeking shelter from the half ton bombs . . ."<sup>28</sup>

On the ground a similar policy of annihilation is carried out. "In 1962 alone", according to General Paul D. Harking, "thirty thousand peasants were killed."<sup>29</sup> He was quoted as saying:

"... since the army finds sullen villagers and does not know which are pro-communist and which are merely dissatisfied with Saigon, and since the army must do its job, it shoots down anyone seen running or looking dangerous. It often shoots the wrong peasants."<sup>30</sup>

At the time of the Tribunal the Pentagon denied using anti-personnel weapons despite the fact that Westmoreland had been quoted as saying: "We shall just go on bleeding them . . . to the point of national disaster for several generations."<sup>31</sup> The bombing raids have been the most consistent element in American escalation; other elements are chemical spraying,<sup>32</sup> the use of gas,<sup>33</sup> the introduction of biologically destructive diseases,<sup>34</sup> bombardment from the fleet in the South China Sea,<sup>35</sup> burning, shooting and pillaging by ground troops,<sup>36</sup> the use of flame throwers,<sup>37</sup> and the inhuman treatment of prisoners and "suspects."<sup>38</sup> This policy has



been described by the D.R.V. Commission for Investigation of the American Imperialists War Crimes in Vietnam, as "Burn all, Destroy all, Kill all."

The New York Times in 1966 carried the following report. "Replying to United States News and World Report, McConnell, United States Air Force Chief of Staff, declared in March 1966 that United States aircraft made thirty thousand sorties in South Vietnam and that it was better to bombard indiscriminately than to miss a target."<sup>39</sup>

An American pilot interviewed in Hanoi, submitted evidence to the Russell Tribunal and testified on the order of air attack: "first destroy dwellings by bombs, then burn out shelters by napalm and then kill or wound with CBU's all the people who would be driven out of the shelters by the napalm."<sup>40</sup> Evidence was then given of exactly that sort of plan being exacted against specific villages.

The Russell Tribunal voted a unanimous "yes" on all questions that it set itself,<sup>41</sup> including the complicity of Australia in the atrocities and crimes committed in Vietnam.<sup>42</sup> All soldiers are supplied with an army manual which contains the Laws of War arrived at through various international agreements<sup>43</sup> and cannot claim ignorance.

#### (iv) ALLIED STRATEGY AND AMERICAN POLICY.

Allied strategy was very early seen by Bernard Fall: "The new mix of air war and of land and seaborne fire power in Vietnam is one of technological counter insurgency - if you keep up the kill rate, you will eventually run out of enemies. Or at least armed enemies. Of course, the whole country will hate you, but at least they won't resist you. What you will get is simply a cessation of resistance - an acquiescence in one's fate rather than belief that your side and your ideas have really prevailed... Yet what America should want to prove in Vietnam is that the Free World is "better" not that it can kill people more efficiently... Hence even a total military or technological defeat of the Viet Cong is going to be... a defeat of ourselves, by ourselves, as it were."<sup>44</sup>

The use of particular weapons - heavy bombing, napalm, strafing, CBU's, lazy dogs, phosphorous, gas, defoliants, etc. etc. is not limited to Vietnam. Testimony was given about Cambodia and Laos also; a report on each country was submitted by Wilfred Burchett and the military bombardment and occupation of those two countries has recently been further documented by Chomsky and Peter Dale-Scott. "The United States has made Vietnam (now read Indo-China) into a sea of fire as a matter of policy. This is not accidental but intentional and intrinsic to United States strategic and political premises in the Vietnam (Indo-China) War. By necessity it destroys villages, slaughters all who are in the way, up roots families and shatters a whole society."<sup>45</sup>

This is the essence of the Life and Death Struggle between two ways of life - certainly the Vietnamese see it like that:

"The present war of aggression of the American Imperialists in Vietnam is the most barbarous and the most brutal war ever known in history in so far as it directs the modern war machinery of a country possessing the biggest economic and military potential in the imperialist camp against the right to live in independence and freedom of a people resolved to fight to the finish for the defence of their sacred national rights; in so far as challenging human conscience and all human ethics, defying international law, the American Imperialists have stopped at no barbarous and base methods including toxic chemicals and poison gases... in an attempt to bend the will of independence of a heroic people resolved to make all sacrifices rather than to surrender."<sup>46</sup>

The two aspects of United States imperialism - the desire to contain China and establish a permanent military blockade in South East Asia, and the wish to continue fighting "in Vietnam to show that guerilla warfare does not pay,"<sup>47</sup> led the United States inexorably towards a war against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

"The United States Government (has) already demonstrated its willingness to attempt subtle genocide in Vietnam under the pretence of waging a "war of attrition." The military ruthlessly bombed the social structure (Huntington's electorate) - schools and hospitals; used chemicals to poison the dams of Vietnam, the rivers and farmlands; drove the rural population in the South into concentration camps (Huntington's "urbanization") and spoke of "destroying cities to save them," "fighting against the Vietnamese birthrate", and "threatening their existence as a nation." The toll of sufferings in Vietnam long ago surpassed that which would have resulted from a Hiroshima type attack. Genocide, by any other name is still genocide. Regardless of the intent of particular officials during the last four years of American intervention, the dynamic is unmistakable; relentless American military action has been attempted to crush the Vietnamese revolution by any means necessary by any escalation required."<sup>48</sup>

The two faces of American Imperialism in Indo-China are the main determinants of the scale and extent of the American presence in Indo-China. The cold warrior ideology first got the United States committed to Vietnam, and the policy that has been pursued since, has had the character of a self-fulfilling prophecy. The bombing of Laos, and the invasion of Cambodia, supported rather than destroyed popular revolutionary movements. Johnson's ordering the bombing (officially) of North Vietnam in 1965 has a similar effect.

#### (a) Containment of China.

Chomsky quotes Acheson giving a directive to a committee to reassess America's foreign policy: "You will please take it as your assumption that it is a

fundamental decision of American foreign policy that the United States does not intend to permit further extension of Communist domination on the continent of Asia or the South East Asian area..." To circumscribe all possible courses of action within the confines of the American defence of the "free world", Acheson later extended the meaning of "domination" to cover, "direct military attack, conquest by default, pressure, persecution, subversion and neutralism."<sup>49</sup> The recurrent theme of the containment of China as a prime motivating factor in the American defence of South Vietnam has changed slightly to a broader concept of the forward defence of the United States.<sup>50</sup>

Thus the United States was protecting itself.<sup>51</sup> Sartre comments that it was no longer the ally that the United States was generously helping but the United States itself which was in danger in Saigon. "This means that the first objective is a military one: to encircle Communist China. Therefore, the United States will not let South East Asia escape."<sup>52</sup> If necessary the United States will bomb Vietnam: "back into the Stone Age."<sup>53</sup>

#### (b) "Guerilla warfare does not pay."

This military objective also fulfils the other essential function of American imperialism - the demonstration of military might to display the force with which any indigenous political movements will be met. Gabriel Kolko, in evidence before the Russell Tribunal spoke of the direct interest of the United States being:

"... the desire to control revolution everywhere in the world, the desire to stop movements of national self-determination from shaping their own fate and course in history. This... is the prime explanation of why America is willing to resort to every mode of illegal warfare in order to preserve its position there."<sup>54</sup>

In talking of the destruction of Laos, Noam Chomsky writes that "the effect and, presumably, the purpose of the American bombardment of Northern Laos have been to destroy the civil society administered by the Pathet Lao and to drive as much of the population as possible into Government controlled areas."<sup>55</sup> The result is to presume that those not doing so are "the enemy", thus enabling a "scorched earth" policy to be carried out unequivocally. Sartre suggests the rationale: "... the only good Vietnamese is a dead Vietnamese" or alternatively "a dead Vietnamese is a Viet Cong."<sup>56</sup>

#### (v) PEOPLE'S WAR.

Chomsky says that "it is important to understand that the massacre of the rural population of Vietnam and their forced evacuation is not an accidental by-product of the war. Rather, it is the very essence of American strategy." This leads, he suggests, to the macabre conclusion that to crush people's war, you must eliminate the people.<sup>57</sup>

"American military policy does not recognize the right of others to defend their own territory from American attack or overflight or to interfere with American plans by inhabiting areas that the United States government feels should be cratered or defoliated."<sup>58</sup> The ultimate result is bare, barren, scorched earth, free of inhabitants and an effective cordon against "expansionist" China. As in Laos and Vietnam the United States is intervening - whatever its immediate reasons - "to support reactionary, even feudal elements and to suppress emerging peasant based movements of national independence."<sup>59</sup> The particular deficiency of "the Cold Warrior" type of thinking is that it fails to understand the nature of revolutionary warfare. It is seen as a "weapon in the communist arsenal."<sup>60</sup> Ahmad summarizes the official American interpretation of revolutionary (guerilla) warfare:

1. it is essentially a technical problem; to stop the Communists who are seen as the beneficiaries of revolution.
2. the guerillas need sanctuaries (hence the bombing of the North 1965; increase Laotian bombing 1968; Cambodian invasion 1970).
3. the guerilla's task is merely to destroy.
4. the civilian population sides with the guerillas only through terror.

Given, he suggests, such a distorted notion of the nature of revolutionary war the United States (like France in Algeria) may win the military battles but lose the revolutionary war.<sup>61</sup> "Revolutionary warfare does not require simply discontent among the masses but a sense of desperation and a grim determination to end injustice and humiliation."<sup>62</sup> This is not a situation in which power is strength. The inability to win the hearts and minds of the peoples of Indo-China leads to frustration and the desire for a military victory.<sup>63</sup> In the final event "a foreign power trapped in counter-guerilla operations is likely to make the final and the only move that may "win" - it starts to commit genocide."<sup>64</sup> The situation then becomes that described by Fall - a lack of armed "enemies". This genocide almost necessarily has to be carried out by the foreign power(s) because indigenous forces are demoralized if they know they are fighting a popular movement.

Guerilla movements because of their proximity to and support from their own people cannot be defeated by conventional means. To defeat any movement that is overwhelmingly supported by the civilian population the United States will need to resort to: (1) total military occupation and (2) systematic incapacitation and annihilation of the population.

Ahmad generalizes two manifestations of American policy: (1) "it seems... that when the United States finds itself in a situation where it feels dissent to be quite unmanageable, its immediate intolerable response, reinforces its belief in the efficacy of violence"<sup>65</sup> and (2) "the paranoid strain of United States politics - the distinguishing feature of which is not that its exponents see conspiracies here and there in history but that they regard a vast and gigantic conspiracy as the motive force in historical events."<sup>66</sup> The combination of these two factors with those mentioned earlier make the understanding of a policy of genocide a little clearer.

#### (vi) CONCLUSION.

Lelio Basso in summing up the Proceedings of the Russell Tribunal said: "This war of extermination is the natural fruit and necessity of American imperialism. It is not a case of extraordinary ferocity, which almost accidentally, adds itself to a conventional war... everything reflects the same systematising... The imposition of neo-colonialism as a way of life on all populations on the road towards development is an essential part of this imperialist system."<sup>67</sup>

American involvement in South East Asia is in the final analysis, a confrontation between two ways of life. "Imperialism, despite its power and its resources has become meaningless. It can no longer accommodate reality. Those who fight for it are kept nervous and energetic by the artificial development of pathological greeds... Those who do not fight for imperialism but acquiesce in it, lead lives which become increasingly devoid of meaning... By contrast those who fight imperialism are fighting for all human meaning."<sup>68</sup>

Michael G. Duigan

Footnotes next page.





- FOOTNOTES:
- Gabriel Kolko, "The Nature of the Vietnam War", A.L.R. no. 25 p. 4.
  - John Berger, Art and Revolution, Pelican Books, 1969, p. 157.
  - See Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 7 p. 518 under "International Crimes".
  - J. P. Sartre, "On Genocide", N.L.R.
  - Richard Morrak, "Revolution and Intervention in Vietnam" in Horowitz (ed.) Containment and Revolution, Blond Books, London 1967.
  - See (for examples) Horowitz From Yalta to Vietnam, Penguin Books, London 1967.
  - Taken from Noam Chomsky "After Pinkville", N.Y.R.B., 1 Jan. 1970, p. 4.
  - The United States War of Aggression in Vietnam: A Crime against the Vietnamese people, against peace and humanity, D.R.V. Hanoi, October 1966, p. 44. See also Vietnam (read in series) pp. 39-43a. And Against the Crime of Silence (see later) p. 116. "Item 12 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference in July 1954 states: 'In their relations with Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam each member of the Geneva Conference undertakes to respect the sovereignty, the independence, the unity and the territorial integrity of the above mentioned States and to refrain from any interference in their internal affairs', f.f.
  - For example, the "Aggression from the North" thesis. See Gettleman, p. 300 and I.F. Stone's reply following; also the Gulf of Tonkin incident, see Peter Dale-Scott, "Conspiracy at Tonkin Bay?" N.Y.R.B. Jan. 29 1970; North Vietnamese use of Laos, see Noam Chomsky "Destroying Laos" N.Y.R.B. July 23 1970 and Peter Dale-Scott "Air America - Flying the United States into Laos" Ramparts. Also the rhetoric in finding a "solution" to "the problem of Vietnam" in Cambodia (1970) and I. F. Stone's reply to Nixon's recent "... we are prepared ..." speech.
  - Ibid. quoting W. W. Bishop "Internal Law Cases and Materials".
  - "On Genocide" N.L.R.
  - "After Pinkville" N.Y.R.B. 1 Jan. 1970, p. 6.
  - Leonard Sullivan, Deputy Director of Research, and Development for South East Asian Matters quoted in the article cited above.
  - J. P. Sartre "On Genocide" N.L.R.
  - Ibid.
  - Ibid.
  - J. P. Sartre "Imperialist Morality" N.L.R. no. 41.
  - Against the Crime of Silence: Proceedings of the Russell International War Crimes Tribunal, Stockholm, Copenhagen edited by John Duffett, O'Hare Books, London, New York 1968.
  - See footnote 8.
  - Against the Crime of Silence, op. cit. p. 54.
  - See also Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 7, p. 517.
  - Against the Crime of Silence, op. cit. p. 56.
  - Ibid.
  - Ibid. p. 150 - testimony by Abraham Behar M.D. Assistant at the Faculty of Medicine of Paris, Member of the Second Commission of Enquiry.
  - Ibid. p. 157.
  - N.Y.T. July 7, 1962 quoted in Bertrand Russell War Crimes in Vietnam George Allen and Unwin, London 1967, p. 49.
  - Against the Crime of Silence, op. cit. p. 163.
  - Ibid. p. 202. See also p. 267 "the projectile fragmentation bomb has profound wounding capabilities with regard to the human body but no effect whatsoever against solid buildings..."
  - Bertrand Russell, op. cit. p. 52.
  - Ibid. - quote from Christian Science Monitor, 8 March 1963.
  - Against the Crime of Silence, op. cit., p. 268.
  - Against the Crime of Silence, op. cit. pp. 327-330.
  - Ibid. pp. 331-336; also Vietnam Action (Sydney) various publications.
  - Ibid. p. 84 and publications of the D.R.V. Commission for the Investigation of American Imperialists War Crimes. And Peter Dale-Scott "Conspiracy at Tonkin Bay?" N.Y.R.B. 29 Jan. 1970.
  - See Australian Atrocities in Vietnam - Alex Carey History of the 20th Century, Vol. 99 Incident on Hill 192 War Crimes in Vietnam Bertrand Russell op. cit. passim for footnotes 47-51 see also Gabriel Kolko "The Nature of the Vietnam War" A.L.R. 25 pp. 3-12.
  - D.R.V. publications - legitimate evidence under the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, Article 21 which reads: "The Tribunal will not require proof of facts which are common knowledge, but will take them for granted. It will also consider as valid proof official

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- GETTLEMAN, Marvin E., Vietnam, Penguin Books, London, 1965.
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- HOROWITZ, David (ed.), Containment and Revolution, Bertrand Russell Centre for Social Research, Blond Books, London, 1967.

- documents and reports of United Nations governments, including those drawn up by the Commissions established in the various allied countries to investigate war crimes, as well as the minutes of hearings and the decisions of military or other courts of any United Nations country."
- Against the Crime of Silence, op. cit. pp. 147-160, 180-189, 215-223, 265-266, 392-402, 551-563.
  - Quoted in American Crimes in Vietnam D.R.V. Commission on War Crimes, October 1966, p. 40.
  - Against the Crime of Silence, op. cit. p. 163. Statement by United States pilot Charles Tanner.
  - Ibid. pp. 309 and 644-650.
  - Specific details contained in Alex Carey Australian Atrocities in Vietnam published by Vietnam Action Committee, Sydney.
  - Against the Crime of Silence, ibid. p. 236.
  - Bernard Fall, Ramparts December 1965, quoted in Alex Carey, op. cit., p. 18.
  - Gabriel Kolko, op. cit., p. 12.
  - "The United States War of Aggression in Vietnam: A Crime against the Vietnamese people, against peace and humanity", Hanoi, Oct. 1966 p. 23.
  - General William Westmoreland in October 1966 quoted J. P. Sartre, "On Genocide" N.L.R.
  - Tom Hayden, "All for Vietnam", Ramparts, Sept. 1970, p. 26.
  - Chomsky "After Pinkville" N.Y.R.B. 1 Jan. 1970 p. 12. Earlier in the same article Chomsky quotes James Reston of the New York Times in August 1965: "United States bases and supply areas are being constructed on a scale far larger than is necessary to care for the present level of American forces... in fact the United States base at Cam Ranh Bay... is being developed into another Okinawa, not merely for the purpose of this war but as a major power complex from which American officials hope a wider alliance of Asian nations with the help of the United States will eventually be able to contain the expansion of China" - my emphasis. See also History of the 20th Century, no. 99 p. 64.
  - Robert McNamara - quoted in Vietnam (read in series) p. 106.
  - J. P. Sartre "On Genocide" N.L.R.
  - Ibid. See also p. 136, Vietnam (read in series).
  - Ibid.
  - Gabriel Kolko in Against the Crime of Silence. Proceedings of the Russell International War Crimes Tribunal Stockholm - Copenhagen, edited by John Duffett, O'Hare Books, 1968 p. 63.
  - Noam Chomsky "Destroying Laos" N.Y.R.B. July 23, 1970 p. 22.
  - J. P. Sartre "On Genocide" N.L.R.
  - "After Pinkville" N.Y.R.B. 1 Jan. 1970, p. 4 also p. 8. A similar comment is made in respect of Laos (N.Y.R.B. 23 July 1970, p. 31). "As in Vietnam, there is a military purpose to these tactics in a broader sense. Here again we see the tactic of 'forced draft urbanization' at work. To fight against a people's war, (it is necessary) here as in South Vietnam, to eliminate the people, either by killing them, destroying their society and forcing them into caves or 'urbanizing' them by driving them into refugee camps or urban centres." Peter Dale-Scott (N.Y.R.B. 18 June 1970) says: "Congressional inquiries into the Laotian War have indicated that in Laos alone the United States is flying anywhere between 20,000 and 27,000 sorties a month, perhaps seven times the level of June 1968 (when) between 1,000 and 3,500 sorties... generated several hundred thousand refugees in a nation of some four million inhabitants." He also makes a comparison to enable comprehension of such an enormous "rain of death". "To drop the equivalent of five Hiroshima atomic bombs around Khe Sah (in South Vietnam) took 24,200 sorties in six weeks for a rate of little over 16,000 per month." And forces the result of this accomplishment. "The so-called 'firebreak distinction' which opponents of nuclear weapons had attempted to establish between 'conventional' and 'limited nuclear war' has been virtually obliterated leaving the way open to an escalation that would be qualitative as well as quantitative" - see pages 31-32.
  - Noam Chomsky "Cambodia" N.Y.R.B. 4 June 1970 p. 41.
  - Ibid. p. 49.
  - Eqbal Ahmad "Revolutionary Warfare" in Gettleman (ed.) Vietnam, Penguin Books, 1967 p. 369.
  - Ibid., p. 373.
  - Ibid.
  - See John Gorton Australian, 16 November 1970.
  - Eqbal Ahmad, op. cit., p. 378.
  - In Pfeffer (ed.) No more Vietnams, op. cit., p. 9-10.
  - Ibid. p. 14 - using Richard Hofstadter.
  - Against the Crime of Silence, op. cit. p. 627.
  - John Berger Art and Revolution, Penguin Books, 1969, p. 157.

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- KOLKO, Gabriel: "The Nature of the Vietnam War", Australian Left Review, no. 25, June-July 1970.
- SARTRE, Jean Paul: "Imperialist Morality", New Left Review, no. 41. "On Genocide", N.L.R., No.

# THE KARMEL REPORT

The rationalisation of specific functions to promote efficient production in advanced capitalist societies requires that schools pursue particular goals. In the first three chapters of its Report, the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia, 1969-1970 (the Karmel Committee) makes a number of statements concerning the relation between school and society. Preparation for adult roles as citizen and worker is seen as an important function, based on the necessity to acquire basic skills for individual development, and derived from the assumption that Australia is a pluralist society. It is significant that the Committee acknowledges a debt in the formulation of educational goals to the Educational Testing Service in Princeton, New Jersey.<sup>1</sup> (E.T.S. issued a report entitled "Proposed Goals in Education," a Statement of Goals for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania). The significance lies in the similarity of functions performed by E.T.S. and the Australian Council for Educational Research.

In the latest issue of Arena, Doug White points out that the service function of the ACER (to the establishment of which the Carnegie Corporation contributed 62,500

pounds in 1929) involves making available techniques to those able to purchase it.<sup>2</sup> Although some of the tests produced by the ACER can be used for remedial purposes, the effect, as indicated by the use of such tests to select students for universities, is to perpetuate the processing approach to education. By these means techniques prevail over human autonomy in order to fashion people to the organisational goals of capitalism. It is in this context that the preparation for "adult roles" must be viewed.

What is the nature of the "pluralist society" for which schools prepare their students? According to the Karmel Committee it is a society composed of individual differences, a variety of beliefs, but all contained within an acceptance of the ideas that evolutionary change is natural. By this acceptance of the rules of the game, discussion of pluralism is isolated from an analysis of power. Rational discussion is seen as the only legitimate basis of criticism of social institutions, as this contains the evolutionary process of their development and improvement. It is necessary to enquire further than the Committee does into the historical development of institutions in

order to understand the consequences of their "rational" organisation. Max Weber argued that the development of bureaucracy, with the subordination of the individual to specialised roles, was part of the process of rationalisation of life-styles and work taking place in Western societies. In this organisation the goals of capitalism exist independently of people, and reduce freedom of individual action in relation to human goals.

To promote, through education, the view that evolutionary change is natural and that revolutionary change is illegitimate is to continue the socialisation-process by which individuals are moulded to the specifications of advanced capitalist society. Some educational administrators foresee an end to schools - not, however, to fundamentally alter the process of socialisation, but to more effectively integrate children into the structure of society. For example, Dr. Hedley Beare (Regional Education Officer at Whyalla), argued at the Annual Conference of the Institute of Teachers in April, that the traditional structural restraints of the school should be removed so that education could be more fully merged into the "potential" of large cities. The promulgation of this

functionalist view of education, together with the subordination of intellectual development and human interaction to the behavioural objective of measurement, is a manifestation of an increasing trend among educators to accept more efficient techniques of social control.

The foregoing is by no means intended as a total critique of the Karmel Report - this will be attempted later. At this time it is perhaps relevant to Teachers College students and to those who were college students but are now working in the University, to point out one of the recommendations in the Report. Having recommended the abolition of the bond after a phasing-out period the Committee recommends that

"Full time tutoring or lecturing at universities or colleges of advanced education, including teachers colleges, should be accepted as teaching service in the working out of the bond."<sup>3</sup>

Although it is anticipated that the S.A. Labor Government will adopt such recommendations as this, it might be an idea if those affected, united.

Adrian Vicary

- Education in South Australia. Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia, 1969-1970. (Adelaide, February 1971) pp 30-31.
- Doug White, "Consuming Interest in Education," Arena, No. 24, 1971.
- Karmel Report. 16.133 (c), p. 466.



# BRUTALITY AND RACE

The writer examines the relationship between violence and race in predominantly race-centred conflicts. He argues that racism has been used to justify the most brutal crimes in Vietnam, Nazi Germany, the Middle East and of course South Africa.

The USA has burst into one of its periodic fits of collective agonizing. Precipitated by the revelation of the murder of hundreds of children, women and old men in a tiny hamlet in Vietnam, the conscience of millions of normally unpolitical and insensitive citizens (has) been stirred.

Startled commentators and politicians are debating how American 'boys' could behave so inhumanly, while the political establishment shows little sign of taking the only honorable step to mitigate its shame by getting out of tortured Vietnam.

Many argue that war is war and that mistakes can happen with tragic ease and horrible consequences. Others say that war is a grim affair, and if it is to be won it must be fought with all available weapons, and without squeamishness though also without bestiality. Again there are many more who are frankly puzzled and disturbed at the apparent metamorphosis of 'good boys' into butchers.

The mother of one of the accused, Paul Meadlo, mused: "This has made him awful nervous. He seems like he just can't get over it. I sent them a good boy and they made him a murderer." And Paul Meadlo himself with chill simplicity surely spoke for the mass of soldiers when he admitted: "In the beginning I just thought we were going to be murdering Vietcong!" But the Vietcong are the Vietnamese people!

## Naive Youths commit

What is so distressing is that in many brutal situations, the guilty parties are composed in part of boys like Paul Meadlo; naive youths not monsters. Yet they shoot as obediently at Sharpeville as in Vietnam. There is a continuing thread running through the horrors experienced by mankind: through the chaos brought about by the uprooting of 30 million people by the Slave Trade, the millions slaughtered by the Nazis in their paranoid search for race purity, the thousands who have been starved or burnt or blown up in the Far East — all these have been attacked not by madmen but by human beings, indoctrinated and twisted, yet still human.

Cruelty is no novelty in human history, yet it is a fearful and glaring paradox that the technologically sophisticated capitalist states have been responsible for some of the most wantonly primitive violence. Is there some freakish flaw in the nature of western man? Is he a tiger; his brutality so easily aroused and so difficult to control? Or are there social and ideological reasons to explain the recklessness, zest and callousness with which he sets out to destroy, methodically, people different to himself? Modern mass violence is a symptom of a sick society, and the sickness lies partly in the belief in race exclusiveness. Genocide may not be a modern invention, but not until the rise of modern imperialist expansion was it used so ruthlessly and consistently as a political means.

## Depersonalized Victims

It is not as men that the victims of genocide are attacked. They must first be depersonalized. Men do not enslave other men. They enslave those who they have first deprived of their humanity by labelling them 'Kaffirs', 'Wogs' — subhumans, fitted by their nature to be slaves. It is not just chance that racism as a social theory came into being with the rise of colonialist, imperial expansion, with the clear function of justifying slavery and other forms of exploitation.

Racists claim that it is the inherited, biological features of human beings that determine their behavior and their place in the evolutionary scale. Thus is justified the grossest injustice and inequality and the subject people are deprived of their rights on spurious, pseudo-scientific grounds.

The death and destruction brought about by the Slave Trade upon which modern capitalism was built is well known. More recently we have witnessed a spate of interventions in Latin America, in the Far East and Africa itself. In Apartheid land, as in the United States, the continuing domination of Black people and the exploitation of Black labor is justified by reference to race. In each of these cases as crises develop in the relationship of oppressor to oppressed, racial ideologies feature largely in the rationale of violence. A group or a nation that is psychologically secure has no need of the spurious defence of racial ideology.

## Fear and Greed Compounded by Racism

In Vietnam recently, a simple soldier said, "A lot of guys feel that they (the South Vietnamese) aren't human beings. We just

treated them like animals." The London Times observed in this connection; "This kind of savagery is the byproduct of national affluence. The assumption is that no foreigner is worth the life of an American 'boy'." But the Times is wrong. Fear and greed, compounded by racism does not spring simply from national affluence. It arises from an affluence that is based on a subnational poverty and inequality; an affluence that depends on there being a world around it to exploit, conquer and dominate.

This is why the race factor is present in the Middle East, why Vietnamese are killed with abandon, Africans hounded into locations like cattle ready for the slaughter. In each case race hatred is the whip, the justification, the motivating force for the heinous crimes committed against the 'inferior' peoples.

Yet our epoch has also witnessed a

different phenomenon, the rise of a higher consciousness among the subject peoples.

They have thrown back the taunt of inferiority at the 'master race' and developing an internal unity with the ambit of a wider intercontinental unity, the resurgence of militant struggle is changing the face of our earth. The persecution of the so-called colored races is near its end. African people have driven out the oppressor with vigor and determination in many countries; other peoples have shown the most remarkable resilience and resistance to the violence of imperialist aggression. With the defeat of the conquerors is fast dying the race myth so that the possibility now appears of a new era without the bestiality that accompanies race oppression. Such an era is envisioned in the Freedom Charter — proposed by the African guerilla organisations now fighting for freedom in that country.



## Film

*THE BED SITTING ROOM* (now showing at the Village cinema) communicates as a series of goon-type visual jokes "Laugh-In" style. As such it is limited and not at all memorable. And if the director Richard Lester the Beatles films, *The Knack*, *A Funny Thing Happened on the way to the Forum*, and *How I Won the War* saw this film as his peak at "a completely lunatic sketch-book of surrealism" then the film was definitely a failure. This is particularly so, because of the potentially serious political implications underlying the film and because of the excellent range of British comic talent on hand. With both these aspects the feeling you were left with was that overall the point was never made.

It is almost impossible to "describe" what happens. A pathetic motley crew of Britishers remain to play out their socially prescribed sexual and class roles after England is devastated through a nuclear misunderstanding. Wrecked cars, rusted washing machines, ruined houses, old

supermarket goods despoil the rotting landscape. Grubbing about in the muck and slime remain the vestigages of all that was Britain. *THE* English middle class Mum and Dad, and daughter and boy friend leave the safety of the underground tube, where they have been safely commuting up and down for years, and emerge into the rubbish and absurdity that remains. We meet from time to time the crazy male nurse (the National Health Service), the Fire Guard, the Doctor, the head of the regional head of Government, the B.B.C. announcer, two law and order members intent at superintending the "community" from a wrecked car suspended from a balloon and of course, Mrs. Ethel Shroake (who is of course next in line to the Crown!) And it is too much to explain where and why the bed sitting room. In that the stars were Spike Milligan, Harry Secombe, Marty Feldman, Dudley Moore and Peter Cooke there were moments that were very bizarre and very funny. The sicker types of jokes came across the best. But these didn't come often. There was scarcely any cohesion both in the theme or the visual images. The oft-repeated situational joke became tiresome. The straight out goonery jokes were far and few between and often did not work because of the visual medium. And there seemed to be no overall clear idea or impact communicable about the absurdity of a nuclear mishap.

The film will however make lots of money and the audiences will come. And it may possibly make more people see the sickness of war than ON DIT ever will.

C. W. and A. G.

## IF YOU'VE STOPPED THINKING, STOP READING

It's really pretty difficult to think of a career where you meet a lot of very interesting people, where the work is demanding and worthwhile, and where you see the world at somebody else's expense.

But if you are thinking about the Australian Diplomatic Service, there are brochures and application forms available at the Appointments Board, or from the Department of Foreign Affairs, Canberra, A.C.T.

Recruitment talk and interviews Monday May 3rd, 1.00 p.m., room 816, 8th floor, Napier Building.

It's a thinking man's — or woman's — career.

## "THEY'VE HAD THEIR CHANCE"

Australian premiere of a new Australian play written by Adelaide playwright, Greg Branson, Sheridan Theatre on Thursday, April 29th to May 15th.

"They've Had Their Chance" is set at the turn of the century and is a topical play dealing with women's liberation, justice and man's inhumanity to man.

The play began as an experiment at an Adelaide school by teacher (and former AUDES member) Greg Branson. There is a total cast of 36 young people aged between 16 and 28. There are 25 musical numbers and David Griggs is the director.

Having trouble with your local reactionary professor? Think that your beliefs are not well publicised? Seen a cop bash anyone lately or an aboriginal child die of malnutrition? Felt as if you are turning into a plastic turnip? Know that you can not make the decisions that affect your life. Then you should write for ON DIT! Send us a letter, a postcard, an article, a poem, or a drawing. We may even need you!

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# WORKER-STUDENT

Program of Action

(an address given to the Adelaide University Branch by the Branch Secretary, Michael Willis 15/4/71)

The majority of the people at this meeting were not members of W.S.A. last year, so I'll start by discussing W.S.A.'s formation, and its subsequent development.

## BACKGROUND

Until July last year, S.D.A. was the only left group on campus. It contained two opposing groups — one, headed by Durbridge, that was student orientated, and the other, which later became part of W.S.A., that was more working-class orientated, and adhered to Marxism-Leninism.

The differences between these two groups within S.D.A. became so antagonistic that open hostilities arose. The July 4 demo., and our participation in the stoning of the cops, gave Durbridge the opportunity to accuse us, in Grass Roots, (1) of "adventurism", and other monstrous crimes. When we used Grass Roots to reply (2) however, Durbridge and his renegade friends had us removed from its editorship. We were thus left without any means of propagating communist ideas on campus, and so had to set up our own organisation, S.D.A. (M/L), and our own propaganda outlet, Clenched Fist. In our struggle against Durbridge, we were particularly grateful to receive the support of the Flinders left, organised around the Flinders Revolutionary Socialists, (3) with whom we amalgamated to form Worker-Student Alliance.

## WHY A WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE?

The name given to our new group brings up the questions of why and how students should ally with workers. Tackling the "why" problem first, I'd like to look at the role of the working class, and especially of the industrial proletariat, in our capitalist society. The role of the worker is to produce, like the slave and the serf before him, the wealth that his employer expropriates as profit. As Marx said, "... whether a man works three days of the week for himself on his own field and three days for nothing on the estate of his lord, or whether he works in the factory or the workshop six hours daily for himself and six for his employer, comes to the same..." (4). The wage that today's worker receives, be it 50, 70 or even \$100, is but a fraction of the total wealth produced by him per week. It is given to him only because it is a socially necessary means of keeping him and his children (new workers) alive. Any increase in this socially necessary value, in fact, the very need to raise it above the barest of subsistence levels entails bitter struggle against the capitalist class.

Thus, his relations to the modern means of production, his special role within the modern productive process, makes the industrial worker, the creator of surplus value, the only determinate negation of the bourgeoisie, which as a class expropriates this surplus value. That is, the working class is the main force in the revolution, its leading class.

# A COMMENT

If you could bore the bourgeoisie into submission the Maoists would surely be in the forefront of the revolutionary movement; if you thought Stalinist falsification of history ended in 1953 think again; if you think that some "revolutionaries" are as repressed as the C.W.A. you're right; if you are looking for a program of action historically guaranteed to fail join WSA; if you're a reactionary looking for a way to discredit Marx and Lenin, become a Marxist-Leninist bureaucrat.

It seems ludicrous to devote much time and space to refutation of this ludicrous and pretentious "program of action". Most people will be aware that it is a sectarian attempt to win support for the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) and its youth front WSA. In doing this the personal attacks on me are a party members' slavish following of the party chairman's directive to "discredit the leadership". It shows the depths to which Edward Hill QC and his devotees, the most pitiful and decrepit aspect of the revolutionary movement in this country, have to stoop to combat other tendencies.

Maoism is the refuge of the frustrated children of capitalism who, seeing around them the poverty of capitalism, have neither the wit nor resource to respond to the situation with any creative application of revolutionary experience and who then simply import into Australia 1971 a dogma which had some relevance in China in 1949. By "adhering" to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought a middle-class youth can become an instant revolutionary, a ready-made mindless minion of an irrelevant political party. In many ways the Maoists perpetuate the domination of bourgeois ideas right within their own organisation... this is done under the guise of making the obvious point that our response to capitalism must be social not individual. Politics is carried out at a level of abstraction — if you "integrate with the workers" you are a revolutionary but no mention is made of how you as a human being try to relate to other human beings. Socialism is seen as an economic rearrangement.

"Yes, but isn't the working class racist, stupid, backward, reactionary etc. etc." the counter-culturalists cry, "how can it be revolutionary?" The best answer to this innane objection (apart from saying that it's not true) comes, again from Marx:

"Just as our opinion of an individual, is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social productive forces, and the relations of production." (5)

Marx is here saying: look not at the external and relative consciousness of the working class in order to measure its revolutionary potential, but rather at the inner contradictions of society that are brought about by capitalist relations of production, that give rise to consciousness, and that will eventually force the proletariat into a position of revolution, independently of its subjective wishes at any given time.

## STUDENTS — A REVOLUTIONARY ELITE?

Students and intellectuals have, over the past ten years, occupied a leading position within the revolutionary movement — in many ways they have been its vanguard. The great campus revolt of America, the revolutionary struggles of students and workers in France three years ago, and the struggles that grew out of the Labor Club's activities at Monash, all testify to this.

However, this phenomenon of student revolt has led some intellectuals to negate the leading role of the working class in the revolution. (6) These intellectuals see the students as a revolutionary force in themselves, and many openly despise the workers. Others pay lip-service to the workers, but are, in their practice, still student-orientated. Persons fitting these descriptions are all too evident on this campus.

Lenin's statement, made over 60 years ago, is still relevant. "It must not be forgotten," he said, "that the current pessimism about our ties with the masses very often serves as a screen for bourgeois ideas regarding the role of the proletariat in the revolution." (7) As the struggles against imperialism and capitalism intensify, so the position of these "intellectuals", mentioned above, who spout bourgeois ideas, becomes more and more bankrupt. Marcuse, for example, was revered several

years ago as the "new prophet" of modern industrial society. Practice, however, has proven false his anti-working class lies; he has been discredited so much that only the die-hards amongst the New Left still preach open allegiance to his crap.

On the other hand, the stature of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, has grown immensely. The working class is exerting itself more and more in revolutionary struggle, as the recent occupations of various citadels of capital by construction workers show. The position of students is not that of a revolutionary elite, but of a great and powerful ally of the working class.

There are a great many students and academics at this university who can ramble on and on for hours about Marxism and dialectics; yet this proves nothing. The only criterion of whether a youth is revolutionary is whether he is willing to integrate himself with the working class, whether he is willing to become their pupil, and whether he is willing to accept their leadership, and the leadership of their party, the CPA (M/L), and actually does so in practice. For without this, even the greatest knowledge of Marxism is knowledge in the abstract, is knowledge divorced from practice, is nothing. (8)

There are a great many things that students can do to help organise and mobilise the masses, but they must do so as allies of the workers, and not lord it over them and take on all sorts of airs and pretensions. This is a common fault of many students who work during their holidays — they try to teach the workers in a superior manner, without first trying to learn from them and gain their confidence.

The reasons why students must ally themselves with the working class, and the manner in which they must do this, are pretty straight-forward, so let's go on to some of the problems facing us on campus.

## BUILD UNITY OF THE LEFT

The present lack of unity in the student/youth movement is one manifestation of its present weakness. We should strive for unity with large sections of the youth in our opposition to apartheid, conscription and the war, and with regard to this I think our initiative has been well-used in proposing anti-apartheid meetings, the formation of the Adelaide Uni Moratorium Committee, and the publication of the pamphlet containing the



Durbridge in action with the masses.

ON DIT SPECIAL PRIZE OF THE WEEK. QUESTIONNAIRE.

IS ON DIT A FRONT FOR: 1. S.D.A. 2. W.S. Alliance 3. THE ANARCHISTS 4. THE COMMUNIST PARTY 5. THE A.C.T.U. 6. W.R.E. 7. THE V.M.C. 8. .... [ your own guess? ]

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Meeting Thursday 22nd. April. 7.30 Anna Menz Room. Paper for discussion: "Male Chauvinism" an expression or epithet often used in the movement. What do we mean by it?

Thursday 6th. May 7.30 Anna Menz Room. Series of Papers: Women's Liberation in the working class movement.

Saturday 8th Mays  
Mother's Day Activity.

## TO CLUBS AND SOCIETIES.

DO YOU FEEL THAT YOUR PARTICULAR EVENT, MEETING, CAMPAIGN OR PROTEST IS NOT BEING REPORTED? THEN WRITE IT DOWN FOR US HERE IN THE ON DIT OFFICE.

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by Rob Durbridge.

# ALLIANCE.



anti-conscription statements of various student groups. However, it should be more active in these three fields than we have been — it's one thing to call a meeting; it's another to contribute well to it. It's one thing to have correct policies — it's quite another to have a correct method of work, of implementing those policies.

I think, in general, that we should unite with the advanced elements amongst the students.

## WIN OVER MIDDLE SECTIONS

However, we do face problems in defining and relating to the middle and backward sections of the students. One of the great obstacles to winning over the middle group is the middle-class, petty-bourgeois consciousness that pervades this place.

We have been accused all too often by the counter-culturalists of neglecting the superstructure, of neglecting consciousness, in our work. Some of this criticism is valid, although, to digress for a moment, their conception of counter-culture is not.

I would define a counter-culture as one which arises from the working class in the course of revolutionary struggle, and one which in turn serves that class in further struggle. The cultural manifestations of petty-bourgeois ideology that so far have been passed off as counter-culture simply do not fit into this definition. However, this should not lead us to neglect the bourgeois hegemony of ideas, and the struggle against this hegemony.

Coming to this place for the first time, many students are reluctant to take a firm proletarian stand, simply because their class outlook is reinforced in so many ways. Coming mainly from petty-bourgeois and bourgeois backgrounds, they are offered at university the illusion of freedom, which they mistakenly accept as its reality. They reinforce this belief with the use of "illegal" drugs, which are seen by some as a revolutionary weapon(s), but which are pushed by the ruling class to corrupt the revolutionary struggle of youth.

One of our main tasks, and this applies to us personally, as well as to the problems of winning over the middle sections, is to remould our class outlook, and that of our fellow students, so that we may better serve the workers and other working people in revolutionary struggle. This entails, for us personally (a) making broader contacts with workers, (b) learning from the workers in W.S.A., and (c) integrating with the workers during our holidays, by getting jobs in factories and on construction sites.

## ISOLATE REACTIONARIES!

What characterises the Left at the moment? I think it is amorphousness, confusion, and a lack of decisiveness. Our attitude towards this side of the student left is clear. It is time that W.S.A. disassociated itself from this mess through alertness and struggle. We should not seek the leadership of an existing petty-bourgeois movement — this can be left to those most suited to it — the anarchists and the Rufus-liners. We should instead concentrate on winning students to working class ideas, in particular, those of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse Tung.

We should also disassociate ourselves from the sham socialism of S.D.A. and, of course, the Rufus mentality of the ON DIT clique. This can only be done by clarifying our differences with S.D.A. in particular, and others generally, by publishing those differences in Clenched Fist, and by following this up with regular criticisms of S.D.A.'s erroneous policies.

As far as backward students are concerned, their hostility to the working class, their complete bourgeois world outlook, was well-expressed last week when they threw buckets of water onto striking workers. Our attitude to them is plain: to isolate them and prevent any further opposition by them to workers' struggles.

## THE S.R.C. AND STUDY GROUPS

There are two other things I'd like to touch on now, namely, the S.R.C. and study groups. We are not affiliated to the S.R.C. for several reasons, one of which is that our members must "be willing to actively support the aims of W.S.A." (10), which are: (a) opposition to U.S. imperialism, (b) fight fascism in Australia, and (c) opposition to capitalism.

Clubs affiliated to the S.R.C. must accept any person who has paid his Union dues, i.e. any student of the University. This means that any freak or monster could join such a club (which probably accounts for Durbridge's membership of S.D.A.). The other reason is that we are a branch of a non-campus organisation that has no desire to affiliate to any other body, especially Adelaide Uni S.R.C.

We have as yet no policy on whether or not the S.R.C. should disband itself. As this looks like becoming the non-event of the year, I'm not sure that we should worry about having one.

As far as studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse Tung is concerned, I think that we

should study them with concrete problems and difficulties in mind. If we don't adopt this attitude, then we will only have an intellectual interest in Marxism; we will start from ideas, not from practice, and our theories will only contain castles in the air. Practice is primary, gives rise to ideas, and provides the materialist foundations upon which the very real castles of socialism and communism can, by class struggle, be built.

We should therefore study important works in order to then relate their general essence to the particular experiences of the student body. Such a study can only be effective if we aim to "Liberate philosophy from the confines of the philosophers' lecture rooms and text-books, and turn it into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses" (Mao Tse Tung).

## BUILD WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE!

I'd like to finish by returning again to the question of worker-student relationships. In many ways, the workers are already far more advanced than the students, simply because they experience every day what we merely theorise about — the class dictatorship of capitalism. Once the workers start analysing this experience with the dialectical method, using materialism as its basis, there will be no end to the revolutionary storms they will unleash! We must decide whether we are to be an ally of this revolutionary class, or a hindrance to it. It is something we must start thinking about very deeply.

(1) Grass Roots Vol. 3, No. 24. "July 4, July 4, July 4, July 4"

(2) Grass Roots Vol. 3, No. 25. "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Durbridge."

(3) See "Left Organ" — "New Left" Renegades Expel Themselves from Revolutionary Movement."

(4) Marx "Wages, Price and Profit" p. 51.

(5) Marx "Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy."

(6) An excellent article on the proletariat's leading role within the revolutionary movement is to be found in Australian Communist No. 44 — available from the East Bookshop.

(7) Lenin "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution" p. 3.

(8) Mao Tse Tung's "Orientation of the Youth Movement" in Vol. 2 of his Selected Works is generally applicable to our situation and is well worth reading. It is in the Barr-Smith if you can't afford a buck or so at the East b Bookshop.

(9) John Tapp "Cat's Arse" — John is the leading exponent of the "Rufus carries a gun in one hand and a joint in the other" line.

(10) W.S.A. — Constitutional Motion II (a).



## APRIL 30TH IS NATIONAL MORATORIUM DAY

## GUIDE TO RADICAL ACTIVITY

### LONG MARCH TO W.R.E. April 24th

In the great tradition of Long Marches — in China, Northern Ireland, the South, Aldermaston — S.D.A. and A.R.M. (Adelaide Revolutionary Movement) are holding a long march from Elder Park to the W.R.E., Salisbury. W.R.E. is the most important war research institution in this country, and is intimately connected with America's prosecution of the Vietnam War. It is closely linked with U.S. bases in Australia — particularly Pine Gap and Woomera. We must protest against this establishment and its role. The war starts at home.

The Long March will leave Elder Park at 9.30 a.m. Meetings will be held at O'Connell Street and at Enfield. There will be a meeting with the Elizabeth contingent at 5 p.m. at the W.R.E. gates.

Train back.  
BRING THE WAR BACK HOME! OPPOSE THE WRE!

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### MARXIST SEMINARS

Greg O'Hair, lecturer in Marxist-Leninist philosophy at Flinders University, will give this weeks seminar paper on Marx in the Lady Symon Hall on Thursday 22nd.

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### ADELAIDE UNIVERSITY SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

ENVIRONMENT CRISIS CAMP, Melville House, Belair, National Park. Speakers on ecology, effects of man's activities on world climates, pesticides and the human environment in S.A., place of environmental studies in a University curriculum, what is to be done?

Friday 23rd — Monday 26th April.

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THE KARMEL REPORT  
A RADICAL CRITIQUE  
Monday May 3rd. 7.30 p.m.  
S.A.I.T. Building, Greenhill Rd.  
RADICAL EDUCATION ALLIANCE

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### DRAFT RESISTERS UNION

Saturday, 24th April, 10 o'clock. Quaker Hall, 43 Pennington Terrace.

Seminar for people interested in doing Draft counselling. Speakers. Fred Whitney, Eric Price, Andrew Ellerman.

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DON'T FORGET AQUARIUS FESTIVAL OF UNIVERSITY ARTS, in Australia's leading plastic city, Canberra. May 15-22.

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### VIETNAM MORATORIUM ANZAC DAY RALLY

This Monday at Elder Park there will be an anti-war rally. Speakers, Music and street theatre.

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Seminar: "An Introduction to the Left," Graham's Castle, Goolwa — Friday 18th — Sunday 20th June.

Speakers will include:

Doug White. Dept. of Education, La Trobe University, "Education and Politics."

Bob Catley, Politics Dept., Adelaide University, "Imperialism."

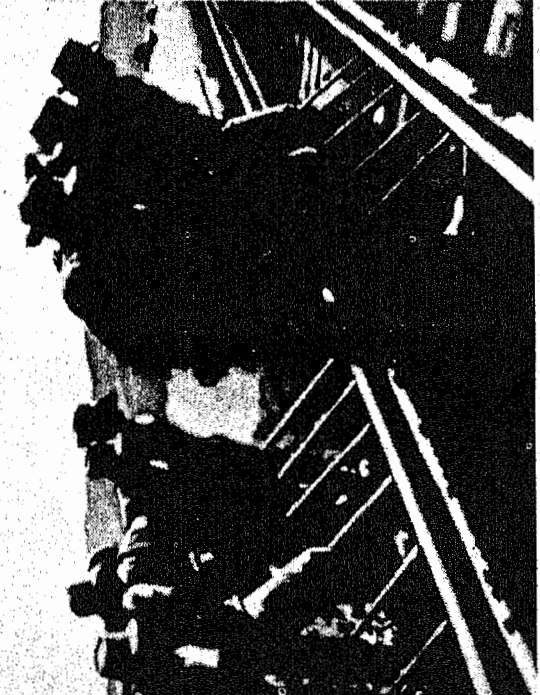
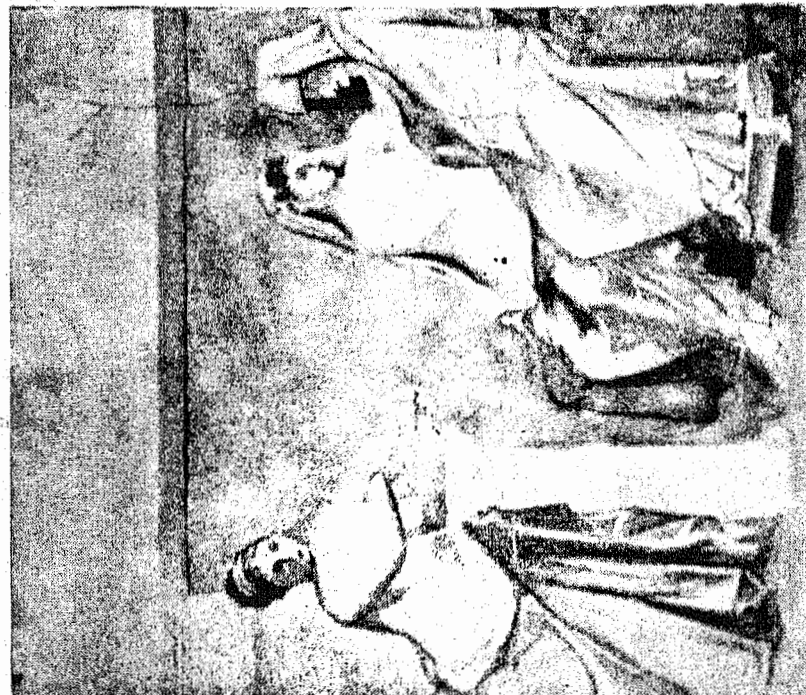
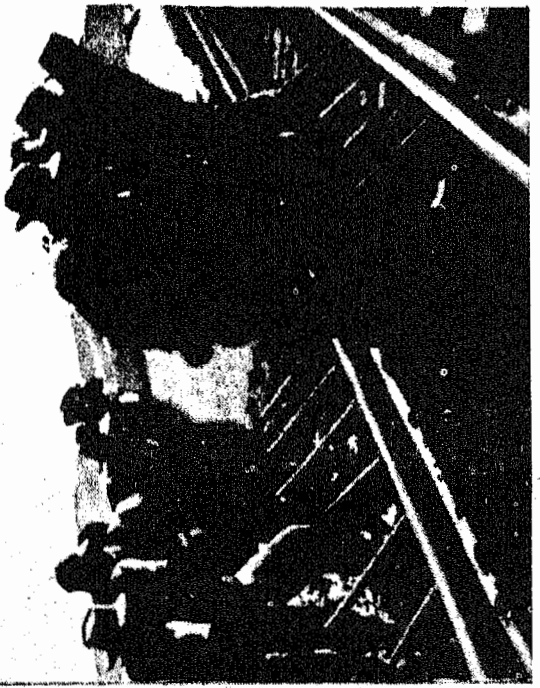
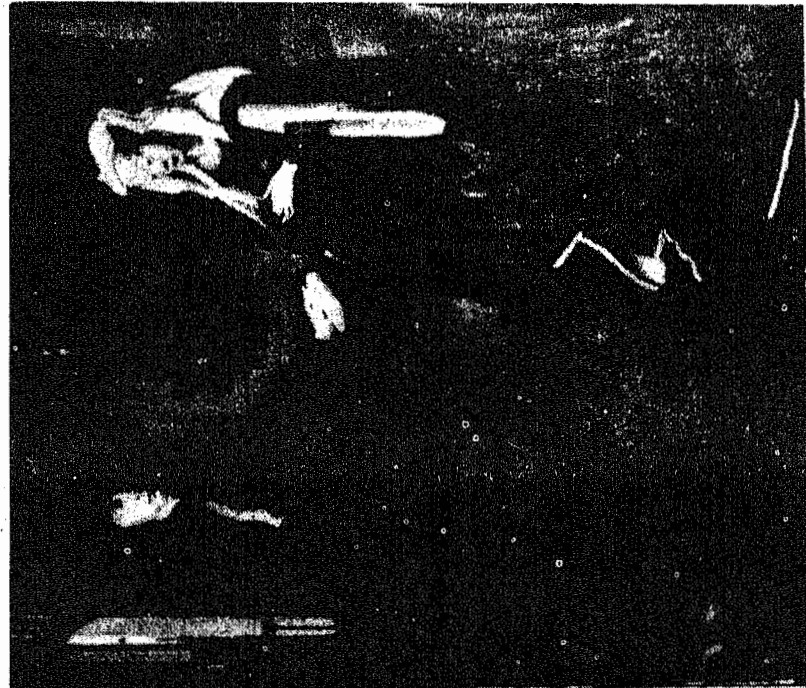
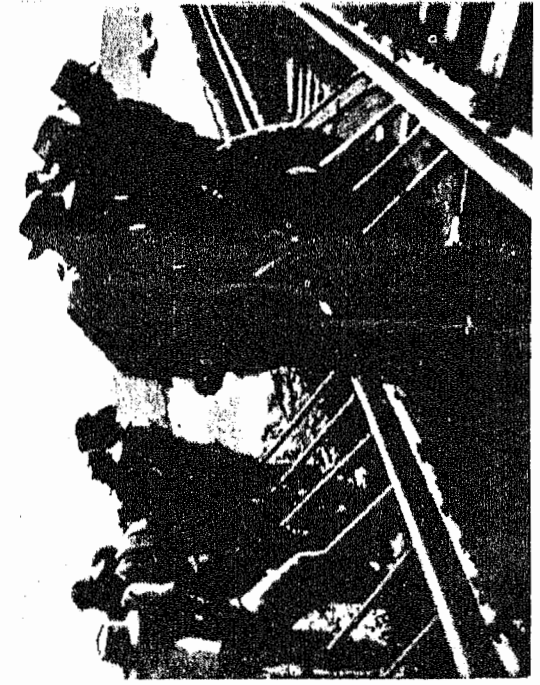
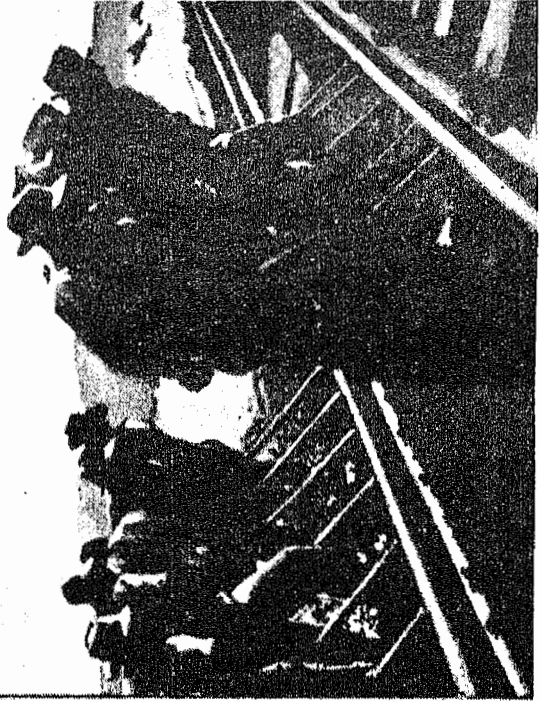
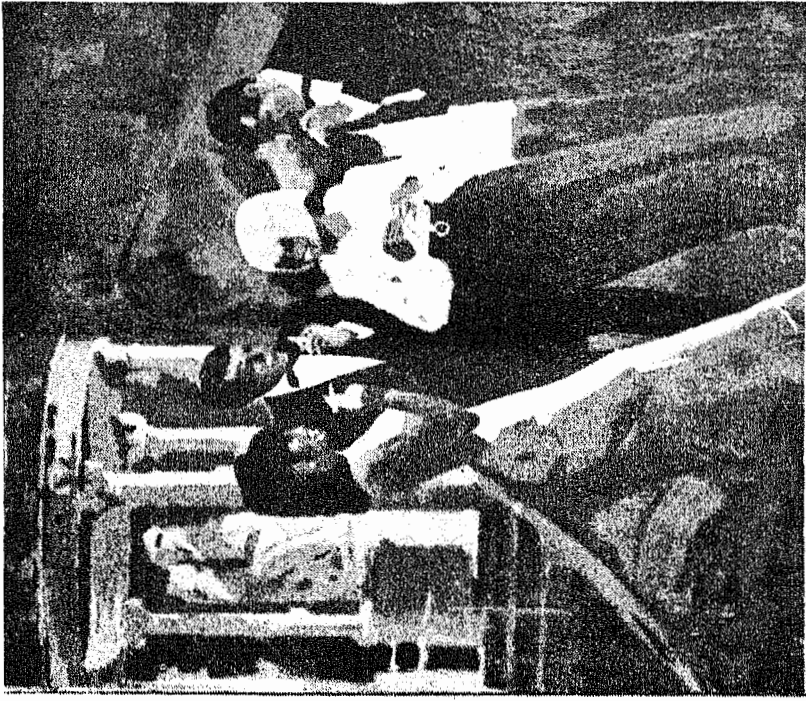
Anna Yeatman, Politics Dept., "Alienation and Rification."

Greg O'Hair, Philosophy Dept., Flinders University, "Marxism."

The cost of the seminar, organised by the Radical Education Alliance, will be approximately \$8.20, or proportionately according to length of stay. Further details to be announced later. Information from Brian Abbey or Adrian Vicary — Politics Dept. Adelaide Uni., or Déan Ashenden — History Dept. Bedford Park Teachers College.

### SRC STUDENT MEETING

Union Hall April 29th, 1.00 p.m.  
Social Responsibility of Scientific Research.  
Speakers: Professor Flentje, (Deputy Vice-Chancellor), Professor Carver (Physics), Dr. Capon (Head of Computing Centre).



Equipo Realidad  
& C'était une fois... », 1965/1966