



# The Rise and Fall of Australian Maoism

By

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## **Declaration**

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

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## **Abstract**

### **The Rise and Fall of Maoism in Australia**

This thesis is the first most empirical investigation of what was commonly known as Maoism in Australia. The rise and fall of Maoism in Australia is conceived at the beginning as the image I named as the ‘Rivers of Tears’ floating on the ‘Rivers of Blood’, a metaphor used by John Enoch Powell, a British politician of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Maoist perspectives on imperialism as a ‘bloody’ battles of all the exploited and repressed peoples against both old and new ‘Masters’, resonated not only with the members of a small break-away ‘Marxist-Leninist’ group from the Communist Party of Australia, but also with a few Sixties student activists, who had been radicalised by the American/Australian intervention in the Vietnam War. For both groups, however, the outbreak of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China signified the birth of a new ‘regime of truth’, which positioned People’s Republic of China as a genuine socialist country, as opposed to the State socialism of the Soviet Union, and consequently drove them to challenge the dominant liberal capitalist regime of truth in Australia as part of the Western hegemony.

This Maoist ‘Rivers of Tears’ ran counter to the liberal-democratic truth held as hegemonic in the Australia. So, the major theme of the thesis was how the rationality of capitalist and free market truth underpinned various forms of strategies and tactics of government, construed, and applied in identifying, controlling, and containing the Australian Maoists. This hegemony was exerted

by a combination of governmentality and direct State power to contain the flow of the Maoist 'Rivers of Tears'.

The movement that infused the clash of wills for and against the truth of Australian Maoism came to an abrupt end, after the death of Chairman of the Communist Party of China and the purge of 'Gang of Four'. The repudiation of the Cultural Revolution as a 'catastrophe of ten years', delivered a 'catastrophic' blow to those who supported the Chinese model of socialism in Australia. This 'breaking up' of the truth of Maoism stirred much debate and conflict within, and eventually hastened the split in the CPA (ML) and the breakup of the Maoist student groups. By the early 1980s, it can be seen, that there was no longer *a* Movement in Australia that carried the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, but instead several 'warring' Maoist groups. Only in that sense, this thesis concluded with an observation on the 'death' of Maoism in Australia. That death was as much what occurred in China as it was in Australia, where governmentality and State power within politics, society and the universities reinforced the hegemony of neo-liberal ideology which ended the 'Rivers of Tears'.

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# Glossary

*Ordered in accordance to:*

**A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z**

AAISG	Adelaide anti-imperialist study group
AAPSO	Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization
AIM	Australian Independence Movement
ALP	Australian Labor Party
ANLM	Australian National Liberation Movement
ASIO	Australian Security Intelligence Organisation
ASP	Australian Socialist Party
AT&MOEA	Australian Tramways and Motor Omnibus Employees' Association
BPP	The Black Panther Party
BLF	Builders' Labourers Federation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPA	Communist Party of Australia
CPA (ML)	Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)
CPC	Communist Party of China
CPSU	Communist Party of Soviet Union

DSPLS	Department of State's Policy Planning Staff
GPCR	Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
ICM	International Communist Movement
JVP	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna
KMT	Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party)
MLC	Monash Labor Club
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NLA	National Library of Australia
NSC	National Security Council
PAM	Progressive Art Movement
RSM	Radical Student Movement
SAI	Students for Australian Independence
VBU	Vehicle Building Union
RCP, USA	Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
REM	Red Eureka Movement
WSA	Worker-Student Alliance
WWF	Waterside Workers Federation



# Chapter One

## Introduction

*No Sorrow is greater than parting of the living; No happiness greater than making new friendship<sup>1</sup>: a 'prologue' or an 'apologue'<sup>2</sup>.*

From the very beginning(s), the *Others* have asked, how did this thesis begin? The one so questioned, could say nothing except that he did not, and still does not, know; though the tears and blood that had spread and are still spreading, might have been first sparked by an unknown 'phantom', or a song, featuring and chanting the reception of the Red Guards by Chairman Mao in the Forbidden City, while the teary and yet hope-giving black songs were sung and *stilled* in the "mother's womb" of the "paper tigers"<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The same two lines in Chinese are: “悲莫悲兮生别离，乐莫乐兮新相知”，from Qu yuan (屈原)'s poems: 楚辞·九歌·少司命 (Chu Ci: The Nine Songs, The Lesser Master of Fate). Mao recited these two verses from Chu Ci to Nehru during a farewell party, held before the latter returned to home after completed his first trip as the Prime Minister of India to China. See. Mao Zedong and Jawaharlal Nehru, "Minutes of Chairman Mao Zedong's Third Meeting with Nehru." It shall be noted that I have substituted the original English translation of these two verses as presented in the above-mentioned document, with the ones provided by Liu Xiang and David Hawkes. English Translation by Xiang Liu, David Hawkes, Xiang Liu and David Hawkes, *Ch`U Tz`U: The Songs of the South, an Ancient Chinese Anthology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959). In this thesis, I have used Pinyin instead of Wide-Giles system for Chinese names, but in the quotes of others or sources I have cited to support my argument, Chinese names may still be presented, for historical accuracy, using the latter system. I have also noted that Anne-Marie Brady had written a book about *Making the foreign serve China: managing foreigners in the People's Republic*, but it is too late for me say to say anything about it here, and I hope the reason for that can be seen in this thesis. Anne-Marie Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China : Managing Foreigners in the People's Republic* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> Plato et al., *The Apology, Phaedo and Crito of Plato* (New York: P.F. Collier, 1909).

<sup>3</sup>“Look! Wasn't Hitler a paper tiger? Wasn't he overthrown? I also said that the tsar of Russia was a paper tiger, as were the emperor of China and Japanese imperialism, and see, they were all overthrown. U.S. imperialism has not yet been overthrown and it has the atom bomb, but I believe it too is a paper tiger and will be overthrown.”毛澤東，*毛澤東選集 第五卷*(北京: 人民出版社, 1977), 499. English Translations: Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao*, Vol. 5, People's Press, 1977, 499.

## Arrow and Target: ‘Objects’<sup>4</sup>

This is a Ph.D. thesis about the rise and fall of Australian Maoism, and below is the introductory chapter of the whole practice.<sup>5</sup> But, the lessons on the topic of courage that this *author* learnt would prefer him to make a confession first: that he knew (knows) nothing about what a Ph.D. thesis and an introductory chapter was (is).<sup>6</sup> As is often the case, however, the same unknowing knower nevertheless learnt that his ignorance could be valorised, provided that he served and engaged, at the same time, with the ‘two masters’ and the ‘two enemies’.<sup>7</sup>

With this disclaimer, a simple question can be now raised, and that is, who or what<sup>8</sup> is this this thing called Maoism, and when, why, and how was it born and later died. Since, nothing, can be uttered without first listening to what others

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<sup>4</sup> Mao says in *Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing*, and from which I quote: “When shooting an arrow, one must aim at the target; when playing the lute, one must consider the listener; how, then, can one write articles or make speeches without taking the reader or the audience into account?” 毛泽东, *毛泽东选集. 第三卷* (北京: 人民出版社, 1970), 793. English Translation: Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao*, Vol. 3, People’s Press, 1970, 793.

<sup>5</sup> “Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it, that is, by living (practising) in its environment.” 毛泽东选集. 第一卷 (北京: 人民出版社, 1970), 263. English Translation: Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao*, Vol. 1, People’s Press, 1970, 263.

<sup>6</sup> Courage is not someone or something, that I know much, and my limited understanding of him or it, was based primarily on readings of Plato’s speaking and thus dying Socrates, and Foucault’s last lecture at the *College De France*, which I hope is not too late to mention. Plato and Benjamin Jowett, "Apology," Project Gutenberg; Michel Foucault and Michel Foucault, *The Courage of Truth (the Government of Self and Others II) : Lectures at the Collège De France, 1983-1984* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>7</sup> According to my very limited understanding of the subject, Michael Dutton has provided us with, via the case study of Chinese police, by far the most powerful and passionate analysis of Mao’s enemies/friends thesis. Michael Robert Dutton, *Policing Chinese Politics : A History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

<sup>8</sup> Richard Rorty once said that he no longer wanted to ask the *what* type of question, and I think I understand why he said so. I too, do not want to ask it, but my ‘thank you’ has yet to come. Richard Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

have said, before I ‘myself’ come to speak, let us listen to what has already been spoken on this topic.<sup>9</sup>

As far as this *author* has been able to see, it was a Dutch scholar, Justus M. van der Kroef, who first wrote something about Maoism in Australia. Kroef’s article published in 1970 on the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), abbreviated as the CPA (ML), focused on a small group of ex-members of the Communist Party of Australia, abbreviated as the CPA. Dividing his discussion into three parts, Kroef began his article with a review of the international (Sino-Soviet Split) and domestic divisions which emerged within the CPA as a member of the ICM, events which foreshadowed the birth of the CPA (ML). Kroef then proceeded to analyse the theoretical propositions and the “operational interests” of the CPA (ML), or the Maoist party, as he called it.<sup>10</sup> This analysis was based on his readings of both the CPA and CPA (ML)’s publications, the memoirs of individual Australian communists and the *Peking Review*. Kroef concluded that despite the political advantages gained by the CPA (ML) from upholding an explicit “anti-U.S. imperialist” position, as testified by its strenuous criticism of the Menzies government and the Australian Labor Party (ALP), both of which were known for their pro-American policies, as well as the “reformist” agenda pursued by the CPA, the general “social analytical work” of the CPA (ML) was “sketchy and unsophisticated”. More specifically, Kroef argued that some of the

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<sup>9</sup> On ‘Spoken’ I am most grateful for Gayatri Spivak’s unspeaking subaltern. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak,” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson; Lawrence Grossberg (1988).

<sup>10</sup> Justus M. van der Kroef, “Australia’s Maoists”, *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies* 8, no. 2 (1970): 87.

central propositions of the CPA (ML), such as “seizing power through armed struggle” had very little practical value in a country like Australia.<sup>11</sup>

One gained the impression after reading Kroef’s paper that he was not particularly optimistic about the future of the CPA (ML) while writing on it in 1970. By 1998, however, if this *author*’s understanding is not too wrong, an even soberer assessment of the CPA (ML)’s “Theory and Tactics” had been delivered by Nick Knight.<sup>12</sup> The influence of the CPA (ML) had, as Knight saw it then, significantly declined compared to its heyday back in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, and he argued that the failure of the CPA (ML) to tactfully resolve the contradictions of certain aspects of its policies was one major reason for its decline.<sup>13</sup> Like Kroef, Knight questioned, for example, the practicality of the CPA (ML)’s insistence upon armed struggle as a viable means of achieving socialism in Australia. Historically, Knight contended, few revolutionary changes had been achieved in Australia this way. Furthermore, the CPA (ML)’s emphasis upon the Vanguard role of the working class, Knight suggested, had put it at a disadvantage in competing against the ALP, and had made it less attractive to the new “counter-movements” (student and different identity based ones that flourished in the late 1960s). Thirdly, Knight observed, that in addition to the contradiction, which existed between advocating the national independence of Australia, and maintaining an amiable relation with the CCP (Chinese Communist Party), the “Chineseness” of Mao Zedong thought, had further weakened the appeal of the CPA (ML), to “a society prone to racism”. Last but not least, the CPA (ML)’s

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 102,04.

<sup>12</sup> Nick Knight, "The Theory and Tactics of the Communist Party of Australia (M-L)", *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 28, no. 2 (1998).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 246.

“commandist and Stalinist” type of leadership style was seen by Knight, as yet another obstruction to its further growth, for many young political activists of the new generation were very different to the founding members of the Party.<sup>14</sup>

In the final section of his 1998 article, however, Knight had gone a step further by linking all the internal contradictions of the CPA (ML) summarized above, with some external ones which had been unfolding ever since the 1970s. Knight argued, for example, that the commitment of some Australian communists to orthodox Marxism-Leninism, had made them ill-prepared for the substantial structural changes, such as the decline of the manufacturing industries, which took place in conjunction with the rise of the high-technology and service sectors from the 1970s. Drawing upon Louise Overacker’s study of the Australian political parties in the post-WWII (i.e. Second World War) era, Knight made a further suggestion that the Left in general was fighting a losing battle, largely because of its impotence in challenging the prevalent perception that Australia was an affluent country, which neither desired nor had the social conditions which made revolutionary changes possible. The third point, which Knight made, was that the Left in Australia suffered also from an unfavourable global political climate. The examples of China’s drastic turn towards a market economy and the dissolution of the USSR were given to support this argument. Finally, in Knight’s view, the revival of the Left-wing politics in Australia had been hamstrung by internal conflicts that drove away many young Australians who might be otherwise have been looking for a radical political alternative.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 234, 46.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 247.



John Herouvim used to be a member of the CPA (ML), as he told us in his writings, which I am about to turn to. The questions which Herouvim raised was the extent to which, and why, the CPA (ML)'s policies formulated between 1971 and 1977, had paralleled those of the CCP. According to Herouvim, the 'attachment' of the Australian Maoists to their Chinese comrades had been able to be formalised, only because of a "small and isolated party" in Australia like CPA (ML), an "alien association" with a powerful foreign party was crucial for its survival, in providing a sense of "kudos and security".<sup>16</sup>

One is likely to conclude, after going through Kroef, Knight and Herouvim's writings mentioned above, that Australian Maoism was a synonym for the CPA (ML), and that Maoists were those members of the same Party. Although this is not an untrue conclusion, it could possibly lead to a silence about Australia's Sixties, from where, if we kept digging, we would unearth a now well silenced call for revolution once cried out by those 'Red Guards' on a *New Britannia* first discovered by the Modern Civilised Man whose other name is European.<sup>17</sup>

But, there are other perspectives to be heard. In the first place, the argument of Paul Francis Perry, who has contended that the influence of the Maoist activists associated with the Monash Labor Club (MLC) upon the student movement at

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<sup>16</sup> John Herouvim Melbourne University Political Science Society, "Politics of the Revolving Door: The Communist Party of Australia(Marxist-Leninist)", *Melbourne journal of politics* 15 (1983-84): 62; John. Herouvim, "An Alien Association: Australian Maoism and the Communist Party of China , 1971-1977" (MA prelim., 1983), 71-73.

<sup>17</sup> Humphrey McQueen's critique of Kroef's *Australia's Maoists* is a good example on this point. Humphrey McQueen, "Some Comments on Australia's Maoists", *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies* 9, no. 1 (1971). Also see Kroef's rejoinder Justus M. van der Kroef, "A Rejoinder", *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies* 9, no. 1 (1971). I learnt also from McQueen, the history of Australian Gold Rush, and hence the idea of Golden. Humphrey McQueen, *A New Britannia* (Ringwood; Hardmondsworth: Penguin books, 1970).

Monash University in the late 1960s Australia was exaggerated. As he said in *The Rise and Fall of Practically Everybody: an account of student political activity at Monash University, 1965-72*: “had there not been the Maoist phase, the gradually increasing awareness seen in 1967 would have spread through draft resistance and other non-artificial movements to the same degree.”<sup>18</sup> Julie Ockenden concurred by adding that the confrontational strategy preferred by the Maoists within the MLC was largely counter-productive, and that their unbending commitment to direct action was responsible for the expulsion of the leaders of the group from the University, and the eventual collapse of the MLC.<sup>19</sup>

Daniel Robins’ honours thesis also dealt with the Monash Maoists, but from a perspective somewhat different to Perry and Ockenden’s. The key question raised by Robins in his thesis is what had inspired the radicalisation of the MLC. Based on his interviews with members of the MLC and other written evidence, Robins

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<sup>18</sup> Paul Francis Perry, *The Rise and Fall of Practically Everybody: An Account of Student Political Activity at Monash University, 1965-72* ([Balaclava, Vic.]: P.F. Perry, 1973). It is worth mentioning that Perry’s thesis was heavily influenced by John Searle’s “three stage” theory, first developed for analysing the student movement in U.S. According to Searle, a typical student movement in the 1960s usually underwent three distinct phases. A movement often began with some very limited support, but when more students became racialized as a result of the employment of confrontational and provocative tactics, it would reach a full-blown status, before it eventually declined after the police was called onto the campus to disperse the student protesters. John R. Searle, *The Campus War; a Sympathetic Look at the University in Agony* (New York: World Pub. Co., 1971), 10, 101. The problem with Searle’s theory is that while it claimed to have discovered a universally applicable attribute, such an attribute only became “universal” if the observer presumed the normativity of the existing liberal political institutions. Take Perry’s case as an example here. Not only did he fail to address the correlation between the crisis of the predominate liberal capitalist ideology and the rising student movement at Monash University, he also failed to appreciate the fact that it was precisely because Maoism was once regarded by many as offering a promising alternative, that MLC itself became the most active left-wing political club on campus.

<sup>19</sup> Julie Ockenden, "Anti-War Movement and the Student Revolt at Monash : An Examination of Contending Ideologies 1967-70" (1985). The problem with Ockenden’s argument is that, if, as she has suggested that, the more confrontational the student movement has become, the more counterproductive it would eventually be, then, how come the usage of confrontational strategy was able to deliver what the student protesters demanded, that is, to force the university administration to concede its power? Even more problematic in Ockenden’s argument is that, if more peaceful tactics are supposed to be more effective, then, how can we explain the decline of a student movement which had become more peaceful since the middle of the 1970s?

showed the evolving self-projection of the club from being a student wing of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) towards becoming a “revolutionary” organisation structured in accordance with the doctrines of Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong Thought. Furthermore, what has also been revealed by Robins is that this drastic change in MLC’s political outlook was facilitated by a group of individuals, whose ‘names’<sup>20</sup> we will soon encounter.<sup>21</sup>

While Robins’ study enriched our understanding of the early history of the Maoist MLC, Mansell’s master thesis made the up the rest. The political intensity and passionate commitment of those who frequented “The Bakery”, the joint headquarters set up by the MLC and Revolutionary Socialists (another ephemeral left-wing underground student group) in the late 1960s was nicely captured by Mansell’s description.<sup>22</sup> It was hard not to be impressed by the versatilities of “the Bakery” with their ‘united front’, ‘mass work’ and ‘guerrilla tactics’, which were skilfully represented by Mansell.<sup>23</sup>

Though, Mansell was highly critical of the perception that the Sixties Australian student radical activists, were a group of ‘rich middle-class kids’, simply ‘imitating’ their American/European peers, he did not shy away from criticising

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<sup>20</sup> I ‘borrowed’ this ‘name’ from Bourdieu, who taught me: “(T)he established order, and the distribution of capital which is its basis, contribute to their own perpetuation through their very existence, through the symbolic effect that they exert as soon as they are publicly and officially declared and are thereby misrecognized and recognized. It follows from this that social science cannot ‘treat social realities as things’, in accordance with Durkheim’s famous precept, without neglecting all that these realities owe to the fact that they are objects of cognition (albeit a misrecognition) within the very objectivity of social existence. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990), 135.

<sup>21</sup> Daniel Robins, "Melbourne's Maoists : The Rise of the Monash University Labor Club, 1965-1967" (2005).

<sup>22</sup> “The Bakery” was the headquarters for Revolutionary Socialists and the Monash Labor club located in 120 Greville Street, Prahran.

<sup>23</sup> Ken Mansell, "The Yeast Is Red" (1994), 36-38.

certain political aspects of the late MLC.<sup>24</sup> Mansell argued that the reliance of some MLC activists upon “direct actions” tactics was a double-edge sword, for the vehement counter-attacks it enticed later from both conservative groups on campus and university authorities, further exasperated the existing tensions inside “the Bakery”.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Mansell criticised what he considered to be an abjuration of some MLC activists from their earlier commitment to participatory democracy, along with a growing obsession about the violent nature of the state, which reflected a lack of appropriate analysis of the “superstructure” of Australian capitalism in the Post-WWII era.<sup>26</sup>

While Perry, Ockenden, Robins and Mansell’s works all focused on the MLC at Monash University, Barry York’s work took us to another ‘storm eye’ of the Sixties student movement in Australia.<sup>27</sup> York’s monograph: *Student revolt! : La Trobe University, 1967 to 1973*, provides us with an vivid account of the dynamics of the Left-wing student politics at La Trobe University, back in the Sixties, and his rigorous examination of an impressive number of primary resources, enabled him to unveil the determining factors of the Maoist activists at La Trobe University to take up direct actions, whenever they sensed the mass of the students demanded so.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 23-25.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 52,84. Mansell notes that the formulation of the Young Communist League (YCL), an ephemeral student group which had close associations with the CPA (ML) was one of the results of these factional conflicts within “the Bakery”.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 93.

<sup>27</sup> Brian Pola, "Perspectives on the Australian Radical Left Student Movement 1966-1975" (1988); James A. La Trobe University Theses Politics Department Walter, *The Perception of Conflict : Profiles from Student Politics* (1974); Barry York, *Student Revolt! : La Trobe University, 1967 to 1973* (Campbell, ACT, Australia: Nicholas Press, 1989); "Sources of Student Unrest in Australia with Particular Reference to La Trobe University, 1967-72" (1983).

Like York, Brian Pola was politically active while studying at La Trobe University back in the Sixties. Later on, Pola wrote a Ph.D. thesis: *Perspectives on the Australian radical left student movement 1966-1975*, that tackled the (de)radicalisation of the Australian student politics from the perspective of a Marxist theory of intellectuals. Based on his case study of the vicissitudes of the student movements at La Trobe University, Pola argued that the libertarian and moralistic ‘penchant’ of the Sixties student uprising in Australia, showed that its rise, had been conditioned by advanced western capitalism, and that the lack of any genuine revolutionary theory able to challenge the dominant political structure had contributed to its fall. Apart from this astute observation, also worth mentioning here, is Pola’s argument that the “Maoists” at La Trobe University were influenced more by “the Mao of Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win, the Single Spark That Started the Prairie Fire,” than any orthodox Leninist theory of the Vanguard Party.<sup>28</sup>

This *author* could only hear so much, though there were definitely some other voices, which had not yet been heard, and still more to come. But this *author* could not wait, because he could no longer stay, for his watery heart was soon going to melt, then be converted into Data constituted from the blood.<sup>29</sup> Yet, before he speaks, he would like to thank all those who have been named and those yet unnamed, for their speeches have given him the courage to go on to murmur the following:

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<sup>28</sup> Pola, "Perspectives on the Australian Radical Left Student Movement 1966-1975," x.

<sup>29</sup> I borrowed the ‘data’ again from Spivak, who once said, and I quote: “Globalization takes place only in capital and data. Everything else is damage control.” Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *An Aesthetic Education in the Era of Globalization* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 1.

This *author* was not able to see the image(s) of Maoism/Maoist in Australia, even after he heard some who had said that, the Australian Maoists failed to organize themselves flexibly, that their policies were not practicable and/or sophisticated enough, that their relationship with the *Dream of the Red Chamber* was simply too close to be a *China* for the Dreamtime, that they, as ‘followers’ of the deceased Chairman in Australia were and perhaps are still ‘obsessed’ with using tactics that were not constructive, and that they were willing emissaries for a foreign party and/or still being unrepentant believers of “an obvious fantasy”.<sup>30</sup>

This *author* listened and thought over all the voices coming to him, again and again, but he did not speak, because he could not speak. He could not speak, because he did not know how to speak, and so he had to continue to listen.<sup>31</sup>

### **Lute and Listener: ‘Subjects’<sup>32</sup>**

But Mao had not yet spoken either. Perhaps he had, or perhaps he had not, or perhaps he once had said the following words, or perhaps since this *author* could not understand them, then they did not exist:

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<sup>30</sup> Keith Windschuttle, "Mao and the Australian Maoists", *Quadrant* 49, no. 10 (2005); Paul Monk, "The Sixties: Remembrance of Things Past", *ibid.* 42, no. 5 (1998).

<sup>31</sup> Here, I am ‘playing’ a ‘dangerous’ game with Nietzsche. Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche and Walter Arnold Kaufmann, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra : A Book for All and None* (New York: Modern Library, 1995).

<sup>32</sup> 毛泽东, *毛泽东选集 第三卷*, 793. English Translation: English Translations: Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao*, Vol. 3, People’s Press, 793.

*When shooting an arrow, one must aim at the target; when playing the lute, one must consider the listener; how, then, can one write articles or make speeches without taking the reader or the audience into account?*<sup>33</sup>

And yet, perhaps, the arrow could not hit the target, and the lute could not reach the listener, because they were untrue, because they were spoken by an “unknown” Mao in private.<sup>34</sup>

But, there are some, or perhaps a few, because we do not know for sure, or at least this *author* did not know, who had become untruthful slave/master to the Truth, while Foucault, whom this *author* trusts, would have preferred to know both.<sup>35</sup> And so, Foucault spoke, and he asked this *author*, again and again, not to trust him, because what he said was true, but to trust him because he knew things that were powerful in the West, but were not so, in the East, where he saw a Christianized Chinese man whose name is: “the fall, and the stain”.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps, Foucault is right to be silent, as he is, in the end, the man who first received, then kicked away the ball passed over to him from Karl Marx. Still perhaps, there was and probably still is *something* else that he did not see.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Jung Halliday Jon Chang, *Mao : The Unknown Story* (New York: Knopf, 2005); Zhisui Li, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao : The Memoirs of Mao's Personal Physician* (London: Arrow, 1996).

<sup>35</sup> Foucault said something I found ‘surprisingly’ interesting: “Never engage in polemics.” Michel Foucault, Michel Senellart, and France Collège de, *The Birth of Biopolitics : Lectures at the Collège De France, 1978-79* (Basingstoke [England]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 4.

<sup>36</sup> “I think that the other major ethical systems that the West has managed to produce would fall under a same analysis— well, I mean that we could find the same three models at work. After all, with Marxism it’s the same thing. You have the model of the fall, alienation and dis-alienation. You have the model of the two ways: Mao Zedong. And you have, of course, the problem of the stain of those who are originally soiled and must be purified: Stalinism. Marx, Mao.” Michel Foucault et al., *On the Government of the Living : Lectures at the Collège De France, 1979-1980* (2014), 165.

<sup>37</sup> Foucault’s view on Marx can be found in one of his earlier writings, in which he spoke of *Nietzsche, Freud, Marx*, Michel Foucault, James D. Faubion, and Paul Rabinow, *The Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984. Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology Vol. 2 Vol. 2* (2000), 269-78. Also see his interview later published as *Remarks on Marx, Michel Foucault and Duccio*

There are, of course, always some others who did see earlier, but since (un) fortunately, they did not speak the ‘civilized language’ of academia, so they could not be heard:

*I done shown Standard spoken English as standing up only for them smug-arse social élites. And it ain't really no different for no written English neither. The tired ways in which the standardized languages steady fucked over the users of other forms had become clear when we went and studied them (post) colonial Englishes. Them ‘other’ Englishes came and made it impossible to buy into sacred cows like native speaker authority because there from the get go there are only habichole users, not natives!*<sup>38</sup>

This *author* resonated with Arjuna Parakarma’s anguish, because even if he did not understand, he tried as hard as he could to hear, or if I may say, to cry in the tears of teary ones, adding to the Rivers of Tears floating on the Rivers of Blood which kept on flowing.

### **The ‘Rivers of Tears’ floating in Powell’s flowing ‘Rivers of Blood’: ‘Theory’ and ‘Evidence’, etc.**

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*Trombadori, Remarks on Marx : Conversations with Duccio Trombadori (New York: Semiotext(e), 1991).* One may also like to think of Derrida’s Marx. Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx : The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International* (New York: Routledge, 1994).  
<sup>38</sup> Arjuna Parakrama, *De-Hegemonizing Language Standards : Learning from (Post)Colonial Englishes About "English"* (Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Macmillan Press ; St. Martin's Press, 1995), x.



This thesis on the rise and fall of Australian Maoism does not have a ‘theory’, though my writings, have been inspired by practising ‘swimming’ in a rising tide, which Mao and some other old and new friends had swam in before and after.<sup>39</sup>

But since one ‘speaks’ differently while in the water and water speaks back to us also differently, so I could not possibly define the idea of what this ‘tide’ just mentioned actually is, was and could be. But I shall nonetheless give it a try, via quickly snorkelling through the main branches of the ‘tide’ that would submerge and carry each of the remaining chapters of this thesis.

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<sup>39</sup> “自‘世界革命’的呼声大倡，‘人类解放’的运动猛进，从前吾人所不置疑的问题，所不[遽]取的方法，多所畏缩的说话，于今都要一改旧观，不疑者疑，不取者取，多畏缩者不畏缩了。这种潮流，任是什么力量，不能阻住，任是什么人物，不能不受他的软化。世界什么问题最大？吃饭问题最大。什么力量最强？民众联合的力量最强。什么不要怕？天不要怕，鬼不要怕，死人不要怕，官僚不要怕，军阀不要怕，资本家不要怕……时机到了！世界的大潮卷得更急了！洞庭湖的闸门动了，且开了！浩浩荡荡的新思潮业已奔腾澎湃于湘江两岸了！顺他的生，逆他的死。如何承受他？如何传播他？如何研究他？如何施行他？是我们全体湘人最切最要的大问题，即是《湘江》出世最切最要的大任务。”毛泽东，*毛泽东早期文稿，1912.6-1920.11*（长沙市：湖南出版社：湖南省新华书店发行，1990），290，94-95。“Since the great call for ‘world revolution,’ the movement for the ‘emancipation of mankind’ has pressed forward fiercely, and today we must change our old attitudes towards issues that in the past we did not question, toward methods we would not use, and toward so many words we have been afraid to utter. Question the questionable. Dare to do the unthinkable. Do not shrink from saying the unutterable. Not force can stop a tide such as this; no one can fail to be subjugated by it. What is the great problem in the world? The greatest problem is that of getting food to eat. What is the greatest force is that of the union of the popular masses. What should we not fear? We should not fear heaven. We should not fear ghosts. We should not fear the dead. We should not fear the bureaucrats. We should not fear the warlords. We should not fear the capitalists……The time has come! The great world tides are rolling in even more insistently! The floodgates to Lake Dongting are moving, and have indeed opened! The vast and furious tide of the new thought is already rushing, surging along both banks of the Xiang River! Those who ride with the current will live; those who go against it will die. How shall we greet it? How will we propagate it? How will we study it? How will we carry it out? This is the most urgent, most pressing problem for all of us Hunanese, and hence the most urgent, most pressing task of our Xiang River Review.” Mao Zedong and Schram Schram, *Mao's Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings, 1912-49: V. 1: Pre-Marxist Period, 1912-20: Revolutionary Writings, 1912-49* (Taylor & Francis, 2015), 318,20. Please note that I substituted the word liberation with emancipation. Mao returns (ed.) frequently to this *tide* throughout his life. See, e.g. 毛泽东，*毛泽东选集 第一卷*，58. 毛澤東，*毛澤東選集 第五卷*，361. English Translations: Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao*, Vol. 1, 58. Mao, Vol.5, 361. I can provide even more ‘evidence’ picked up from numerous poems of Mao, but it is too late at this moment of this thesis to do so.

The next chapter, *i.e.* Chapter Two, begins with a speech delivered in 1968, by one British Parliamentarian, John Enoch Powell, who introduced the ‘Rivers of Blood’, to all the new and old subjects of the former British Empire.<sup>40</sup> Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’, however, as my excursions in Chapter Two show, did not originate, as its inventor claimed, from the U.S., where the riots of the Black people unnerved their previous White Masters, nor does it concern the issue of mass immigration *per se*. Instead, while swimming backwardly into various streams of Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’, which first took their primordial shape in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, then rather quickly engulfed the entire world and was sustained into the post-WWII era, I heard the voice of a modern rational Man, and/or his Leviathan speaking, with a thrilling, yet, as Weber once said, also an increasingly ‘disenchanted’ tone, there came the name of the Capitalised Enlightenment, reified through covenanting the flesh and souls of the ‘Barbarians’, the ‘Witches’, the ‘Pagans’, the ‘Peasants’, the ‘Workers’. But, in the meantime, I also sensed, through the speed and taste of the water, that the force and the bloodiness of Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’ appeared<sup>41</sup> to be slowing and diluting since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, despite the cries for independence sang by the black souls of no-Man’s land, the scum of the earth, the sick of man of Asia, the yellow and red peril. Yet, Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’, only *appeared* to me to be slowing and diluting at this point of the time, for prior to this paradoxical happening(s), more human blood than had ever been shed, presumably for the cause of defending the world of civilisation. This flow of Powell’s ‘Rivers of

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<sup>40</sup> For, more on this ‘Rivers of Blood’, see next chapter. Enoch Powell and John Bradshaw Wood, *Freedom and Reality* (London: Batsford, 1969).

<sup>41</sup> I have ‘stolen’ this word from Marx, but it is David Harvey who first introduced it to me, I also heard the first time about Marx’s ball from Harvey. David Harvey and Karl Marx, *A Companion to Marx’s Capital* (London; New York: Verso, 2010).

Blood' seemed to be held back in the mid-1940s by a heavy dam, whose other Western name was the Iron Curtain, while the trail of tears, agony, indignation and resistance, from the death of the Black and Red coloured 'former' slaves and savages continued. Their stories could be heard if, and only if, they were told in the name of the religious, capital, social, national, communal, *etc.*, until the late 1950s, when the battle cry for genuine Independence and Revolution, which I named the 'Rivers of Tears', was about to rise.

And so, the 'Rivers of Tears'<sup>42</sup> kept floating in Powell's 'Rivers of Blood, as they flowed onward to the Sixties<sup>43</sup>, where the wind blowing from the East, told people in a *New Britannia*<sup>44</sup> and elsewhere that the Red Sun was rising. With this wind, which soon culminated in a thunderstorm, Chapter Three of this thesis takes us to a former colony of the British Empire in the Far South East, for a meeting with a now defunct political party, the Communist Party of Australia. With this Eastern wind, we 'swim' through the tortuous stream in which Australian Communists swam in the past, to a crucial parting point, which, 'forced' by the Sino-Soviet split, finally precipitated the birth of the CPA(ML), the formal Maoist party in Australia. Even if we do not understand what these first Australian Maoists said, before they came to see the Chinese model of socialism as truer and thus worthier

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<sup>42</sup> I was thinking of the First Nation Peoples in Americas. I was thinking of what happened to them and to us now, and from where the 'Rivers of Tears' came to me.

<sup>43</sup> "It does not seem particularly controversial to mark the beginnings of what will come to be called the 60s in the third world with the great movement of decolonization in British and French Africa. It can be argued that the most characteristic expressions of a properly first world 60s are all later than this, whether they are understood in countercultural terms – drugs and rock – or in the political terms of a student new left and a mass antiwar movement. Indeed, politically, a first world 60s owed much to third-worldism in terms of politicocultural models, as in a symbolic Maoism, and, moreover, found its mission in resistance to wars aimed precisely at stemming the new revolutionary forces in the third world." Fredric Jameson, "Periodizing the 60s", *Social Text*, no. 9/10 (1984): 180.

<sup>44</sup> Humphrey MacQueen, *A New Britannia : An Argument Concerning the Social Origins of Australian Radicalism and Nationalism* (Harmondsworth [etc.]: Penguin Books, 1970).

defence, than both Soviet socialism and Western capitalism, we must first see, through the eyes of one leading member of the CPA (ML), Ted (E.F.) Hill, the sufferings, bewilderments, hesitations, conflicts and commitments of the people in Australia from the 1930s to the 1960s.

And yet, the 'Rivers of Tears' keep floating and Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' flow on as we revisit the history the birth of a Modern, National, State-Capitalist University in Australia, to hear its Speech, its Planning, its Commission, its Reports, its Laws, its Statistics, its Freedom and its Truth. And to see, in this Chapter, where its enemies came from, who they were and how they were dealt with, persuaded, regulated, disciplined, dispersed, expelled, jailed, and re-admitted through what Foucault called the governmentality of the corporal and spiritual, just as it had been transcribed into the flesh and souls of the Red Guards within and outside the University, the Society and the Nation-State in Australia.

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Still, the floating 'Rivers of Tears' in Powell's flowing 'Rivers of Blood' have not stopped floating, as we plunge into Chapter Five. Here we see the tiring legs and sore throats of the Australian New Left, whose euphoria over the end of the Vietnam War and the end of White Australia, was soon deflated, absorbed, and finally terminated in the Whitlam Reform. At the same time we see the dissipation of the still not yet completely exhausted Chinese Cultural Revolution, the

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<sup>45</sup> See, e.g. Michel Foucault et al., *Security, Territory, Population : Lectures at the Collège De France, 1977-78* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan : République Française, 2007); Michel Foucault et al., *Society Must Be Defended : Lectures at the Collège De France, 1975-76* (New York: Picador, 2003); Foucault, Senellart, and Collège de, *The Birth of Biopolitics : Lectures at the Collège De France, 1978-79*.

somewhat mysterious death of Marshal Lin Biao, the silenced insurrections in British Ceylon and the Third World, and finally *the* purge of the ‘Gang of Four’ after the death of the Chairman Mao. All of these events caused mounting confusions, hesitations, tensions and struggles that eventually led to the split of the CPA (ML) in the mid-1977. This (1977) or that (1587) year of seemingly no significance,<sup>46</sup> were seen and spoke to us in the name of Mango Mao,<sup>47</sup> while we witness the death of the last dying Australian Maoist.

Yet, still, the ‘Rivers of Tears’ are floating and Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’s keep flowing, but this thesis must find a place to rest, before it is all too late for this *author* to thank you, in Chapter Six, by unveiling the last economic nail nailed into the coffin of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (无产阶级文化大革命), that put it, into a simple Chinese word: 文革.<sup>48</sup> Let us, therefore, see into the Numbers, measured by the Statistics, and engineered by Engineers, and let us not be too afraid of the ‘Rivers of Tears’ and Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’s that carried us back and forth between China and Australia, East and West, in this somehow suddenly flattened world, managed by the new rising games of economic truth, that finally put to rest the one last Maoist, that is to say, We, the water made women’s sons, in one Australian University, the Universe that is supposed to have a diverse range of women and men of the waters, came from the waters and will eventually return to the waters.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Ray Huang and D. Spotswood Collection Rogers, *1587, a Year of No Significance : The Ming Dynasty in Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

<sup>47</sup> Michael Robert Dutton, "Mango Mao: Infections of the Sacred", *Public Culture* 16, no. 2 (2004).

<sup>48</sup> Or in English: CR

<sup>49</sup> I borrowed this metaphor of the ‘the water made women’s sons’ from A Dream of Red Chamber Xueqin Cao and H. Bencraft Joly, "The Dream of the Red Chamber", (2009). Or 红楼梦 in Chinese.

The ‘Rivers of Tears’ and Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’ may still continue to flow, but, this chapter must end with ‘evidence’, and evidently, I have relied upon many peoples’ help, their time and friendship, their spoken and written words, so enormously touching, that I feel that I could not, most sadly, though I try my best to mention, all of them below. I have read or tried to read as possible, the published or non-published words (*The Vanguard*, the *Australian Communist* and numerous pamphlets, booklets, flyers, *etc.* ) of the CPA (ML) and the many different student Maoist groups and Maoist individuals in Australia, carefully collected and well preserved by the staff of the University of Adelaide, the National Library of Australia, the Menzies (particularly the Noel Bulletin Archives Centre) and Chifley Library of the National University of Australia, the State Libraries of South Australia and Victoria, of Flinders University, of Melbourne University, of La Trobe University. I have photographed, during my field work trip whenever it was appropriate, over 10,000 pages of ASIO records from the National Archives of Australia (NAA), and hand-transcribed a small amount of archival materials kept in Shanghai Archive in China.<sup>50</sup> Finally, but perhaps, most importantly, I was fortunate enough to meet, and ‘interview’ over forty people who were or still are *known* as Maoists in Australia or were close to them and us. I had initially gotten to *know* some of my ‘interviewees’ through the Internet and my supervisors, and then courtesy of those whom met I earlier, I was introduced to some others who were also willing to help me while writing this thesis.

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<sup>50</sup> Among thousands of ASIO files I have obtained access to, some were grouped under the title the CPA (ML), others were categorized into different student political clubs known for its “Maoist” ideology, and finally there were folders of individuals who were considered by ASIO to be worth such this extra work

I learnt to prepare and send a short list of ‘questions’, a descriptive letter of my thesis and a consent form sent to the people I henceforth met once I started my research, before our ‘conversation’ or my ‘interviews’ formally started, I tried to have our dialogue or my ‘interviews’ often proceeded in a semi-structured manner. I only gradually learnt the lesson, and am still not able to fully apply it, of when to hear my interlocutors talking, and how and when to ask my own ‘questions’. Myself and the people I talked with, often spent more than one hour together, which I felt most grateful for. Before I formally started the ‘interviews’, however, still not entirely comfortable, but nonetheless did ask the people I then spoke to, whether they were happy about myself ‘recording’ our conversation, whether they wished to be ‘identified’ in my thesis, needless to say, whatever the following decisions they subsequently made in regarding to *the* or these ‘questions’, I have respected dutifully, and it is my hope that this respect can be seen here, in this thesis.<sup>51</sup>

All the ‘information’ thus gathered was first ‘analysed’, although its ‘value’ I still did not yet know and probably will never be able to know fully, the best I can do, is to entrust and thank those who have ‘endured’ this thesis so far, and the others yet to come.

But it is already too late for me to know and to revise what have been written in the rest of this thesis. The most I can do, is to invite you, my friend, to join me, and let us now begin swimming, and with that, I shall speak no more.

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<sup>51</sup> However, I did try my best to ‘double-check’ the evidence gathered from the interviews by comparing them with the written materials.





## **Chapter Two: Powell's Flowing 'Rivers of Blood' and the Rise of the 'Dark Nations'<sup>52</sup>**

### **Introduction**

This chapter aims to set the tone for the rest. It will do so by first introducing an image of 'Rivers of Blood' coined by John Enoch Powell in his 1968 speech. Powell's 'Rivers of Blood', which feature heavily as one of the overarching themes in this thesis, does not concern the issue of mass immigration *per se* that had deeply unnerved him and other like-minded conservative British politicians. Rather, my usage of Powell's notion of 'Rivers of Blood', aimed at illustrating a peculiar governmentality with its roots in an Aristotelian philosophy, which is prone to propagate an exclusion and inclusion binary (the 'problem' of mass immigration is just one ostensible manifestation of it), moulded by different coding systems in each given geo-temporality. This particular governmentality, as I see it, is central to a hegemonic project of Western Modernity, the latter of which first emerged in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, then quickly flooded over the whole earth as a result of the globalisation of a capitalist model of production.

In this present chapter, I will 'swim' into and against, using Foucault's genealogy, a selected few among thousands of branches of Powell's 'Rivers of Blood', began with the moment of Enlightenment 'shining' simultaneously in both Western Europe and the New World'. I will unveil how these Rivers of Powell had flown

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<sup>52</sup> Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations : A People's History of the Third World* (New York: New Press : Distributed by W.W. Norton, 2007).

over the 'Indians' *in* Americas and India, the 'Black Slaves' shipped from Africa to the Deep South of the 'New World', before lay my anchor, finally at the Middle Kingdom. A short break will be then taken, after sailing with Columbus and others' Black Ships, at the 'End' of 'colonialism', fortified by the Iron Curtain, in order to hear the cries of all the tormented Black Souls in the 'promised Land', and the roaring calls for revolution and independence rising from Haiti,<sup>53</sup> the 'weakest link of imperialism', the Dark Nations, and the People's Republic China.

### **Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' and the Light of Enlightenment**

Since, as Marx once taught us, "beginnings are always difficult in all science"<sup>54</sup>, I shall like to begin this difficult (for reasons to be explained below) first section by quoting three paragraphs from a speech delivered on 20 April 1968, by John Enoch Powell, a member of the British Parliament then:

*Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad. We must be mad, literally mad, as a nation to be permitting the annual inflow of some 50,000 dependants, who are for the most part the material of the future growth of the immigrant-descended population..... That tragic and intractable phenomenon which we watch with horror on the other side of the Atlantic but which there is interwoven with the history and existence of the States itself, is coming upon us here by our own volition and our own neglect.....As I look ahead, I am filled with*

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<sup>53</sup> "Between uniformity and indeterminacy of historical meaning, there is a dialectical encounter with the past. In extending the boundaries of our moral imagination, we need to see a historical space before we can explore it. The mutual recognition between past and present that can liberate us from the recurring cycle of victim and aggressor can occur only if the past to be recognized is on the historical map. Susan Buck-Morss's Susan Buck-Morss, "Hegel, Haiti and Universal History", (2009)." 150

<sup>54</sup> Karl Marx, *Capital : A Critique of Political Economy* (Harmondsworth, Eng.; New York: Penguin Books, 1976).

*foreboding. Like the Roman, I seem to see "the River Tiber foaming with much blood....."*<sup>55</sup>

Later known as the 'Rivers of Blood' speech, Powell claimed in the early sections of the same speech that as a politician, he could not but speak out on behalf "thousands and hundreds of thousands citizens" of the UK, who were worrying about the Race Relations Bill proposed in 1968.<sup>56</sup>

While being himself a well-qualified scholar trained in classics (a recipient of a double starred first in Latin and Greek awarded by Trinity College of Cambridge University in the early 1930s) before entering politics, Powell, however, showed in the same speech that he was not just a 'master' of political rhetoric and a 'wise man' with 'knowledge' of ancient civilisations, but also someone who knew perhaps all too well how to unitize both to argue that the "English" had 'a thousand years' of history.<sup>57</sup> And yet, the same Powell is even more a man with a mathematical mind, who, after 'rational calculation', could predicate that by the year 2000, the same "England would be occupied by sections of immigrant and immigrant-descended population".<sup>58</sup> Finally, anyone who had followed Powell's discourse of the same speech to the end, would be able to see that Powell was also a 'gifted novelist' *par excellence*, whose wild imagination had enabled him to conjure up a litany of metaphors, such as "human nature", "evils", "immigrants", "dependents" "aliens", "American Negros", "slaves", "these dangerous and

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<sup>55</sup> Powell and Wood, *Freedom and Reality*, 219.

<sup>56</sup> "So far as these can tell us anything, the opinion polls following the speech provide an indication of the scale of popular support. Gallup recorded 74 per cent, ORC 82 per cent, NOP 67 per cent, and the Express 79 per cent in favour of what Powell had proposed in Birmingham." Bill Schwarz, *The White Man's World* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 48.

<sup>57</sup> Powell and Wood, *Freedom and Reality*, 214.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

divisive elements”, and finally “the River Tiber foaming with much blood”, all summoned for the same purpose of warning the Anglo-Saxon people, the potential of devastating consequences, which the 1968 Race Relations Bill could produce if it were passed.<sup>59</sup>

His remarkable ‘versatility’ notwithstanding, I found it hard to appreciate either Powell’s *History of the England*, which, even if we ruled out the events such as Norman Conquest and the Hundred Years’ War, was by no means as linear and consistent as Powell would like to us believe.<sup>60</sup> Nor do I agree with Powell’s interpretation of the verse that “the River Tiber foaming with much blood” quoted from Virgil’s *Aeneid*, which, in Edith Hall’s words, had gotten it “so wrong”.<sup>61</sup> However, it is not my intention to invoke the spectre of Powell, to simply suggest that his argument that by receiving more ‘uncivilised’, ‘non-English speaking’ and dependent immigrants’, the local ‘white’ British woman would have gone ‘mad’ and conducted crimes, was constructed on an ‘anachronistic’ premise. Instead, my main interest in Powell’s speech is rather the ‘ingenious’ image of the flowing ‘Rivers of Blood’ as presented in the very same text. I was somehow ‘surprised’ by the ambiguous suggestion made by Powell that this idea of ‘Rivers

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> I feel obliged to quote a sarcastic but also astute comment made by Benedict Anderson: “In fact, royal lineages often derived their prestige, aside from any aura of divinity, from, shall we say, miscegenation? It is characteristic that there has not been an ‘English’ dynasty ruling in London since the eleventh century (if then); and what ‘nationality’ are we to assign to the Bourbons?” Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991), 20.

<sup>61</sup> Edith Hall commented, in reference to the misquotation of Powell is that “(I) If Powell had written this in an essay for me, I would have failed it and pointed out that it was no ‘Roman’ who said this, but the Greek Delphic Apollo, via his priestess at the equally Greek colony of Cumae, near Naples. She told Aeneas (no Roman, either), who was applying for an Italian work permit, ‘I see wars, horrid wars, and the Tiber foaming with much blood’ (*bella, horrida bella / et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno*’ (6.86-7).” <http://edithorial.blogspot.com.au/2013/04/how-enoch-powell-got-vergil-wrong.html>, last access: 15<sup>th</sup> Feb, 2015.

of Blood', 'originated' neither from the 'Garden of Eden', nor from the 'Holy City' or the 'Promised Land', not even his much-beloved ancient Greek city-states, but rather came from the "other side of the Atlantic."<sup>62</sup>

While on the one hand, by raising my doubts regarding Powell's views on the headwater of this 'Rivers of Blood', I do wish to first register my suspicion about any claim ever made about have 'found' the exact 'beginnings' of the this imagined but nonetheless 'real' blood made river in the History, on the other hand, however, I shall also make it clear that I am not convinced by Powell's implicit conclusion that this 'Rivers of Blood' originated from the 'other side of the Atlantic'. And thus, for precisely the same reason, I think an alternative genealogy of Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' can be offered. In fact, as I will argue below, such an endeavour is not only desirable but also something which must be pursued.

That said, however, the question then became, from where shall we begin reconstructing this alternative genealogy of the 'Rivers of Blood'? It seems to me that our purposed investigation should start with the 'beginnings' of a singular event: known as the Enlightenment, which would eventually produce, and simultaneously destroy, Don Quixote's 'dream world'. The reason for making this choice of the Enlightenment, is, in my view, self-explanatory, though it could also be otherwise arbitrary, provided that we rejected the assumption that the Modern History itself did not begin in an age when 'Helen of Troy' was still regarded as being born from one of the 'twin eggs',<sup>63</sup> nor at the time when the

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<sup>62</sup> Powell and Wood, *Freedom and Reality*, 219.

<sup>63</sup> "Nor does he begin Diomedes's return from the death of Meleager, or the war of Troy from the twin eggs." Horace and H. Rushton Fairclough, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica, with an English Translation* (London; New York: W. Heinemann; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1926), 463.

tale of Atlantis was still taken as ‘truthful’, even without ‘verifications’, but only after the self-claimed ‘descendants of Abraham’ suddenly came to know, from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, that the hitherto inconceivable death of their “God and Father” was imminent.<sup>64</sup>

But first two disclaimers are in need. It shall be pointed out at this earlier point that the discussion below is presented in a rather rudimentary and abstract way, mainly because it was aimed at uncovering no more than a small slice of the large corpus of what Foucault would describe as ‘subjugated knowledge’, by which, he was referring to the totality of all the knowledges that have ever ‘existed’, but were later contained and repressed in the ‘Age of Reason’.<sup>65</sup> More importantly, however, is to bear in mind that by undertaking this ‘risky’ task of ‘rescuing’ some of the ‘disqualified knowledge’ from the prison of the History, my main purpose is to have them to ‘speak against’ Powell’s account of the ‘Rivers of

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<sup>64</sup> It is worth mentioning that, by invoking this notion of the History, I am not saying that our ancestors in past did not any written or oral records of the past, but rather to suggest that, as Benedict Anderson has argued, it was only at this moment of the history of the Western Europe, historical discourse began to acquire its distinctive modern form. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 24. Second, and with regards to the paradoxical implications of the beginnings of the History, and the births of the Men, it can be seen that a large sea of metaphors was invented by the European men of letters to describe the significances of both. To name just a few here, to Nietzsche, these two events were signs of the *Twilight of the Idols*. Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, R. J. Hollingdale, and Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols; and, the Anti-Christ* (London, England; New York, N.Y., USA: Penguin Books, 1990). And for Marx, they represented the rise of not only the nascent capitalist model of production, but also the ‘freed’ serfs whose name is workers. Karl Marx et al., *The German Ideology* (New York: International Publishers, 1972). Or, to put it in his own words: “And this history, the history of their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire.” Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, 875. To Foucault, the dual events mentioned above, signalled first the consolidation then the substitution of a Renaissance episteme by a Classic episteme. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971). And finally, Hardt and Negri suggested that this European modernity came to us with an inbuilt schizophrenia, or even better, an eternal battle that fought between “on the one hand, the immanent forces of desire and association, the love of the community, and on the other, the strong hand of an overarching authority that imposes and enforces an order on the social field.” Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 69.

<sup>65</sup> Foucault et al., *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège De France, 1975-76*.

Blood', and in the time, 'spoke of' the main argument of this chapter that the Sixties Maoist inspired student uprising in Australia was not an 'aberrance', but rather one among many 'lost'(in the sense of being erased from our memory of the past) battles. <sup>66</sup>

With this Foucauldian concept of the 'subjugated knowledge' being introduced, however, I shall begin first by explicating what I mean by the construction/destruction of Don Quixote's dream world, by linking it with another metaphor supplied by Nietzsche: the twilight of Idols. It is known that *The Twilight of Idols* was the title chosen by Nietzsche for his 1888 monography, in which he eulogized the 'Will to Power' in favour of Platonic philosophy, the Christian 'morality' and other 'unhealthy' thoughts. And yet, by borrowing this 'death of God' metaphor from Nietzsche, I aim not to either challenge or endorse his iconoclastic philosophy, but rather to use it to highlight the correlation between, on the one hand, the disintegration of the Christendom (and thus the dissolution of the 'dream world' of Don Quixote), and on the other hand, the secularization of Western Europe since the late 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>67</sup> In what follows, I shall try to sum up in a few words, several important social/historical factors in relation to these two significant developments, both anterior to or foreshadowing the light of the Enlightenment yet to shine.

First to be mentioned is the 'birth' of 'humanism', through the 'rediscovery' of the history and culture of the ancient Greek and Roman (Renaissance), which was

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<sup>66</sup> See, e.g. Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Provincializing Europe : Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference", (2000).

<sup>67</sup> Nietzsche, Hollingdale, and Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols ; and, the Anti-Christ*.

accompanied by the slow yet conspicuous decline of the Christianised cosmology and the installation of a classical episteme (e.g. the Newtonian physics). Second to be noted is the emergence of, as Marx has taught us long before, the capitalist model of production and the appearance of the mental and material labour division. Third to be registered is the ‘discovery’ and subsequent colonization of the New World (and later the entire globe) by most of the major European powers: Spain, Portugal, Netherlands, France, and England. From the 15th century. Fourth, I shall also mention the Weberian notion of the disenchantment (*Entzauberung*) of the world, which has been set in tandem with the growing rationalization of every aspects of social life.<sup>68</sup>

The final verdict on the ‘death of the God’ and the birth of the Man was announced, however, neither by the Christ himself nor the ‘earthly rock’, i.e. his ‘designated’ spokesman in Rome, but rather delivered by three other new figures hitherto unknown to the History of the Man: the Scientists, the Philosophers and the Politicians,<sup>69</sup> all of whom were singing the same hymn in the end of 18<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>Max Lassman Peter Velody Irving Martins Herminio Weber, *Max Weber's "Science as a Vocation"* (London; Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989); Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner, 1958).

<sup>69</sup> It is revealing that “the Philosopher” was not a ‘modern’ invention, e.g. Saint Thomas also used the title “the Philosopher” to address Aristotle. Aquinas Saint Thomas et al., *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Dumb Ox Books, 1993). It is equally revealing, that in the preface to his *Phenomenology of spirit*: Hegel would claim that his aim is to: “help bring philosophy closer to the form of Science, to the goal where it can lay aside the title ‘love of knowing’ and be actual knowing – that is what have set myself to do.” Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Arnold V. Miller, and J. N. Findlay, *Phenomenology of Spirit* (Oxford [England]: Clarendon Press, 1977), 3. And, on the return of the Philosophers or the reappearance of the Philosophers, as marked by the birth of the famous Cartesian formulation: *Cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am). See Foucault et al., *Security, Territory, Population : Lectures at the Collège De France, 1977-78*, 230.



century:<sup>70</sup> the glorious light of the Enlightenment,<sup>71</sup> please forgive our sins for worshipping the false God for thousand years, and teach us how the secret of government in accordance with the new truth of the Man!<sup>72</sup>

As the next section of this chapter will try to show, the light of Enlightenment did deliver a new truth of the Man as requested by its ‘apostles’ in late 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the same truth would not only from then on, hold sovereign sway over the Europe itself, but also soon to be spread over the entire world by its thousands earnest ‘missionaries’ via different means. But for now, we must pause at this very moment, to take a closer look at this newly established truth, and to raise a

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<sup>70</sup> It shall be rather clear at this point that the History, which I have tried to condense, as much as I can, in a few words, is a history of the constitution of European modernity from its inception to the late 18th century, and it seems to me that, there is no better way to describe how disparagingly powerful, this nonetheless historically contingent phenomenon was, than recounting the following words first written down by Marx more than 160 years ago: “all that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.” Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels : Selected Works in Three Volumes, Vol. 1* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973), 111.

<sup>71</sup> Historian Norman Davies finds the “so-called ‘Age of Reason’ very “extraordinary in retrospect”, because ‘so many of Europe’s leading intellectuals should have given such weight to one human faculty – Reason – at the expense of all the others. Norman Davies, *Europe : A History* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 577. The intuitively forceful of those images used by Marx such as the “solid melts” and “the holy” was, however, one may still find it puzzling with his enigmatic suggestion that man is impelled to “face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.” How real was European Man’s condition in the post-Christian age? And how was the relation between himself and the Other was formed? To answer both questions, I found it useful to invoke a well-known conversation that allegedly took place between a French scientist, Pierre-Simon Laplace and Napoleon, the conqueror, will help illustrate the seminal consequence of this conflict-ridden transition from what Walter Benjamin once famously named as the “Messianic Time” to “Homogenous Empty Time”. In answering his emperor’s inquiry regarding why there was not even one reference to God in his book, Laplace reportedly replied: “Sir, I have no need of that hypothesis. Laplace’s response somehow foreshadows the thesis later formulated by Walter Benjamin, namely the substitution of the “Messianic Time” by “Homogenous Empty Time”, or in other words, the revocation of a pre-modern notion of temporality firmly rooted in a promised salvation (in a religious sense) or emancipation (in a Marxian schematic) of human being, by an attributably quantified calendrical time glorified by modern industrial capitalism. Walter Benjamin, Hannah Arendt, and Harry Zohn, *Illuminations* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968), 253-64.

<sup>72</sup> The second example here is Foucault’s astute observation that from the 16th century onwards, the sorcerers, who had once acted as a royal consultant to the wise king for centuries, rather quickly vanished from the royal court, largely because of the quick Antonio Serra to Adam Smith assentation of a new truth of *raison d’État*, which, no one but jurists like Jean Bodin, Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, and the later economists from and David Ricardo, could claim to have known. Foucault et al., *On the Government of the Living : Lectures at the Collège De France, 1979-1980*, 35-36.

difficult question regarding its 'beings' or 'becoming(s)' in singular terms. We are obliged to do so, to "launch out", to impose the tranny of the Reason upon this very truth itself, whose other name is Aufklärung, not just for the same reason that we are its most recent contemporary descendants, but more so because, the light of the Enlightenment only began to shine, as I see it, after it had received enough nutrients from the same 'Rivers of Blood', which Powell spoke of in his 1968 speech.<sup>73</sup>

That is to say, my argument is that the Modern European Man only found himself capable of seeing the manifestation of this new truth, presented in the form of a motto, which says: liberty, equality and fraternity, after walked through a 'thorny road' saturated by the blood shed by those who died while in searching for it. The recurring rituals of the blood sacrifice was performed, first after Martin Luther uttered the following words: "the pope cannot remit any guilt, except by declaring and showing that it has been remitted by God," in the famous *Ninety-Five Theses*, a document which was commonly regarded as a catalyst to, *en route* the Reformation/Counter-Reformation, the bloody Thirty Years' War that eventually caused the deaths of at least 8 million.<sup>74</sup> The same ritual was also rehearsed in

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<sup>73</sup> "But you have nothing to fear from launching out; we're here to show you discourse is within the established order of things, that we've waited a long time for its arrival, that a place has been set aside for it - a place which both honours and disarms it; and if it should happen to have a certain power, then it is we, and we alone, who give it that power." Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 32. It would be of some interest to compare this passage with the following quote from Heber Bible uttered by Weber, when concluding one of his last lectures: "*He calleth to me out of Seir, Watchman, what of the night? The watchman said, The morning cometh, and also the night: if ye will enquire, enquire ye: return, come.*" Max Weber, Hans Gerth, and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber : Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 156. Also see a comparative study of Foucault and Weber's oeuvres, Árpád Szakolczai, *Max Weber and Michel Foucault : Parallel Life-Works* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998).

<sup>74</sup> That "the pope cannot remit any guilt, except by declaring and showing that it has been remitted by God," Davies, *Europe : A History*, 568.

the slaughter of at least 100,000 German farmers in the German Peasant War, which was again intrigued by two competing truth claims: that is, on the one hand, the ones demand for “German money for a German church” by the Princes, and on the other, the *Twelve Articles* adopted by the peasants.<sup>75</sup> And finally there was a famous battle and a glorious Revolution: the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century English Civil War and the late 18<sup>th</sup> century Great French Revolution, each in their own ways paved the last two bricks (signified by the trails and executions of Charles I of England and Louis XVI of France) for the construction of a sunlit path towards the Enlightenment and its subsequent progress.<sup>76</sup>

Now, I shall no longer pretend to be the first one to have discovered this ‘secret’ of an intimacy existed between this truth of the Enlightenment and the flesh and blood of European Man (but also women and children, though they were yet in the History), since it was a point long ago pointed out by Marx in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century: “capital comes dripping from head to toe, from every pore, with blood and dirt.”<sup>77</sup> But it seems to me that it was Foucault, who showed us in his writings, that the same truth of the Enlightenment, could not *be* without help from the idea of freedom, simultaneously have come into being installed, as an indispensable condition of liberalism, which in turn legitimized the ‘arts of government’, and henceforth gave the latter the right to ‘take life or let live’.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Friedrich Engels, Leonard Krieger, and Friedrich Engels, *The German Revolutions: The Peasant War in Germany, and Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967).

<sup>76</sup> Foucault et al., *Society Must Be Defended : Lectures at the Collège De France, 1975-76*.

<sup>77</sup> Marx reached this conclusion, after de-reified the truth of the ‘money commodity’, the alienation of human labour and the establishment of the dictatorship of bourgeoisie over other social classes in the post-Enlightenment Western Europe. Marx, *Capital : A Critique of Political Economy*, 926.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*; *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (New York: International Publishers, 1964); Foucault et al., *Security, Territory, Population : Lectures at the Collège De France, 1977-78*; Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

By unearthing this otherwise ‘covered’ blood spot on the History of the truth of Enlightenment, we may, at this point of our investigation, say with some confidence, that Historically speaking, Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’ first came into being in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe. But, what we have not yet been able to show reveal, is exactly how Powell’s ‘Rivers’, first reached the New World, then saturated every single piece of the land on earth, before its movement became so intense and violent that even watching the repercussions it generated lashed against the shore of Great Britain in the late 1960s, Powell could not but enunciate his misgivings over the future of the former British Empire.<sup>79</sup>

So, with this question left unresolved, the genealogy we have undertaken, cannot be stopped here, but rather must be continued in the next section, and with the same courage and lust, which had earlier steered Columbus’s ships towards discovering a new sea route to an Orient filled with spice and gold.

### **The Glorious New World and the Government of the ‘Barbarians’**

Given that there are already stacks of books on the story of the ‘Age of Discovery’ and the subsequent domination of empires– through either ‘indirect’ economic exploitation or direct colonial rule, both made available and sustained by what Immanuel Wallerstein called the capitalist world-economy – of the entire world by the European Powers since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, I shall simply in what follows,

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<sup>79</sup> As Ann Stoler argues: “ the neat divisions that could imagine a European history and its unified collective apart from the externalized Others on whom it was founded and which it produced. Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire : Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 5.

focus on one particular aspect in the history of European colonisation of the world: the government of the ‘barbarians’.<sup>80</sup>

Let us begin by recounting three seminal questions proposed by a Spanish Catholic Jesuit, whose name was Francisco de Vitoria, in a lecture he delivered in 1539, entitled: *On the American Indians*:

*First, by what right (ius) were the barbarians subjected to Spanish rule? Second, what powers has the Spanish monarchy over the Indians in temporal and civil matters? And third, what powers has either the monarchy or the Church with regard to the Indians in spiritual and religious matters?*<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Known as the postcolonial theory, this nowadays highly contested and therefore dynamic field of scholarship, was inaugurated by the publication of Said’s 1978 classic Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978). Said’s thesis sparked a great many engaging debates, and I shall only mention a few of them. There is, in the first place, Homi Bhabha’s theory of hybridization developed in Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994). And secondly, the works done by a number of scholars, such as Partha Chatterjee, Guha Ranajit and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. See, e.g. Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). Also worth mentioning is Robert Young’s comment on Said’s ambivalent attitude towards Foucault (the nuanced difference between the Foucauldian notion of discourse and Said’s representation), see Robert Young, *Postcolonialism : An Historical Introduction* (Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 388-405. From a Marxian perspective, an exemplary critique of post-colonialist theory can be found in Arif Dirlik’s works, see, e.g. Arif Dirlik, "Rethinking Colonialism: Globalization, Postcolonialism, and the Nation", *Interventions* 4, no. 3 (2002); "The Postcolonial Aura Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism," Westview Press. Also see Vivek Chibber, *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital* (2012). And finally, in a 2010 article, Robert Nichols discussed reception of Foucault’s oeuvre among scholars work in a post-colonial vein, and anticipated the rise of what he called “postcolonial ethics”, in light of a growing interest in late Foucault’s concept of the ‘ethic of the self’. Robert Nichols, "Postcolonial Studies and the Discourse of Foucault: Survey of a Field of Problematization", *Foucault Stud. Foucault Studies*, no. 9 (2010). Finally, one may also consult Immanuel Wallerstein’s works, see, e.g. Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16, no. 4 (1974); Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, "The Modern World-System," University of California Press, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heh.31242>.

<sup>81</sup> Francisco de Vitoria, Anthony Pagden, and Jeremy Lawrance, *Political Writings* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 233. It must be noted that Vitoria was neither the first nor the last one to question the right of the Spanish to enslave the Native Americans, or as they were known to him the ‘barbarians’.

The bigger historical picture against which these three questions regarding the “good” government of Indigenous peoples of the Americas were raised, was the Spanish Conquest of the Americas, and it must be noted that before the ‘American Indians’ became a ‘problem’ to Vitoria in 1539, more than forty years had already lapsed since Columbus first claimed to have found India. And what had also occurred between these two events: that is the problematisation of rules of ‘American Indians’ and Columbus’s discovery, was the conquest of the Aztec/Inca Empire by the Spanish explorers, and the massacres and enslavements of the local Indian People by the former group of people, both of which would intrigue Antonio de Montesions, a Dominican priest and a forerunner of Vitoria, to enunciate the following angry accusations as earlier as 1511:

*Tell me, by what right or justice do you hold these Indians in such cruel and horrible slavery? By what right do you wage such detestable wars on these people who lived mildly and peacefully in their own lands, where you have consumed infinite numbers of them with unheard of murders and desolations? Why do you so greatly oppress and fatigue them, not giving them enough to eat or caring for them when they fall ill from excessive labors, so that they die or rather are slain by you, so that you may extract and acquire gold every day? And what care do you take that they receive religious instruction and come to know their God and creator, or that they be baptized, hear mass, or observe holidays and Sundays? Are they not men? Do they not have rational souls? Are you not bound to love them as you love yourselves? How can you lie in such profound and lethargic slumber? Be sure that in your present state you can no more be saved than the Moors or Turks who do not have and do not want the faith of Jesus Christ.<sup>82</sup>*

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<sup>82</sup> By Benjamin Keen, *Latin American Civilization* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), 170.

In retrospect, however, the agony of Montesinos over the 'excessive' consumption of the flesh and blood of the American Indians by the Castilian Crown and its appointed governors or governorates like Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro might appear somehow 'provincial' in the eyes of some of our contemporaries, though, as I shall suggest, also somehow 'understandable', given that the text from which I quoted above had been written in 1511. That is to say, before the outbreak Peasant War in Germany, a singular historical event, which incited enfollowing remarks made by Engels in 1850:

*At the bottom of all the classes, save the last one, was the huge exploited mass of the nation, the peasants. It was the peasant who carried the burden of all the other strata of society: princes, officialdom, nobility, clergy, patricians and middle-class. Whether the peasant was the subject of a prince, an imperial baron, a bishop, a monastery or a city, he was everywhere treated as a beast of burden, and worse. If he was a serf, he was entirely at the mercy of his master.... and in the same manner as the master reigned over the peasant's property, he extended his wilfulness over his person, his wife and daughters. He possessed the right of the first night. Whenever he pleased, he threw the peasant into the tower, where the rack waited for him just as surely as the investigating attorney waits for the criminal in our times. Whenever he pleased, he killed him or ordered him beheaded. None of the instructive chapters of the Carolina which speaks of "cutting of ears," "cutting of noses," "blinding," "chopping of fingers," "beheading," "breaking on the wheel," "burning," "pinching with burning*

tongs,” “quartering,” etc., was left unpractised by the gracious lord and master at his pleasure.<sup>83</sup>

But let us put aside for the moment, this helical movement between on the one hand, the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie domination and the rise and consolidation of the capitalist model of production in Europe, and on the other hand, the conquests and colonization of the Americas and the rest of the world by the Western Power,<sup>84</sup> and return, again to Vitoria’s 1539 speech, to see what his own response was to the three questions raised in the above-mentioned speech.

So, what was Vitoria’s answers then? Drawing first on the definition provided by the Institutes of Justinian (*Institutiones Justiniani*, which is a unit of the Corpus Juris Civilis) and Aristotle’s writings, Vitoria first summarized a popular thesis at the time, according to which the Native Americans, or the ‘barbarians’ (in Vitoria’s terminology) “are slaves by nature”, because “they have no right of ownership”, and therefore it is “better for them as inferiors” to be put “under the rule of a master.”<sup>85</sup>

And yet, queried Vitoria, were the Native Americans slaves or were they “not true masters before the arrival of the Spaniards”?<sup>86</sup> In Vitoria’s view, the ‘barbarians’ in the New World can only *be* true slaves and thus possessed of *no*

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<sup>83</sup> Engels, Krieger, and Engels, *The German Revolutions: The Peasant War in Germany, and Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, 30-31.

<sup>84</sup> Marx himself was aware of the ‘economics’ between these two parallel movements, when he argues that “the veiled slavery of the wage workers in Europe needed the unqualified slavery of the New World as its pedestal.” Marx, *Capital : A Critique of Political Economy*, 925.

<sup>85</sup> Vitoria, Pagden, and Lawrance, *Political Writings*, 239.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 240.



dominion(*dominium*) over whatsoever, if they were “sinners (*peccatores*), unbelievers(*infidels*), madmen (*amentes*) or insensate (*insensati*).”<sup>87</sup>

Vitoria quickly vetoed the first two clauses according to which the rule of ‘barbarians’ by the Spanish Masters could be justified, since both were opposed directly against his Catholic theology, and he also challenged the observation that the American Indians were madmen who lacked sensation, on the ground that no indisputable empirical evidence had ever been provided. However, while telling his readers that “they (the American Indians) are not in point of fact madmen, but have judgement like other men.....because they have some order (*ordo*) in their affairs,”<sup>88</sup> Vitoria quickly added that: “‘God and nature never fail in the things necessary’ for the majority of the species, and the chief attribute of man is reason; but the potential (*potentia*) which is incapable of being realized in the act (*actus*) is in vain (*frustra*)”<sup>89</sup>

Since in Vitoria’s terms of reference, his last suggestion is indisputable *ipso facto*, therefore also his two corollaries: first: “if they (the American Indians) seem to us insensate and slow-witted, I put it down mainly to their evil and barbarous education. Even amongst ourselves see many peasants (*rustici*) who are little different from brute animals.”<sup>90</sup> And secondly, given that the indigenous peoples of the Americas were not madmen but rational creature of “God and nature”, though their “potential” rationality had yet been ‘realized’, Vitoria further argued that: “it is still wrong ..... to deny their true dominion (*dominium*); nor can they

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 250.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

be counted among the slaves. It may be, as I shall show, that these arguments can provide legal grounds for subjecting the Indians, but that is a different matter.”<sup>91</sup>

In Chapter Four, we will see that the very question regarding the true nature of the ‘Barbarians’, raised and answered by Vitoria would re-emerge again, in the form of a public speech delivered by the then Vice Chancellor of Monash University in 1968. But, for the moment, two short comments are needed at this point with regards to the above interferences made by Vitoria. First, as we can see from the reference that: “(e)ven amongst ourselves see many peasants (*rustici*) who are little different from brute animals”,<sup>92</sup> Vitoria, unlike Montesions, was clearly aware of the fact that the ‘uncivilized’ barbarians existed not only in the New World, but could be also found among the ‘civilized’ or ‘Christianized’ Europeans.

Second, on the ground that that the indigenous peoples of the Americas were yet fully ‘autonomous’ and thus rational beings, Vitoria concluded that the Spaniards have the moral obligation not to abandon the former, nor shall the trade between the two groups cease (because, as suggested by Vitoria, “the barbarians have a surplus of many things which the Spaniards might exchange for things which they lack. Likewise, they have many possessions which they regard as uninhabited, which are open to anyone who wishes to occupy. Look at the Portuguese, who carry on a great and profitable trade with similar sort of peoples without

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 251.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 250

conquering them”<sup>93</sup>), and instead tried to convert the “barbarians” while being the ‘governors’ of the territories which the latter now inhabited.

I will not be able to provide a detailed historical account of the actual (or I shall rather say monstrous, lest we forgot the literal extinction of the American Indians since the Spanish, English, American, French colonization) consequences upon the indigenous population in Americas and elsewhere, in relation to the rightful “conduct of the government”<sup>94</sup> of the barbarians, first construed by Vitoria in his 1539 speech. Suffice for our purposes here is to say that from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the humanitarian arguments provided by Vitoria in justifying the European and later American colonization of the world, would reappear in various (and regardless how sophisticated accoutrements were) forms, including but not limited to those concepts such as “Free Trade, Anglo-Saxon dominions, Mission Civilisatrice (or Civilizing Mission in English), Monroe Doctrine, etc.”<sup>95</sup>

To provide some substance to my argument, I would like to, however, give two quintessential examples below. One is a passage which I quote from a speech delivered in the dawn of American Civil War by James Henry Hammond, a governor of South Carolina of the United States of America, a post-colonial state constituted based on the exclusion (or simply genocide) of the Native Americans<sup>96</sup>:

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<sup>93</sup> Vitoria, Pagden, and Lawrance, *Political Writings*, 291-92.

<sup>94</sup> *ibid.*, 234.

<sup>95</sup> See, e.g. Young, *Postcolonialism : An Historical Introduction*; Martin Shipway, *Decolonization and Its Impact : A Comparative Approach to the End of the Colonial Empires* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2008).

<sup>96</sup> We may never be able to know the exact number of how many had been made as a slave, nor how many lives were lost in fighting the Europeans colonists from the Age of Discovery onwards. See, e.g. David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust : Columbus and the Conquest of the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). “When the Portuguese set foot in Brazil, there were

*In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life.....Fortunately for the South, she found a race adapted to that purpose to her hand.....We use them for our purpose, and call them slaves.....*<sup>97</sup>

The ‘slaves’ referred to by Hammond in the same speech, were the African Americans, and what was arguably more extraordinary than the ‘rational’ (in the sense of both moral self-justified and logical consistent) jurisprudential type of argument developed by Hammond in favour of ‘enslavement’, was his equation of the “black slaves” he possessed with other livestock.<sup>98</sup>

However, as W.E.B Du Bois reminded us long before that “the war has nought to do with the laves”, we shall not have even a slight illusion that all the ‘Yankees’ (certainly not the “President nor the Nation”), thought of themselves as true ‘saviours’ of the ‘slaves’, while engaging in a battle against the Southern Secessionists.<sup>99</sup>

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five million indigenous peoples. Today (May 2000) they number 330,000.” (parenthesis mine)Young, *Postcolonialism : An Historical Introduction*, 1. But, this is, of course, not claiming that no-resistance had took place, it did, and even occasionally succeed. Accusation of being anachronistic was expected for performing the kind of abstraction presented above. And in my defence, I shall fist make it very clear that I have employed this rhetorical strategy, not because I intend to gloss over the conspicuous differences existed among different forms of modern colonialism (e.g. the settlement colonies and exploitation colonies) and imperialism(e.g. the French, Dutch and Anglo-Saxon ones) in the History, which is itself a result of the on-going power struggles between the colonizers and colonized, but rather to emphasize the common experience of being repression, exploitation and discrimination shared by the oppressed people all over the world. Ibid., 19. Also see, e.g. Alyosha Goldstein, *Formations of United States Colonialism* (2014).In other words, the bisections of the different types of colonialism ever existed mapped out in the History, as Marx would likely to say, cannot being without the support of the invention of the ‘phantom-like-objectivities’, which had well served the interest of ruling class for creating divisions and conflicts among the exploited classes.

<sup>97</sup> James Henry Hammond and Carol K. Rothrock Bleser, *Secret and Sacred : The Diaries of James Henry Hammond, a Southern Slaveholder* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 273. Most of the things Hammond said in his dairy spoke of the man himself, and need no further explications here, except one thing. When defending the justice of slavery, Hammond developed an argument against the Northerners, who he believed would soon elect a black president: “Your whole hiring class of manual laborers... are essentially slaves.....(they were) not cared for, and scantily compensated.” Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk : Essays and Sketches* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1961), 24.

And yet, it seems to me that we would have to admit that the Enlightened Western Man never truly got rid of the idea of ‘salvation’ in lieu of ‘civilisation’, as can be seen in the below passage, which I quoted from the writings of a late 19<sup>th</sup> century American diplomat to the ‘Middle Kingdom’:

*I confess that I should think less of western civilization and of western manhood if it were not pushing and aggressive in China. Take the average American or Englishman used to well-kept roads and streets, to well-policed towns, to the comforts and conveniences, and advantages of steamships, telegraphs, and railroads...and put him down in China where there is not one carriage road; where there are no sewers nor lamps in the towns; where telegraphs and railroads are unknown, and steamers only where foreigners have forces them...and he would be unworthy of the Anglo-Saxon blood which runs in his veins if he should teach himself the habit of thought, and sit down to believe with the immobile mass around him that whatever is, is best.<sup>100</sup>*

As I have already suggested, I aim not to document all the “white man’s burden” type of complaints like the ones presented above in this current section, nor am I more capable or qualified than other specialists on the subject of colonization, in providing a more comprehensive account of all the blood and the flesh of the indigenous peoples in Asia, Americas, Africa, Oceania, thus consumed and destroyed by the European and American colonizers from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> George Frederick Seward (1840 – November 28, 1910), served as "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary" of America in China from 1876 to 1880. Thomas E. La Fargue and Washington State College of, *China's First Hundred* (Pullman: State college of Washington, 1942), 2.

<sup>101</sup> The policies of assimilation have taken different names (including civility, *fancisation*, civilization, improvement, *mise en valeur*) and emphasized different aspects of European culture (such as Christianity, civility, social organization, law, economic development, civic status). See, e.g. Saliha Belmessous, *Assimilation and Empire : Uniformity in French and British Colonies, 1541-1954* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Douglas Taylor Northrop, *An Imperial World : Empires and Colonies since 1750* (Boston: Pearson, 2013); Marc Ferro, *Colonization : A*

Instead, the discussion so far presented, aimed at achieving two more moderate objectives that is to illuminating, in a rather schematic way, how, after it first came into being in the de-secularized Western Europe, Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' had grown to be not only more forceful and vigorous, but also more multitudinous and fission, while taking a reciprocal and self-reproductive global voyage. And secondly, I also intend to stress that while it is true, as Marx has long reminded us that, without the aid of the "cheap prices of commodities are the heavy artillery" made available by industrial revolution, the "Chinese walls" could not be "battered down" by the European power forever desperate for new markets and cheap labours,<sup>102</sup> the story of the colonization was not just about the extraction of surplus values from the colonies. There is something else that the colonizers had to deal with, that is to say, the problem of government of the 'barbarians', i.e. the local American Indians, the 'negro slaves'(or the ancestors of Powell's 'piccaninnies') shipped to the two Americas via the evil slave trade, the Australian 'Aboriginal people', 'the Sick Man of Asia' aka 'Yellow Peril', the 'Mullatos', or put it in one word borrowed from Fanon, all the "wretched of (or 'scum' on) the earth".<sup>103</sup>

And as I have tried to demonstrate in this section, while Foucault might be correct on the 'disappearance' of the madman in the Enlightened Europe, because of the birth of Clinic<sup>104</sup>, the substitution of the Guillotine by the reformed Prisons,<sup>105</sup>

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*Global History* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997). See also, Goldstein, *Formations of United States Colonialism*.

<sup>102</sup> Marx and Engels, *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels : Selected Works in Three Volumes, Vol. I*, 112.

<sup>103</sup> Frantz Fanon, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Constance Farrington, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1965).

<sup>104</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic; an Archaeology of Medical Perception* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973).

<sup>105</sup> *Discipline and Punish : The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).

and finally the introduction of biopolitics whose other name is welfarism (New Deal, etc.),<sup>106</sup> what he nonetheless failed to analyse in any depth, is that the “ship of fools” did not stop sailing on Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’ towards the New World, the Orient and the land of Dreamtime, where the modern day European madmen (that is to say, all kinds of social outcasts of the European bourgeois society: the religious heretics or ‘fanatics’, the convicts, the gold-thirsty larrikins and pirates) would later establish their own “City upon a Hill”. Nor did Foucault seemed to be aware of that, the condition upon which the Madmen had ‘disappeared’ in the ‘Enlightened’ Europe, was the ‘purification’ and ‘transformation’ of many ‘things’ newly discovered in the ‘New World’ and elsewhere, from uncivilised ‘barbarians’, the unrepentant savages, to the untameable animals and plants, etc., by the same ‘Rivers of the Blood’ referred to Powell’s speech.<sup>107</sup> And by this I mean the ‘discipline’, the ‘exploitation’, the ‘repression, the ‘crucifixion’ and the ‘conversion’ of the indigenous population and their land, and I also mean the legislation of various domestic policies (e.g. the White Australia Policy in Australia, and the Jim Crow law in North America) and the bilateral treaties (e.g. the Treaty of 1901, Peace Agreement between the Great Powers and China, the British Raj), which would turn some ‘barbarians’ transferred to the ‘Frontiers’ into ‘slaves’, ‘miners’, ‘railway construction

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<sup>106</sup> Foucault, Senellart, and Collège de, *The Birth of Biopolitics : Lectures at the Collège De France, 1978-79*.

<sup>107</sup> Foucault was aware of the counter-movements against the governmentality, such as the struggles of the Black Panther Party (BPP). “October, Foucault enthusiastically reads texts by the American Black Panthers: ‘They’re developing a strategic analysis which is free of the Marxist theory of society’ (letter).” Daniel Defert, "Chronology," in *A Companion to Foucault*, ed. Christopher Falzon; Timothy O’Leary; Jana Sawicki (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2013), 40. However, not only did Foucault seem to be ignorant of the fact that Mao’s writings had a significant impact upon the BBP, he also remained largely silent on the question of the furious and often violent struggles against new forms of injustices in the Third World. See, e.g. Samantha Christiansen and Zachary A. Scarlett, *The Third World in the Global 1960s* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).

workers', 'wage labourers', and others remained kept in the colonies into the local 'compradors' and 'servants'.<sup>108</sup>

And yet, again, we must not stop here, because Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' did not stop with the Ideology,<sup>109</sup> nor with the History,<sup>110</sup> so we must go on, we must raise a question, not the ones Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak once asked: can the Subaltern speak,<sup>111</sup> but rather did the Subaltern ever able to speak?

## **The 'End' of 'Colonialism' and the Rise of the Iron Curtain**

So, did the Subalterns ever speak out against the flooding 'Rivers of Blood'? As this section will show, yes, they certainly did,<sup>112</sup> although before the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, when some in the non-settler colonies did speak, they could only be heard speaking in the voice of the local mandarins,<sup>113</sup> or the Creoles(as in the case of

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<sup>108</sup> As I see through Anderson's seeing: there are many different types of these 'preachers', some of them, became the so called the comprador class, who acted as the brokers between the Western powers and the indigenous people, and the others became the nationalist bourgeoisies, which can be further divided into the two sub-classes, the liberal/conservative reformists or radical revolutionaries. But it must be noted that these categorizations themselves can be either used as convenient heuristic instruments or political abuses, all depends on one's own ideological perspectives. See, e.g. Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.

<sup>109</sup> Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology; on the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960).

<sup>110</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York; Toronto; New York: Free Press ; Maxwell Macmillan Canada ; Maxwell Macmillan International, 1992).

<sup>111</sup> Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak."

<sup>112</sup> See, e.g. Will Jackson and Emily J. Manktelow, *Subverting Empire : Deviance and Disorder in the British Colonial World* (2015); Anthony Pagden, *The Burdens of Empire : 1539 to the Present* (2015); Fiona Paisley and Kirsty Reid, *Critical Perspectives on Colonialism : Writing the Empire from Below* (2014).

<sup>113</sup> See, e.g. Lin Zexu's 1839 letter to Queen Victoria which including the following angry accusations: "But, during the commercial intercourse which has existed so long, among the numerous foreign merchants resorting hither, are wheat and tares, good and bad; and of these latter are some, who, by means of introducing opium by stealth, have seduced our Chinese people, and caused every province of the land to overflow with that poison. These then know merely to advantage themselves, they care not about injuring others..... We find that your country is distant from us about sixty or seventy thousand miles, that your foreign ships come hither striving the one with the other for our trade, and for the simple reason of their strong desire to reap a profit.



Latin America)<sup>114</sup>, or in ‘non-human’ language such as guns and arrows (e.g. the Indian Munity<sup>115</sup>, the Túpac Amaru rebellion<sup>116</sup>), or if it was the case in the settler colonies(as in the U.S.), the voice of the Subaltern can be only heard, if being ‘re-represented’ by the White Maters, as for example, the discourse of Gordon, or Whipped Peter.<sup>117</sup>

With some rare exceptions, such as the Haitian Revolution (which could be hardly considered as successful),<sup>118</sup> the Battle of Adwa and Isandlwana,<sup>119</sup> and imperialist Japan after undertaking the Meiji Restoration, as precipitated by the Black Ships<sup>120</sup>, the voices of the colonized were by and large quickly repressed, and by the end of late 19<sup>th</sup> century, as Lenin has correctly observed, imperialism,

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Now, out of the wealth of our Inner Land, if we take a part to bestow upon foreigners from afar, it follows, that the immense wealth which the said foreigners amass, ought properly speaking to be portion of our own native Chinese people. By what principle of reason then, should these foreigners send in return a poisonous drug, which involves in destruction those very natives of China? Without meaning to say that the foreigners harbor such destructive intentions in their hearts, we yet positively assert that from their inordinate thirst after gain, they are perfectly careless about the injuries they inflict upon us! And such being the case, we should like to ask what has become of that conscience which heaven has implanted in the breasts of all men?" Paul Halsall, "Modern History Sourcebook: Commissioner Lin: Letter to Queen Victoria, 1839 " <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1839lin2.asp>, last accessed 05/07.

<sup>114</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.

<sup>115</sup> Mahmood Farooqui, *Besieged : Voices from Delhi, 1857* (New Delhi: Penguin Viking, 2010); Eric Stokes, *The Peasant and the Raj : Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

<sup>116</sup> It is worth noting that Tupac Amaru has another Spanish name: Jose Garbriel Condorcانqui Noguera, which he discarded in the later of his life, and that he spoke Quechua, the language of the Native Americans to the indigenous people of the land. Charles F. Walker, *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion* (2014), 6; Oscar Cornblit, *Power and Violence in the Colonial City : Oruro from the Mining Renaissance to the Rebellion of Tupac Amaru, 1740-1782* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>117</sup> Margaret Nicola Abruzzo, *Polemical Pain : Slavery, Cruelty, and the Rise of Humanitarianism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011). See, e.g. Robin Blackburn, *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights* (Verso, 2011).

<sup>118</sup> One shall not forget that General Victor Leclerc was sent by Napoleon to contain the Hattian Revolution, which resulted in the deportation of Toussaint L'Ouverture Prashad, *The Darker Nations : A People's History of the Third World*, 3.

<sup>119</sup> John Laband and Ian Knight, *The Anglo-Zulu War* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1996); Raymond Anthony Jonas, "The Battle of Adwa African Victory in the Age of Empire", (2011).

<sup>120</sup> Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000).

which was the highest stage of capitalism, had largely succeed in conquering the whole world.<sup>121</sup>

But it was also the same Lenin along with his comrades, who conducted the first successful Revolution,<sup>122</sup> and established the first Soviet Republic after toppling the Tsarist Empire, the weakest link of the imperialism. However, given the fact that the extraordinary yet tortuous path which has eventually led to the success of Russian Bolsheviks in 1917, after the message: “Working Men of All Countries, Unite”, first being enunciated by Marx in 1848,<sup>123</sup> had already been documented elsewhere, I shall bother not to repeat it here,<sup>124</sup> nor shall I be concerned with,

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<sup>121</sup> Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism; a Popular Outline* (New York: International publishers, 1939).

<sup>122</sup> By the Revolution, I am referring to not only the deconstruction of the old but also the half-birth of something new, in a way similar to what Marx has described in his works. Marx and Engels, *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels : Selected Works in Three Volumes, Vol. 1*, 111. And with regards to the notion of lineage, see, e.g. Alain Badiou and Bruno Bosteels, "The Cultural Revolution: The Last Revolution?", *positions: east asia cultures critique* 13, no. 3 (2005); Alain Badiou, David Macey, and Steve Corcoran, *The Communist Hypothesis* (London; New York: Verso, 2010), 231-32; Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, Historical Systems Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, and Civilizations, 1968, *Revolution in the World-System : Theses and Queries* (Binghamton, N.Y.: State University of New York at Binghamton, Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations, 1988); 汪晖 (Wang Hui), *去政治化的政治：短20世纪的终结与90年代* (北京市: 生活·讀書·新知三联书店, 2008); Toni Negri, *Revolution Retrieved : Writings on Marx, Keynes, Capitalist Crisis and New Social Subjects (1967-83)* (London: Red Notes, 1986).

<sup>123</sup> Also see Marx's 'Eurocentric' (as some may like to suggest), though nonetheless insightful comment on the consequences of European colonization: “The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.” Marx and Engels, *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels : Selected Works in Three Volumes, Vol. 1*, 109.

<sup>124</sup> Here, it is necessary to note that as Giovanni Arrighi and many others who work in a broader Marxist vein have suggested that if the theoretical edifice of Marxism was first built upon the lessons, which, Marx drew from two failed attempts of the European workers in challenging the hegemony of the rising bourgeoisie and old aristocracies in 1848 and 1870, then being advanced or validated (though some would claim otherwise) by Lenin and his Russian comrades, then, the Sixties has presented itself as a major theoretical ‘anomaly’ or ‘failure’. That is to say, there is first a question of political categorizations, in the sense that it is hard to categorize the Sixties Movement as either a ‘pure’ liberal social democratic movement, a Marxist-Leninist one. (I will go back to this point later). And secondly, it can be also observed that the ‘foot soldiers’ of the struggles of various kinds, consisted mostly young female and male students and intellectuals instead of the industrial proletarians, who supposed to be the most revolutionary element of the bourgeois society. Giovanni Arrighi, "Marxist Century – American Century," in *Transforming*

the galvanizing impact, the October Revolution, had upon the people in the yet-to-born Dark Nation.<sup>125</sup> Suffice to say is that, despite all the latter exposed serious defects and problems associated with building the first socialist country and conducting the Third International, the historical significance of the Russian example lied in the fact that for the first time in the History of Men, the oppressed peoples of the colonized world, could themselves being provided with an alternative model of modernization, other than the populist bourgeoisie nationalism (e.g. Cardenismo in Latin America and KMT (Kuomintang) in China) or certain forms of religious counter-modernity the (Gandhism).<sup>126</sup>

The revolutionary enthusiasm of the revolutionaries in the colonial first ignited by the success of Russian Revolution, then heightened at the Second Comintern Congress (July-August 1920) and the Baku Conference (September 1920), however, would soon be ‘diluted’ if not totally repressed, after the implementation of Stalin’s “socialism in one country” policy and the “united front” strategy, which, as Robert Young has argued, had had some disastrous consequences upon the ICM, e.g. in countries like China, where the CCP was almost completely destroyed during the 1927 Shanghai massacre conducted by

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*the Revolution : Social Movements and the World-System* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1990). For late Marx’s interest in the Russian question, see, e.g. Teodor Shanin, *Late Marx and the Russian Road : Marx and "the Peripheries of Capitalism" : A Case* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983).

<sup>125</sup> Mao himself frankly admitted: “the salvoes of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism.” 毛澤東, *毛澤東選集 第四卷* (北京: 人民出版社, 1970), 1360. English Translations: Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao*, Vol. 4, People’s Press, 1970, 1360.

<sup>126</sup> On Latin America’s populist movement, see, e.g. Gustav L. Meyerholz and College Army War, *Populism in Latin America* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2009). On Gandhism, see, e.g. Manfred B. Steger, *Gandhi's Dilemma : Nonviolent Principles and Nationalist Power* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

KMT, and in a white colonial state such as Australia, as shown by my discussion in last chapter.<sup>127</sup>

Yet, regardless of the defeat of most communist led nationalist movements in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the first wave of de-colonization (if by this, we mean the establishment of the modern nation state) did finally come after the end of the WWII, as precipitated by the decline of the old European colonial powers, and the ever-intensified local independent movement in its former colonies in Asia and Africa.<sup>128</sup>

But did the end of colonialism also implied simultaneously the termination of the flow of Powell's 'Rivers of Blood'. The answer is, as the discussion below will show, is negative. It did not end, because, from one of the strongest and most violent tributary, we heard a thrilling voice saying: now the 'Free World' is in great danger of being wrecked by the imminent 'red menace', that is to say, the Russian or Chinese communists, and the 'Fifth Column' implanted within our territories.

Now, as we know, this battle between the Free World versus the Red 'Serfdom',<sup>129</sup> was inaugurated by Winston Churchill's appropriation of the neologism 'Cold War', first coined by George Orwell in his 1945 essay entitled

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<sup>127</sup> Young, *Postcolonialism : An Historical Introduction*, 127-50.

<sup>128</sup> Shipway, *Decolonization and Its Impact : A Comparative Approach to the End of the Colonial Empires*.

<sup>129</sup> Friedrich A. von Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1944).

*You and the Atom Bomb*.<sup>130</sup> But it was one of the chief architects of post-WWII American foreign policy, George Kennan, who first translated this idea of Cold War into actual political strategy, as can be seen in his famous *long telegram* sent from Moscow to Washington in early 1946.

While the message conveyed by both Churchill's speech and Kennan's report was fairly straightforward, that the influence of the Soviet Union in Europe must be contained, how this objective was supposed to be achieved was not clearly spelled out in either document. It would take another year for the then U.S. president Henry Truman, the successor of Franklin Roosevelt, to deliver, at the instigation of the Greek Civil War and the Turkish Straits crisis, the infamous Truman Doctrine.<sup>131</sup> The argument Truman put forward to justify U.S. aid to Greek and Turkey was that had such measure not be taken, both countries could easily have fallen into the hands of pro-Soviet communist parties, which could have triggered a series of chain-reactions to the disadvantage of the U.S. global interest.

It can be observed that there were three important themes, which ran through the three above quoted early foundational texts of the Cold War discourse. The first was the projection of a polarized world divided into two antagonized blocs. On one side of the pole, the 'Free World' was founded upon "the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections,

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<sup>130</sup> Cold War was initially used by Orwell to designate an imagined new state of affairs in the post-WWII era, namely the substitution of 'large-scale wars', forged on the basis that neither the U.S. nor the USSR could afford to engage in a war, by an indefinite 'peace that is no peace' status maintained by a bipolar world system. Whether Winston Churchill had ever come across (he possibly did) Orwell's article was hard to know, but he did certainly incorporate some of the key elements of former's hypotheses, including its underlined pessimistic tone, as we were informed by his famous 'iron curtain' speech delivered in March 1946.

<sup>131</sup> John Lamberton Harper, *The Cold War* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 64-65.

guarantees of personal liberty, freedom of speech and religion and freedom from political repression.” On the other side, was the ‘Soviet Empire’ which relied for its existence “upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.”<sup>132</sup> Second, and in accordance with this spatialisation of the world, was the underlined fear and anxiety over the spread of communism, encouraged by the ‘aggressive’ foreign policies pushed by the Soviet Union and China. Finally, there was the self-imposed responsibility felt by the leaders of the ‘Free World’, that they must not lose Europe and other parts of the world, and allow them to fall into the ‘Soviet orbit’, because no counter-action had been taken.

Once the enemy of the ‘Free World’ had been identified, and the expectation of an imminent threat established, the question then became how to manage, control, and contain it, in the most ‘cost-effective’ way. In other words, a new problematic had emerged at this very juncture of the Western imperialism, which concerned the defence of the liberty and prosperity of the ‘Free World’ against the evil communist expansion. In the U.S., it could be seen that this imperialistic problematic gave rise to a number of new government agencies, such as the Department of State’s Policy Planning Staff (DSPLS), the National Security Council (NSC), and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), etc., all of which were established for securing the post-WWII hegemony of the U.S., against the challenge presented by communism. While, the DSPLS and NSC acted as the main policymaking instruments of the U.S. government, by providing

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<sup>132</sup> John Murphy, *Imagining the Fifties : Private Sentiment and Political Culture in Menzies' Australia* (Sydney; Annandale, NSW, Australia: UNSW Press ; Pluto Press, 2000), 68.

consultations to the U.S. president on matters related to construing ‘proper’ foreign policies and global strategies (e.g. NSC 68, NSC162/2),<sup>133</sup> the CIA was responsible not only for collecting overseas intelligence information, but also for helping conduct or encourage military coups in countries which were considered to be too left-wing and thus against the American strategic interests in the region concerned.<sup>134</sup>

To summarize it in a somewhat rudimentary way, the ingenious ‘rolling back’ plan (i.e. countering the expansion of communism) first devised and implemented by Truman, then inherited and revised by the successive Eisenhower and Kennedy governments, consisted of three major policy components. The first was the creation of the ‘buffer zone’ elsewhere, achieved through the provision of a large amount of economic and military aid to Germany, France, and England. (known as the Marshall Plan) aimed at restoring the power of the Europe after WWII, but also to Japan and Taiwan in East Asia, which was considered as vital in curtailing the Chinese communism. Secondly, the U.S. also took the initiative to form several joint military alliances, e.g. the NATO, the ANZUS and the CENTO, for the same purpose of deterring and outflanking the spread of communist influence. Finally, when the situation did not go as planned by the analysts and decision makers in Washington, then a royal prerogative known as the ‘state of exception(emergency)’ was invoked, which would subsequently provide legitimation for direct military intervention carried out either in the form

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<sup>133</sup> The formal name of these two documents was United States Objectives and Programs for National Security and as a blueprint of the U.S. foreign policies towards Soviet and Chinese communism, both were composed by the U.S. Department of State’s Policy Planning Staff on April 7, 1950, 30 October 1953 respectively.

<sup>134</sup> William Blum and William Blum, *Killing Hope : U.S. Military and Cia Interventions since World War II* (Monroe, Me.: Common Courage Press, 1995).

of ‘proxy or hot wars’, as in the case of the 1946 Greek Crisis, the Korean War and the later Vietnam War, or through covert operations conducted by the CIA (e.g. the disastrous Bay of Pig operations, but also the overthrow of the Iranian and Guatemalan governments in 1953 and 1954, respectively).<sup>135</sup>

The ‘Star Wars’ against communism, however, were fought not only on the earthly or even aerial frontiers, but also within the territories of ‘Free World’, particularly in the U.S., where the terror of ‘red-baiting’ reached its height during the period commonly known as McCarthyism.<sup>136</sup> Hundreds and thousands of communist ‘infiltrators’, ‘traitors’ and ‘trouble makers’, were identified, harassed, haunted down, and punished by different governmental agencies at local and federal levels in the U.S. because of McCarthy and his colleagues’ crusade against ‘communist infiltrators’ (the House Un-American Activities Committee was arguably the most notorious example, among others). And as I will discuss in more detail in the next chapter, the influences of McCarthyism were so deeply rooted in the U.S. that even after the intensity of this campaign gradually subdued after the late 1950s, the civil rights and other new social movement activists in the U.S. would still be persecuted by the COINTELPRO programme ran by the FBI under the direct supervision of Edgar Hoover, the famous spy master of the country.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

<sup>136</sup> For instance, as historian Melvyn Leffler and others have argued, all the measures took by the major American policy makers in the early Cold War period to encircle, curtail and contain the Soviet Union and the PRC, had also turned the country itself into a national security state. Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power : National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992).

<sup>137</sup> Ted Morgan, *Reds : Mccarthyism in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Random House, 2004); Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes : Mccarthyism in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998).



Finally, it shall be also noted that the Cold War was not just about the mobilisation of disciplinary mechanism, which by itself cannot guarantee ‘our way of life’ be freed of the contagious thoughts. This is mainly because the discipline techniques can only work on one’s body and flesh but not her/his soul, which must not be left open to the ominous and heretic teachings preached by Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and other communist writers. Therefore, a new space which the Cold War ‘regime of truth’ must also grab was one’s ‘inner-self’, which be must be filled with patriotic ideas, which would be achieved by the careful cultivation provided by the schools, armies, families, and all sorts of State’s ideological apparatuses. Or to put in a different way, a new domain of intelligibility and a field of intervention was carved out for the exercise of power, with the objectives of establishing a preferred model of self-conduct for the people of the ‘Free World’.

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I am very conscious of the fact that the picture of the early Cold War thus presented was a highly selective one, if being examined by the common standards of conventional historiography, given that not only did I based my discussion solely upon the American experience, while refraining from making any direct reference to other major countries from either sides of ‘Iron Curtain’, I also deliberately glossed over the notable changes and differences of the U.S. foreign/domestic policies from Truman’s government onwards.<sup>139</sup> However, all these deliberate (in fact inevitable) omissions do not compromise the main arguments I have just made, with regards to the establishment of a new Cold War

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<sup>138</sup> Foucault et al., *On the Government of the Living : Lectures at the Collège De France, 1979-1980*.

<sup>139</sup> The difference among Truman’s containment strategy, his successor’s New Look policy,

‘regime of truth’ and the political effects it engendered, particularly in terms of its implications upon the global strategies constructed by the U.S. governments from the late 1940s to the early 1960s. That being said, from the next section onwards, my discussion will take a drastic turn, I shall no longer focus on tracing the flow of Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’, which first took its primordial shape in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, then rather quickly engulfed the entire world and were sustained into the post-WWII era, as I have shown in this chapter, by its most recent and powerful earthly incarnation: the U.S. Now, I shall pose a very different question, that is how, various otherwise weak counter-currents ever managed to exist once the ‘Rivers of Blood’ finally came to a point of convergence in the Sixties, and to produce a powerful counter-force which partially challenged the political order imposed by both in U.S. and to a lesser extent, in the Soviet Union. <sup>140</sup>

## **The Black Souls<sup>141</sup>, the Dark World, and the Voice of the Third World**

*The time is past when the white world can exercise unilateral authority and control over the dark world. The independence and power of the dark world is on the increase; the dark world is rising in wealth, power, prestige, and influence. It is the rise of the dark world that is causing the fall of the white world ..... The*

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<sup>140</sup> Foucault et al., *Society Must Be Defended : Lectures at the Collège De France, 1975-76*.

<sup>141</sup> “Of Our Spiritual Strivings, O water, voice of my heart, crying in the sand, All night long crying with a mournful cry, As I lie and listen, and cannot understand The voice of my heart in my side or the voice of the sea, O water, crying for rest, is it I, is it I? All night long the water is crying to me. Unresting water, there shall never be rest Till the last moon droop and the last tide fail, And the fire of the end begin to burn in the west; And the heart shall be weary and wonder and cry like the sea, All life-long crying without avail, As the water all night long is crying to me.” Poems of Arthur Symons, quoted from Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk : Essays and Sketches*, 15.

*black revolution is the struggle of the nonwhites of this earth against their white oppressors. The black revolution has swept white supremacy out of Africa, out of Asia, and is getting ready to sweep it out of Latin America.*<sup>142</sup>

The above quoted words were uttered by a black man, a ‘second-class’ citizen of the actually ‘established’ Kingdom of God on earth on December 4, 1963, and the same man was previously known as a ‘negro’, whose was known Malcolm Little until he decided to change his name, the name given by his ‘white master’ to Malcolm X.<sup>143</sup>

Now, the question we shall be considering in this section is where on earth did this Dark World, which Malcom X referred to in his speech come from? To answer this question, we will have to sneak into a prison cell in America’s Deep South, where we would meet another ‘jailed’ offspring of the ‘former slaves’:

*For years now I have heard the word “Wait!” It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This “Wait” has almost always “Never.” We must come to see.....The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet like speed toward gaining political independence, but we still creed at horse and buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, “Wait.” .....Consciously or unconsciously, he has been caught up by the Zeitgeist, and with his black brothers of Africa and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America and the*

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<sup>142</sup> Malcolm X and Benjamin Karim, *The End of White World Supremacy : Four Speeches by Malcolm X* (Arcade Pub, 1971), 130, 37.

<sup>143</sup> The best biography of the Malcolm X, in my view is his speeches, but alternatively, one may like to read Malcolm X and Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1973). And a more recent one by Manning Marable as well as the comments on it: Manning Marable, *Malcolm X : A Life of Reinvention* (New York: Viking, 2011); Herb Boyd et al., *By Any Means Necessary : Malcolm X-- Real, Not Reinvented : Critical Conversations on Manning Marable's Biography of Malcolm X* (Chicago, IL: Third World Press, 2012).

*Caribbean, the United States Negro is moving with a sense of great urgency toward the promised land of racial justice.....*<sup>144</sup>

The above presented was an excerpt from Martin Luther King's *Letter from Birmingham Jail*. It is stunning, that from this text, we can also hear the resonance of Vitoria's speech, first delivered in more than 400 hundred ago: the "Barbarians" is the "Barbarians", not because it is an inferior species, by the will of God or nature, but due to "lack of or bad education", and therefore could be 'transformed' into a Civilised Man, if, and only if he had been provided proper "education". And yet, as shown by both the discourses of Malcom X and King quoted above, the anguish Black Souls could not no longer simply wait for the proper education being delivered to them by the "White Masters", and both have realized that the time has come for the black 'slaves' in America and Africa and their yellow and brown brothers in Asia, South America and the Caribbean to speak out.

And indeed, the peoples of the Dark Nation have spoken out, for the first time, after hundreds of years of being spoken on behalf of or being talked about, and in a collective (though still shivering, for reasons to be explicated below) voice in the History.<sup>145</sup>

It spoke out, when Mao declared in the eve of the establishment of the PRC:

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<sup>144</sup> Martin Luther King, *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964). For the original letter (p.9) see: <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/letter-birmingham-jail>.

<sup>145</sup> For a concise history of the rise of the Third World consciousness, before the de-colonization, see, e.g. Prashad, *The Darker Nations : A People's History of the Third World*. On the pan-Africanism or black internationalism. See, e.g. Rod Bush, *End of White World Supremacy : Black Internationalism and the Problem of the Color Line* (Philadelphia, PA, USA: Temple University Press, 2009).

*Fellow Delegates, we are all convinced that our work will go down in the history of mankind, demonstrating that the Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up..... From now on our nation will belong to the community of the peace-loving and freedom-loving nations of the world and work courageously and industriously to foster its own civilization and well-being and at the same time to promote world peace and freedom.*<sup>146</sup>

It also spoke out, when Sukarno, the first president of Indonesia after independence, reminding all delegates to the 1<sup>st</sup> Afro–Asian Conference held in Bandung, on 18 April 1955 that:

*We are often told 'Colonialism is dead.' Let us not be deceived or even soothed by that. I say to you, colonialism is not yet dead. How can we say it is dead, so long as vast areas of Asia and Africa are unfree .....<sup>147</sup>*

We (by which he meant all the peoples of the Third World) shall not lose our vigilance, Sukarno continued, not only because the resistance of the old forms of colonialism, but also because it could metamorphose into a new one, manifested in the forms of “economic control, intellectual control, actual physical control by a small but alien community within a nation.”<sup>148</sup>

And yet, and yet, did Sukarno’s ominous prediction become a reality? It seemed so, for otherwise, Malcom X and King’s lives would not be ended by the bullets fired two years earlier, nor would Sukarno’s death in a status of house detention, after at least half million of suspected Indonesian communists being butchered in

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<sup>146</sup> 毛澤東, 毛澤東選集 第五卷, 4-5. English Translations: Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao*, Vol. 5, 4-5.

<sup>147</sup> Conference Asian-African, "Asia-Africa Speaks from Bandung" (Bandung, 1955), 19-29.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

1965, nor would the following words being uttered by Kwame Nkrumah in the same year:

*Here, from the very citadel of neo-colonialism, is a description of the apparatus which now directs all other Western intelligence set-ups either by persuasion or by force. Results were achieved in Algeria during the April 1961 plot of anti-de Gaulle generals; as also in Guatemala, Iraq, Iran, Suez and the famous U-2 spy intrusion of Soviet air space which wrecked the approaching Summit, then in West Germany and again in East Germany in the riots of 1953, in Hungary's abortive crisis of 1959, Poland's of September 1956, and in Korea, Burma, Formosa, Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam; they are evident in the trouble in Congo (Leopoldville) which began with Lumumba's murder, and continues till now; in events in Cuba, Turkey, Cyprus, Greece, and in other places too numerous to catalogue completely. And with what aim have these innumerable incidents occurred? The general objective has been mentioned: to achieve colonialism in fact while preaching independence.<sup>149</sup>*

While it is certainly true, as Vijay Prashad has told us, that the actual demise of the Third World was due to a whole range of internal and external contradictions, and that in each locality, the people and their leaders in the Dark World's endeavour to develop a radical alternative to the Western capitalist modernity and Stalinist socialism would ended up as a tragedy because of a whole variety of different 'reasons'.<sup>150</sup> However, although this harrowing abortion of the postcolonial nation building project may indeed be a "poisoned fruit" (because it never challenged the nation-state model) as suggested by Negri and Hardt,<sup>151</sup> I

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<sup>149</sup> Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism : The Last Stage of Imperialism* (New York: International Publishers, 1966).

<sup>150</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations : A People's History of the Third World*.

<sup>151</sup> Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World : A Derivative Discourse?* (London: Zed Books, 1986); Hardt and Negri, *Empire*. See also a trenchant critique of *Empire* by Atilio Borón in *Empire and imperialism : a critical reading of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri*. Atilio Borón, *Empire and Imperialism : A Critical Reading of Michael Hardt and*

wonder whether we could or should simply ‘write off’ the History of the desperate far cries and earnest anticipation for a better future expressed by Malcom X, King, Mao and Sukarno against the roaring machine guns, the explosions of napalms and the weeping of the dying men, women and children of different race and gender? Have we not been repeating the same mistake, as practised by the Whiggish histories for ages? And had we not also been trying to forget Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’, while saying that all our previous attempts had failed without achieving anything? And finally, has not Mao’s last revolution, as Badiou pointed out, been targeting precisely at this ever-returning sceptre of the nation-state, even when the latter was constructed upon a socialist premise?<sup>152</sup>

No, we must not, we must not forget nor stop at here, because the ‘Rivers of Blood’ did not stop flowing. Instead, we must continue, because at this juncture of our story, the nationalist movements in the Third World had yet come to a definitive end after the WWII. We must continue our investigation, not just because many old colonies of the European Empire in Asia, Africa and Caribbean had yet gained formal independence afterwards, for example in Indo-China, Algeria and Egypt, where the French, the British and American imperialists simply refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the ‘former slaves’.<sup>153</sup> We must continue also because the leaders of many newly established post-colonial countries, still faced

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*Antonio Negri* (London; New York; New York: Zed Books ; Distributed in the USA exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

<sup>152</sup> Badiou and Bosteels, "The Cultural Revolution: The Last Revolution?."; Tani E. Badiou Alain Barlow, *Alain Badiou and Cultural Revolution* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005). See also Badiou’s response to Zizek’s critique of Mao in Badiou, Macey, and Corcoran, *The Communist Hypothesis*. One may like to see a Chinese scholar Liu Kang’s criticism levelled against Zizek: Kang Liu, "Poeticizing Revolution: Zizek's Misreading of Mao and China", *positions: east asia cultures critique* 19, no. 3 (2011).

<sup>153</sup> The Algeria war, the first Vietnam war and the Suzi Crisis was just a few most well-known examples here

the challenge of resisting the increasing pressure from the U.S. and USSR, each of which quickly realized, after the battle between the former two in Europe came to a stalemate in the late 1940s, the strategic importance establishing their hegemony in the Third World.

While both superpowers were eager to exert their influence in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and each strived to lure those newly established independent countries into endorsing its own visions of modernizations, such an ambition proved to be particularly problematic for the U.S. This is mainly because, from Truman onwards, the foreign policy of the U.S. towards the Third World, was shaped by two conflicting values. On the one hand, the American ruling class was uncomfortable with the old forms of colonialism, which some of its allies, like Britain, France and Neverland government refused to drop, and opted for a 'gradual transition towards national independence' under Western supervision. On the other hand, their evaluations of the strong nationalism in the region was coloured by an entrenched fear that the anti-colonial struggles being backed up by the Soviet or China communist regimes, and that most of the countries in the region would eventually join the 'socialist bloc' instead of endorsing the values of 'Free World'. This implicit racist and paternalistic attitude towards the peoples and their nations in the Third World, was warped by an 'anti-communist' discourse, as can be seen being clearly expressed in a crystal-clear manner in a cable sent by the then Secretary of State, George Marshall in 1947: "we are not



interested in seeing colonial empire administrations supplanted by a philosophy emanating from and controlled by the Kremlin.”<sup>154</sup>

Although the close correlation between this typical ‘red menace’ rationality and the outbreak second Vietnam War was too conspicuous to be ignored, in retrospect, however, it seems fair to me suggest that the anxiety of Marshall and his like-minded colleagues was not completely unqualified, provided that there was indeed a genuine mistrust towards the Western power among people in the Global South, whereas in comparison, the socialist collectivism was regarded by many as a more promising alternative model of modernization than the path of lassie fair capitalism as advocated by the U.S.<sup>155</sup> Moreover, it must also be noted ever since Khrushchev came to power, the Soviet Union began to pursue a more aggressive foreign policy by increasing its military aid and economic assistance to the Third World countries, in a hope to draw the leaders of these countries closer to the ‘Socialist Bloc’.<sup>156</sup>

While being forced to become a ‘pray’ in a ferocious competition between two superpowers, the leaders of the newly independent states, was nevertheless quick to realize the inferior role being assigned to them and thus rebelled against it, and this resistance can be seen as most clearly expressed in occasions such as the Bandung Conference as I mentioned earlier. Held in April 1955, the Bandung Conference was attended by representatives of twenty-nine newly independent nation states (including communist China) from both Africa and Asia, all of

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<sup>154</sup> See, e.g. Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War Vol. 1 Vol. 1* (Cambridge [u.a.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010), 473.

<sup>155</sup> Robert J. McMahon, *The Cold War in the Third World* (2013).

<sup>156</sup> Leffler and Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War Vol. 1 Vol. 1*, 312-33.

which latter endorsed “Ten Principles”, a collective manifesto, which its spirit would anticipate and later being reaffirmed by the first Non-Aligned conference in Belgrade in September 1961 and the 1965 Tricontinental Conference held in Havana.<sup>157</sup>

The historical significance of all three above mentioned conferences as well as the establishment Afro-Asian People’s Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) in 1957, was that they jointly signified, I would argue, the formation of a distinctive type of postcolonial subjectivity in the Third World, which refused to subscribe to a bipolar world view imposed on them by both superpowers.<sup>158</sup> Of course, for historical accuracy, one should not gloss over, despite their shared anti-colonialist/imperialist sentiments, the significant degree of ideological differences, which existed among Third World political leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Sukarno and Tito. Even more important in the same regard is register is that while Nehru was an earnest advocator of international neutralism, some of his more radical contemporaries like Field Castro, Ho Chi Minh, who had been forced to confront U.S. military intervention directly in the course of struggling against the foreign invaders, they embarked on a path towards a revolutionary Third World nationalism.<sup>159</sup> Yet, despite the not-infrequent disputes, and even sometimes even violent conflicts (e.g. the 1962 Indian China border War) between the newly established nation states in the third

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 479. It must be noted that in his book on the Non-Aligned Movement, Peter Willetts argues against a common perception that the Bandung Conference was the legitimate forbear of the former. Peter Willetts, *The Non-Aligned Movement : The Origins of a Third World Alliance* (London; New York: F. Pinter ; Nichols Pub. Co., 1978), 3. Also see, Robert J. C. Young, "Postcolonialism: From Bandung to the Tricontinental", *Historiein Historiein* 5 (2005).

<sup>158</sup> Wallerstein, Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, and Civilizations, 1968, *Revolution in the World-System : Theses and Queries*.

<sup>159</sup> Norrie MacQueen, "A Third World?," in *A Companion to International History 1900–2001* (Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2008).

world, by resisting the temptations of formally lining up with either of the two superpowers, the agents of the Darker World did succeed, I would argue, in opening up a new discursive space, within which various radical alternatives, ranging from counter-strategies against new and old forms of colonisation to policies aimed at achieving real economic independence, found their expression.

## Conclusion

After quoting a poem composed by Arthur Symons, which I reproduced in the footnote 139 of this chapter, W.E.B Du Bois opened his painful examination of black souls by suggesting that the American ‘Negro’ “is a sort of seventh son”, who is born “looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.”<sup>160</sup> Another sixty or so years after the appearance of Bois’ classic study, we can hear the discourse of another Black Man, Frantz Fanon, in whom we can discern the familiar sense of agony and wrath to be found in Du Bois’.<sup>161</sup>

And yet, there was something more than just watery eyes and restrained whispers, something, though Powell’s flowing ‘Rivers of Blood’ – which, as this chapter tried to show, can be actually traced back to, via the writings and speeches of Vitoria, to Aristotle’s distinctions between Masters and Slaves, Civilised Man and illiterate Barbarians – had always tried to contain ever since its formation in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, never truly succeeded. Indeed, as I have striven to make clear

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<sup>160</sup> Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk : Essays and Sketches*, 16-17.

<sup>161</sup> Fanon, Sartre, and Farrington, *The Wretched of the Earth*.

in this chapter, Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' have never truly succeeded. There were always moments, when the flow of Powell's 'Rivers' was blocked and forced to change its direction by a counter movement. But before we see one of these movements, which occurred in one of the former British Colonies on the edge of the Pacific, we will have to wait, at least, until the next chapter.

# Chapter Three: The ‘Wind from the East’<sup>162</sup> and the Birth of the ‘First’ Australian Maoists

## Introduction

This chapter picks up what had largely gone ‘missing’<sup>163</sup> in a genealogy of Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’ so far presented, by taking us to the largest ‘barren’ island of the Oceania, which, even a British Politician and a fervent advocate of colonization, Edward Gibbon Wakefield<sup>164</sup>, once “so loudly denounced” as being shamelessly exploited by the English government.<sup>165</sup> On this former colony of British imperialism, we first encounter the very first communist party in Australia formed two decades prior to the establishment of Federation, before quickly ‘swimming’ through the many tortuous streams, that Australian communists had swam before up until the late 1950s, when they came to be embroiled in, then eventually divided by, a big debate between the Soviet and Chinese communists. By utilising a Foucauldian concept of the ‘regime of truth’, this chapter examines the polemics going back and forth among members of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA), that set a domestic backdrop against which first Maoist party in Australia, the CPA(ML) was founded in 1964. This chapter then provides a brief political biography of the founding Chairman of the CPA (ML), Ted Hill, who

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<sup>162</sup> 毛澤東, *毛主席在苏联的言論* (北京: 人民日報出版社, 1957), 14-15. English Translations: Mao Zedong, *Chairman Mao’s Speech in Soviet Union*, People’s Press, 1957, 14-15.

<sup>163</sup> Whereas it is true that Powell’s speech addressed his imagined disastrous consequences of the ‘uninvited’ immigrants in Great Britain, it seems to me, that as a former British colony, or a New Britannia as Humphrey McQueen called it, the dominant governing rationality in Australia in the 1960s was in no categorical difference to the ones running through Powell’s ‘poetic’ text. McQueen, *A New Britannia*.

<sup>164</sup> Edward Gibbon Wakefield (20 March 1796 – 16 May 1862) was a British politician, who played a key role in the colonisation of South Australia. In Wakefield’s view, the then rising social problems in Britain, can be solved via emigration to an unclaimed land.

<sup>165</sup> Marx, *Capital : A Critique of Political Economy*, 940.

had left a strong personal imprint upon Australia Maoism. As the final two sections of this chapter shows, the policies and organizational structures of the CPA(ML), bore a strong influence of the *habitus* of Hill and his comrades formed, during their formative years as members of the CPA.

### **The *Vanguard*<sup>166</sup>: A very short history of the CPA before the Sino-Soviet Split**

The much-simplified historical narrative of the CPA offered below, covers a period of forty years (from its inception in 1920 to the early 1960s). My focus, as suggested before, is the salient influence of ICM, or, to be more precise, the experience of Soviet socialism upon the Australian communists, among whom, a few later became the first Australian Maoists. It is noted that while the direct catalyst for the establishment of the CPA was the success of October Revolution, the early practices of the Australian communists were shaped less by orthodox Marxism-Leninism than the local socialist tradition.<sup>167</sup> The Australian party, however, underwent a drastic and full-scale Bolshevization in the late 1920s, and hereafter became one of many ‘national branches’ of Comintern, the highest

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<sup>166</sup> *The Vanguard* is the organ of the CPA (ML), the first edition of *The Vanguard* appeared in September 1963.

<sup>167</sup> “The creation of an Australian Communist Party was clearly a response to the success of the Russian Communists, but it was a delayed and feeble response to events that were at first dimly understood. While the Australian labour movement was radicalised by the Great War, it remained obdurately committed to established methods of political reform and industrial arbitration.....but rather the Communist Party of Australia was constituted from an ill-assorted amalgam of dissident elements.” Stuart Macintyre, "Dealing with Moscow: The Comintern and the Early History of the Communist Party of Australia", *labourhistory Labour History*, no. 67 (1994): 66-67. see also *The Reds* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1998). One may also like to consult Eric Aarons' take on the subject in his 1970 review of Davidson's 1969 book *The Communist Party of Australia; a short history*, particularly with regards to the question of the attitude of the CPA towards the ALP, the “moderation” of the CPA in late 1960s. Eric Aarons, "The Communist Party of Australia, a Shorty History, by Alastair Davidson", *Australian Left Review* 1, no. 25 (1970): 78-79.

authority responsible for supervising and coordinating the international communist movement. What is also highlighted is the direct impetus of the changing global and domestic political-economic environment which accompanied the rise and fall of the CPA's influence upon Australian society.

According to Alastair Davidson's<sup>168</sup> study, very few in Australia could have possibly known the name Marx before 1888, when the first English edition of *Das Capital* finally became available in the country, and that the initial reception of Australian workers to the writings of the father of the scientific socialism was at best lukewarm.<sup>169</sup> The appeal of Marxism to the Australian working class people only emerged in the late 1910s. The two main incentives behind this growth of interest being the stimuli of WWI and perhaps, more importantly, the galvanizing effect generated by the October Revolution. Inspired by the success of the Russian Bolsheviks in grabbing state power through armed revolution, a few local Australian trade unionists with a socialist inclination decided to found a new party with the name Communist Party of Australia, which eventually came into being on 30 October 1920.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> In his 1970 review of Davidson's 1969 book *The Communist Party of Australia; a short history*, Eric Aarons wrote: "I agree with Rex Mortimer (*Nation*, March 21) that there is far from adequate explanation of the deeper causes and motivations of the changes of the last decade, though I think Mortimer himself shows surprisingly little understanding for one who was a prominent participant in it for a period." "The Communist Party of Australia, a Shorty History, by Alastair Davidson," 79. It must also be noted that according to Peter Beilharz, Alastair Davidson belonged to a group of intellectuals he named as "Cultural Marxist", and Davidson himself "without doubt Australia's foremost Marxist intellectual. Over a life still in full swing, he introduced both Gramsci and Althusser to Australian audiences, worked on Australian Left Review, Intervention and Thesis Eleven, and now teaches and writes on the Australian state, Foucault and Gramsci at the University of Sydney. His influence has been inestimable, both in teaching students to understand Marx and to think beyond him." Peter Beilharz, "Australian Radical Scholarship in the Wake of Marxism", *Political Theory Newsletter* (1990): 4.

<sup>169</sup> Alastair Davidson, "Marxism and the Working Class in Australia: 1883-1956", *ibid.*: 10-12.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-14. It must be noted that a Russian exile in Australia, Peter Simonoff, who had been assigned as the first representative of the Soviet Union in Australia, played an important role in help forming the CPA. Simonoff, as Mainytre's early study has shown, "worked closely with

The clear enthusiasm of those founding members of the CPA notwithstanding, the new party had been embroiled in intense internal conflicts between two competing factions ever since it had been established. On one side of the dispute, there were those who previously had been associated with the Australian Socialist Party (ASP), an organization which took the lead in calling for a unity conference aimed at establishing a new communist party in Australia. The ASP group was under attack from Jack Garden, the founding chairman of the CPA, and a small minority of others who were known as the "Trades Hall Reds".<sup>171</sup> Unable to resolve the tensions among its members, the CPA soon split into two separate groups both claiming to be the authentic communist party in Australia. Despite the repeated urges of the Comintern, the reunification of Garden's party with the rivalry ASP group did not take place until August 1922, when the party also formally became one of many national sections of the Comintern.<sup>172</sup>

As noted by Davidson and others, the CPA encountered an enormous number of difficulties in the first ten years of its existence. During the early part of the 1920s,

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W.P. Earsman, the foundation secretary, Christian Jollie Smith, a radical young lawyer, and Jack Garden, the leader of the 'Trades Hall Reds' on the Labor Council, to bring the new Party into existence." Macintyre, "Dealing with Moscow: The Comintern and the Early History of the Communist Party of Australia," 130-31.

<sup>171</sup> *The Reds*, 16. Also see R.A. Swan, "The Road to Utopia: The Revolutionary and Radical Background to the Creation of the Communist Party of Australia (Cpa) in 1922", *Australia and World Affairs* 2, no. Spring (1989).

<sup>172</sup> As I see it, the best account of the formation and early history of the CPA, in relation to the role played by Comintern is provided by Stuart Macintyre. According to Macintyre, the voluntary subordination to the authority of Comintern had undergone a steady process of consolidation and formalization since the inception of the Party, which reached its climax at the 9<sup>th</sup> congress of the CPA held in the late 1929. "At the conclusion of the conference Moxon, Sharkey, Miles and two other comrades of the victorious faction sent this telegram on behalf of the new Central Committee to the Secretariat of the Communist International: 'ANNUAL CONFERENCE GREETES COMINTERN DELCARES UNSWERVING LOYALTY NEW LINE...'" Macintyre, "Dealing with Moscow: The Comintern and the Early History of the Communist Party of Australia," 141. From the Comintern side, one may also like to consult the works done by Fernando Claudín. Fernando Claudín, *The Communist Movement : From Comintern to Cominform* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975).



the CPA devoted itself to building up a “united front” with the ALP and its associated unions, which also reflected the general line of Comintern, first established at its Third Congress in 1922.<sup>173</sup> Yet, after gradually realizing that the actual rationale behind the ‘united front’ was not the old ‘white anting’ or “boring from within” strategy, which had belonged to the local Australian socialist tradition but rather aimed at eventually destroying it, the ALP issued a new policy forbidding any affiliation with the CPA. With this development, the CPA’s hope of increasing the class consciousness of Australian workers through working within the ALP was dashed, and its membership base declined steadily. By 1925, the CPA only have 280 members on its book and a year after even Jock Garden left the party which helped founded on the basis that “it could not work with any success independently of the ALP”.<sup>174</sup> Henceforth, the CPA turned itself mainly into a propagandising organization under the new leadership of Jack Kavanagh.

While fighting for its very survival, the ties between the CPA and the Comintern strengthened thanks to frequent visits to Moscow and regular correspondences back and forth between important early figures of the Party such as Esmonde Higgins, and Harry Pollitt (who would later become the general secretary of the British Communist Party in 1929).<sup>175</sup> This development, which, as the later discussion will show, would have a significant implication upon trajectory of the ACM in the next three decades to come. The late 1920s was probably one of few

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<sup>173</sup> The context of advocating this new ‘united front’ policy, was the recognition of the implausibility of the imminent world revolution, after the failures of several communist inspired armed uprisings in Europe.

<sup>174</sup> Alastair Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia; a Short History* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1969), 34-35. Macintyre, *The Reds*, 82-100.

<sup>175</sup> It must also be noted that in the 1920s, the CPA’s “principal contact was with the Anglo-American Colonial section, for a time renamed the British secretariat, in Moscow, which comprised leading British and other comrades.” “Dealing with Moscow: The Comintern and the Early History of the Communist Party of Australia,” 134.

subsequent 'sea-change' moments in the CPA's history. By this time, the leadership of the Australian party was divided over the question whether it should substitute its 'propagandist' policy with a more confrontational strategy, in accordance with the new "Third Period"<sup>176</sup> or "Class Against Class period" analysis as construed by the new Soviet leader Joseph Stalin who had gained full control of the CPSU after defeating his many party opponents.<sup>177</sup> Kavanagh and some other leading figures of the CPA at the time were reluctant to toe the new line drawn up by the Comintern of waging a full-scale challenge against the ALP in the forthcoming federal election. They were opposed by Lance Sharkey, J.B. Miles and Herbert Moxon, all of whom were backed up by the leaders of the Comintern.<sup>178</sup> After several rounds of intense intra-party fights, Kavanagh eventually lost the battle at the conclusion of the 9<sup>th</sup> national congress of the CPA, and his secretaryship was taken over by Moxon. However, Moxon did not stay long in the same position, and he would soon be replaced by Sharkey and Miles, both of whom had been endorsed by the then Comintern's representative in Australia, Harry Wicks, or Herbert Moore, as he was more widely known within the circle of Australian communists.

After all the thunderstorms triggered by the leadership succession finally settled, the CPA under the stewardship made a deliberate effort to eliminate the remaining

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<sup>176</sup> Third Period: namely, Class Against Class period which stipulated that time is ripe for communists around the world to openly challenge the hegemonies of the social democratic parties in different countries. The first two were the first had been the period of the revolutionary crisis of capitalism between 1917 and 1923, followed by the second, "the period of temporary stabilisation of capitalism" and the development of united front policies with social-democrats. See, e.g. Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia; a Short History*.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Scholars were still debating the extent to which the Comintern's involvement in the internal struggle at the time has contributed to the replacement of Kavanagh and Higgins see the summary in Barbara Curthoys, "The Communist Party and the Communist International (1927 - 1929)", *Labour History*, no. 64 (1993).

local socialist influences it had inherited from the past. Crucial to this process of remoulding was the installation of a principle of democratic centralism, which was itself a distinct characteristic of Leninist Vanguardism. What this principle implied was the concentration of the power at the top of the party, namely the Secretariat, which was in turn under the supervision of the executive committee of the Comintern. The end result was the application of “iron” discipline upon all the members of the CPA, and the practice of criticism and self-criticism, all of which were essential for turning the CPA into a “fighting machine” capable of surviving the hardest state repression in the future. In Macintyre’s view, the implementation of all these measures signalled the Bolshevization of the CPA.

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In the midst of all these significant developments which would have some seminal future consequences for the members of the CPA, a profound general societal crisis also started to make the majority of Australians aware of the structural problems inherent in the liberal capitalist system. At the height of the Great Depression in 1932, the unemployment rate in Australia rose to a historic high of around 30 percent of the whole population. As more ordinary workers became disillusioned with the parliamentary democracy, which had failed to alleviate the persistent hardship they had to endure, a small minority turned their eyes towards Marxism and subsequently joined the CPA. It is important to note that some of the new members recruited over this period were to play a decisive role in the later split of the CPA in the 1960s, which is the subject I turn to in the next section. Meanwhile, the CPA, under the initiative of Moore, also began to establish secret

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<sup>179</sup> Macintyre, *The Reds*, 170-78, 219-24 also see 358-62.

party nuclei or cells in the factories, as well as sponsoring a number of front organizations. Both of these strategies were aimed at expanding the influence of communism among the Australian working class. The efforts of the CPA paid off and by the middle of 1930s, it was able to exert a direct impact upon a few militant trade unions.<sup>180</sup>

Due to both the external and internal factors mentioned above, by the dawn of Second World War, the number of the CPA members had increased to over 2,800. Yet, argued Davidson, there was a serious impediment for the further growth of the CPA, which had its root in the counter-productive confrontational policies towards the ALP that the CPA adopted based on the general ‘main blow’ strategy advocated by Comintern.<sup>181</sup> But an even more formidable challenge, which threatened the existence of the CPA, came only after the signing of the Soviet-Nazi pact, which led to a formal government ban in 1940, declaring the illegality of the CPA. However, the tide quickly turned again. When the Soviet Union itself joined the Allies in the WWII after being invaded by Nazi Germany. As a result, the domestic political atmosphere in Australia became more favourable towards the CPA, and the ban imposed on it was later revoked.<sup>182</sup> Moreover, the image of the brave Russian Red Army fighting arm in arm with the soldiers of the Allies against a common enemy, together with the fervent anti-fascist propaganda work conducted by the CPA, attracted many Australians to join its ranks. According to a later estimate, by late 1944, the CPA membership had swelled and reached a

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<sup>180</sup> Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia; a Short History*, 54-55.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 72-73.

<sup>182</sup> Macintyre, *The Reds*, 280; Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia; a Short History*.

record high of 23,000 and, for the first time in history, a communist, Fred Paterson was elected to the Queensland State parliament.

The wartime good fortune of the CPA, however, transpired rather quickly. From the end of WWII onwards, the influence of the CPA, as revealed in some previous research, dwindled steadily. A large number of members of the CPA left the party over the period of 1945 to 1956, so that by the middle of 1950s, there were no more than 6,000 Party members. The reasons behind this drastic decline of the CPA were manifold. These included, *inter alia*, the fiasco of the 1949 coal strike, which the CPA earnestly supported due to its 'sectarian' policies, the devastating "red-baiting" orchestrated by the conservative Menzies government, and perhaps, most importantly, the much unexpected and hence devastated "secret speech" delivered by Khrushchev in the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU and the ensuing Soviet intervention in the Hungarian Revolution.<sup>183</sup>

The above mentioned "external" causes aside, many have argued that there were a number of serious intrinsic defects which prevented the CPA from retaining its strength in the post-WWII era. First, in Davidson and Tom O'Lincoln's<sup>184</sup> view, probably the most detrimental factor which was responsible for the decline of the CPA in this period, was the failure of its leaders to develop a more appropriate policy based upon a thorough analysis of the peculiar national political-economic

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<sup>183</sup> *The Communist Party of Australia; a Short History*; Tom O'Lincoln, *Into the Mainstream : The Decline of Australian Communism* (Carlton North, Vic.: Red Rag Publications, 2009).

<sup>184</sup> According to the *Who's who* section of an on-line journal, Marxist Interventions, Tom O'Lincoln "is a founder of the international socialist current in Australia, and the author of *Into the Mainstream: The Decline of Australian Communism* and *Years of Rage: Social Conflicts in the Fraser Era*; and co-editor of *Class and Class Conflict in Australia* and [Rebel Women in Australian Working Class History](#). Tom also has a [personal site](#). Member: Socialist Alternative." "Who's Who on This Site," <http://www.anu.edu.au/polsci/marx/interventions/whoswho.htm>. Last access: 18 Jan, 2016

situation in Australia.<sup>185</sup> Instead of undertaking this important task, the CPA ignored it in favour of the pre-charted “correct path” laid down by a foreign authority, namely the leaders of the CPSU. An exemplified example of this “willing submission” to Moscow, as some critics of the CPA have pointed out, was the constant vacillation of its policies towards the ALP, switching back and forth between, on the one side, an uncompromising hostility and, on the other side, a more moderate “collaborationist” attitude.<sup>186</sup> Another aspect of the CPA, which has been signalled out for criticism, was its “sectarianist” and “dogmatist” leadership, which was revealed, tout court, in its intolerance towards those party affiliated intellectuals, who insisted upon a full-length discussion of the 20<sup>th</sup> congress of the CPSU being held within the CPA.<sup>187</sup>

All the aforementioned critical views regarding the faults of the CPA notwithstanding, in recent years, a few scholars have tried to offer a more sympathetic account relating to a number of previously under-acknowledged aspects of Australian communism. For example, Philip Deery and Rachael Calkin’s 2008 article, as well the latter’s Ph.D. thesis, shows that the initial response of the CPA to the de-Stalinisation launched by Khrushchev was not as consistent as had previously been assumed.<sup>188</sup> Also noteworthy is Douglas

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<sup>185</sup> Macintyre, *The Reds*, 133; Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia; a Short History*, 99.

<sup>186</sup> For the CPA activity in the interbellum period. See cp. 10 in Macintyre, *The Reds*. For the idea of People’s democracy and national independence, see discussion in Robin Gollan, *Revolutionaries and Reformists : Communism and the Australian Labour Movement, 1920-1955* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1975), 255-58. Also see O’Lincoln, *Into the Mainstream : The Decline of Australian Communism*, 97.

<sup>187</sup> Davidson, "Marxism and the Working Class in Australia: 1883-1956," 120. Gollan, *Revolutionaries and Reformists : Communism and the Australian Labour Movement, 1920-1955*, 286-87; Macintyre, *The Reds*, 414-15; O’Lincoln, *Into the Mainstream : The Decline of Australian Communism*, 92-102.

<sup>188</sup> Rachael Calkin, "'Cracking the Stalinist Crust' : The Impact of 1956 on the Australian Communist Party" (VDM-Verl., 2009); Phillip Deery and Rachael Calkin, "We All

Jordan's Ph.D. thesis on the CPA's efforts to carry out political work through its involvement in the trade union movement. Jordan argued that some previous studies, such as Stuart Macintyre's early study, underestimated, "the idealism that often shaped the activism of the majority of the CPA membership," by focusing "on the negative impact of Stalinism and the distortions this imposed on the Party",<sup>189</sup> Last but not least, Robert Bozinovski's Ph.D. thesis questions the predominated negative framing of the relation between the CPA and the Comintern. Bozinovski contends that previous research has ignored the importance of the concept "proletarian internationalism" which foregrounds the interactions which took place between the CPA and other fraternal communist parties.<sup>190</sup>

Since this thesis does not aim at contributing to the growing historiography on the Australian communist movement, hence instead of making some generalized conclusions regarding the overall achievements and limitations of the CPA prior to the 1960s, I shall limit myself to making two most relevant remarks based on the findings of existing scholarship. The first point to note, which directly pertains to the discussion in the rest of the chapter, is that, irrespective of whether it brought positive or negative consequences, the CPA always considered itself to be part of a broader international movement which was committed to the objective of achieving socialism world-widely. Furthermore, it regarded the

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Make Mistakes":: The Communist Party of Australia and Khrushchev's Secret Speech, 1956", *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 54, no. 1 (2008).

<sup>189</sup> These conflicting trends often existed in the CPA simultaneously and both need to be recognised." Douglas Jordan, "Conflict in the Unions the Communist Party of Australia, Politics and the Trade Union Movement" (2011), 8.

<sup>190</sup> Robert Bozinovski, "The Communist Party of Australia and Proletarian Internationalism, 1928-1945."

CPSU as the indisputable leader of this project. Or to rephrase it in a Bourdieusian fashion, the fact that CPA occupied a ‘subordinated’ position in relation to the CPSU, the predominant player in a given field known as the ICM, structurally determined that the overall policies of the Australian party were formulated always through direct reference to the decisions coming from Moscow.<sup>191</sup>

Secondly, despite all the minor deflections from the ever-changing global analyses construed by Soviet leaders over four decades, on the whole, the Soviet model of socialism, elaborated first by Lenin, then by Stalin, was accepted almost univocally by Australian communists as the only valid ‘truth’. By this very definition, it should have been applicable to Australia as the means for achieving socialism in the country. It was not until the late 1950s, that such convictions started to crumble, as a result of a combination of international and domestic factors which started in the middle of 1950s and gradually reached a breaking point in the early 1960s. The full implications of this crisis engendered by a breaking up the hitherto coherent “regime of truth”, catalysed by the delegitimation of Stalinism, upon the Australian communism will be explored in following section.

### **The ‘Split’ and the Birth of the CPA (ML)**

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<sup>191</sup> “The resulting social praxeology weaves together a “structuralist” and a “constructivist” approach. First, we aside mundane representations to construct the object structures (spaces of positions), the distribution of socially efficient resources that define the external constraints bearing on interactions and representations. Second, we reintroduce the immediate, lived experience, lived experience of agents in order to explicate the categories of perception and appreciation (dispositions) that structure their action from inside” Pierre Wacquant Loïc J. D. Bourdieu, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 11.



Over the past few decades, a number of influential hypotheses has been put forward to explain why the Sino-Soviet alliance eventually went astray in the 1960s. There are suggestions that the split between the Chinese and Soviet communists was inevitable, either because of the conflicting national interest of the two countries involved, or the nature of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which precluded any compromise on principles.<sup>192</sup> Another line of reasoning gives more weight to the connection between CCP's forceful criticisms of Khrushchev's CPSU and the more radical domestic policies advocated by Mao from the middle of 1950s (e.g. Great Leap Forward).<sup>193</sup> Still others argue that as a shrewd and ruthless Machiavellian type of political leader, Mao initiated and manipulated the Sino-Soviet dispute to his own advantage.<sup>194</sup> The rationale behind this hyper-psychological construction is, as I see it, that ideology was a handy means for Mao to hastening his declining power, due largely to the failure of the Great Leap Forward. . Perhaps, what actually led to the split was the combination of all the above-mentioned factors, though I must admit that what strikes me as least convincing is the "manipulation" theory, which postulated that Mao's vehement attacks on the "revisionist" policies advocated by Khrushchev, were driven by nothing but a veiled lust for power. A popular psychological account does

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<sup>192</sup> See, e.g. Jian Chen, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). Lorenz M. Lüthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split : Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton (N.J.): Princeton university press, 2008).

<sup>193</sup> Mingjiang Li, *Mao's China and the Sino-Soviet Split : Ideological Dilemma* (London; New York: Routledge, 2012).

<sup>194</sup> See, e.g. Priscilla Roberts's review of Lorenz M. Lüthi's 2008 monography *The Sino-Soviet split : cold war in the communist world*, in which the former suggests that "Lüthi's Mao is first and foremost a ruthless, unscrupulous political operator whose most enduring concern, to which all other principles and individuals could if necessary be sacrificed, was to safeguard and reinforce his own power." Priscilla Roberts et al., "Forum: Mao, Khrushchev, and China's Split with the Ussr: Perspectives on the Sino-Soviet Split", *Journal of Cold War Studies* 12, no. 1 (2010): 124. Lüthi, however, disagrees with this summary of his works in his rejoinder, who would like to substitute the word "manipulative" with "instrumental". *Ibid.*, 162.

sometimes provide an easy answer to the question of why certain actions were taken by a particular individual, but it fails to meet two essential criteria of scholarship. There is, in the first place, a lack of convincing evidence, since there is no certain way to prove, what Mao's 'deep inner cycle' reasoning during the period of Sino-Soviet dispute. Secondly, an over-simplified psychologism also clearly falls short of any explanatory sophistication, which, though not necessary in all cases, is certainly required to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the complexity and multidimensionality of the ideological conflicts between the Chinese and Russian communist parties.

However, I am less interested here in constructing yet another "cause-effect" model, which would supposedly to uncover an even 'deeper' reasons why Mao was so determined to wage a propaganda war against Khrushchev in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Instead, I intend to simply stay on the 'surface' of the 'statements', and focus on the "truth effects" generated by the following three propositions, which succinctly summarise the main arguments of the CCP in its dispute with the CPSU. The first proposition is that Stalin was, contrary to Khrushchev's judgement, still a great Marxist-Leninist, despite having committed some serious errors in his later years. Second, the potential for a nuclear war, which if it occurred could destroy the whole world, was not, as presumed by the CPSU, a sufficient reason for the ICM to adopt a lopsided peaceful co-existence policy. Third, the transition to peaceful co-existence should not be accepted as the global strategy of the ICM, but rather all 'genuine' Marxist-Leninists should instead reaffirm the universal truth of orthodox Marxism-Leninism which postulated that working-class struggle was the only viable means

for achieving socialism. if all the above three propositions are taken as a whole, it is not too difficult to see that, they are a manifestation of an alternative (as contrary to Khrushchev's "Three Peace" solution) "regime of truth", which stipulates what ought to be done, if the ultimate objective of the Marxian project, the global transformation of capitalism towards socialism, is to be achieved. <sup>195</sup>

Quite naturally, the emergence of an alternative socialist "regime of truth" other than Khrushchev's, as manifested by the growing fissure between People's China and USSR, the two giants within the socialist bloc, deeply affected all communist parties around the world. It is known that most of them, with the notable exception of the Albanian Workers Party and the New Zealand Communist Party, endorsed Khrushchev's "three peace" policies. <sup>196</sup>It was against this background that the initial attitude of the CPA leaders towards the friction developing between the CCP and the CPSU became something of an exception. Not long after the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU, there are reasons to assume that the CPA's leadership had learnt about Mao's reservations about the drastic de-Stalinisation launched by Khrushchev, though it was decided at the time that any speculation of potential division within the socialist camp would be firmly denied. <sup>197</sup> Then, when the polemics between the CCP and the CPSU went semi-public in the early 1961, the CPA was forced to admit that "different views can and do arise within Communist Parties", though the differences were, Sharkey argued: "usually of estimation of

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<sup>195</sup> The word alternative is invoked here to emphasise the fact, this truth was established on the basis of directly challenging the credibility of Soviet model of socialism in the post-Stalin era, as well as the capitalist Western liberal democracy.

<sup>196</sup> T.H. Rigby, "Australasia", 1950-2016, *English, Periodical, Journal, magazine, other edition*: , no. 54 (1965): 131.

<sup>197</sup> E.F. Hill, "Proletarian Internationalism", *Communist Review* No.189 (1957).

a given situation, of the correct immediate policies and tactics and the like.”<sup>198</sup>  
This was an ambiguous declaration, and what was said is less important than what it did not clearly state. This is because, in acknowledging that there was a difference among communist parties, but in the meantime claiming that it was a not a matter concerning the principal of Marxism-Leninism, it shows that by then the CPA had yet prepared to openly veto the positions of the CCP.

Perhaps, an even better example of this type of covert support for the Chinese can be found in a later article published on the organ of the CPA, *Communist Review*, in which Sharkey wrote:

*The revisionist and Right wing reformists would have the working people believe that ‘capitalism has changed’ ... (yet) the 81 Communist Parties flatly rejected all such superficial soothsaying and warned people that: ‘as long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression.’ Peaceful co-existence, however, is not a revisionist program aiming at ending the class struggle and dooming the working class to eternal exploitation at the hands of monopoly capital and imperialism.*<sup>199</sup>

The nuances of the tone and language of above quoted text needs a bit further explications to be appreciated. While, on the surface, it looked as if Sharkey was arguing for the plausibility of the “peaceful co-existence” policy, by insisting that the nature of capitalism had not changed, and so long as imperialism existed, there was always the possibility of a war, he was in fact, repeating some of the key

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<sup>198</sup> Lawrence Louis Sharkey, "On the International Situation", *Tribune* No. 232 (1961).

<sup>199</sup> "Peace, Disarmament, Co – Existence", *Tribune* No. 233 (1961): 180. Also see, "The People against Monopoly", *ibid.*No. 229: 59.

themes more than frequently emphasised by the CCP.<sup>200</sup> As a matter of fact, even after the publication of *Long Live Leninism! On Red Flag* (Hong Qi), but before the closure of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Congress of CPSU held at the end of 1961, the CPA leadership was still in the Chinese's camp. It is noted that before attending the Eighty-One Communist and Workers Parties conference, at which the Chinese and Soviet Parties tried for the last time to resolve their disputes, Richard Dixon and Lance Sharkey first had a meeting with Mao in Beijing.<sup>201</sup> Although both Dixon and Sharkey later denied that they had ever supported the position of the CCP, the transcript of the above mentioned meeting revealed that they had indeed announced, in the course of the conversations, their objections to the "peaceful transition" policy, the "general and complete disarmament", and other issues central to the Sino-Soviet dispute.<sup>202</sup>

According to Davidson's research, there were at least two reasons which might explain why the CPA was reluctant to openly reject the position of the CCP. The first possible reason was the growing influence of the Chinese party upon the CPA since the 1950s.<sup>203</sup> While there had been a tradition for the CPA over the previous decades to regularly send its cadres to Moscow to exchange ideas with the Soviet leaders or receive training in Marxism-Leninism, since the communists

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<sup>200</sup> See, e.g. 毛澤東, *毛澤東選集 第五卷*, 449-500. English Translations: Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao*, Vol. 5, 499-500.

<sup>201</sup> Sharkey occupied the position of General Secretary of CPA by then, with Dixon as its president; the other two members of the Central Committee Secretariat were Laurie Aarons and Ted Hill.

<sup>202</sup> van der Kroef, "Australia's Maoists," 91-92. Also see the *Communist Review*, No.233, May 1961: 180, in which Sharkey stated: The 81 Communist Parties flatly rejected all such superficial soothsaying and warned people that: "As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression." and that: "Peaceful co-existence, however, is not a revisionist program aiming at ending the class struggle and dooming the working class to eternal exploitation at the hands of monopoly capital and imperialism." (182)

<sup>203</sup> This was due partly to an early pact signed by the CCP and CPSU in 1949, according which China would take over part of responsibility of providing training programmes for fraternal communist party in the East sphere. See e.g. Rigby, "Australasia," 132.

took over power in mainland China, the former ‘Middle Kingdom’ soon appeared on the CPA’s overseas travelling list as perhaps the second most important destination.<sup>204</sup> Angus McIntyre’s early study revealed that during the period from 1951 to 1961, at least six delegations of the CPA cadres were invited to study lessons of Chinese Revolution and Marxist-Leninist classics in China, an experience that had, as shown by a few latter published memoirs of these fellow travellers, left a lasting impact upon many leading cadres of the CPA. Eric Aarons, for instance, took into his heart the flexible approach to Marxism-Leninism adopted by the Chinese communists, to the extent of ‘seeing’ it as an important ‘liberal education’<sup>205</sup> Secondly, both Davidson and some more recent research have shown, that the CPA leadership, was drawn closer to the CCP, mostly because of the latter’s defence of Stalin, after the 20<sup>th</sup> congress of the CPSU.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> See, e.g. Angus McIntyre, "The Training of Australian Communist Cadres in China, 1951-1961", *Studies in Comparative Communism* 11, no. 4 (1978). For the later reflections of the CPA members who had gone to China during the concerned period on their stay in the country, see, e.g. Rex Mortimer, "The Benefits of a Liberal Education", *Meanjin* 35, no. 2 (1976); Eric Aarons, "As I Saw the Sixties", *Australian Left Review* 1, no. 27 (1970); Penelope Debelle, *Red Silk : The Life of Elliott Johnston, Qc* (Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2011).

See also a growing literature on a relevant topic concerning the reception of Australian (and the Western in more general sense) fellow travellers in the People’s Republic of China in the 1950/60s. Paul Hollander, *Political Pilgrims : Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba, 1928-1978* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China : Managing Foreigners in the People's Republic*; Agnieszka Sobocinska, "Australian Fellow-Travellers to China: Devotion and Deceit in the People's Republic", *Journal of Australian Studies* 32, no. 3 (2008); Timothy David Kendall, *Ways of Seeing China : From Yellow Peril to Shangri-la* (Fremantle, W.A.: Curtin University Books, 2005).

It must also be noted that what has not been covered in McIntyre’s aforementioned work, is an extensive study of how the Australian Communist fellow travellers was received by their Chinese comrades in the 1950s/60, which, unfortunately, also could not be pursued here, for if it would otherwise far exceed the subscribed terms of reference of this thesis. That said, however, I feel obliged to at least mention the fact in the concerned period, t the news of the visiting CPA’s delegation appeared regularly on *People’s Daily*, and it is not unusual for the speeches of Sharkey to be reprinted on the same organ of the CCP. See, e.g. 《澳大利亚共产党代表团团长夏基同志致词》，人民日报，1956年9月23日，第二版；《澳大利亚共产党中央委员会总书记、澳大利亚共产党代表团团长 兰斯·路易斯·夏基同志的贺词》，人民日报，1956年9月29日，第九版

<sup>205</sup> See, e.g. Aarons, "As I Saw the Sixties."; *What's Left? : Memoirs of an Australian Communist* (Ringwood, Vic., Australia: Penguin Books, 1993).

<sup>206</sup> Mao believed that Khrushchev was right in pointing out the serious crimes of Stalin, yet the way he exposed them had done more harm than good, as it would give too much space to the Capitalist West. The CPA leadership was nonetheless divided over the Stalin question at first. One example was when Laurie Aarons met Hill in China in the late 1956; the two had a strong

It would be wrong to assume, however, that everyone within the CPA was congruent with their party's 'neutrality' with regards to the on-going policy conflict between the Chinese and Russian Party, and the leadership of the CPA was under pressure from a few junior party cadres who were influenced by the views presented by the Italian Communist party.<sup>207</sup> Previous research has shown that in early 1961, a covert revolt took place in the CPA's Victorian branch. Organized by Bernie Taft and a few others, the rebel group started a battle against the then State Secretary of the CPA, Ted Hill, who was known for his unwavering commitment to "Stalinism". Although the fire lit up by this small dissident group was quickly quenched by a timely intervention of the federal leadership of the CPA, this was, as the later discussion will show, a prologue to a full-scale factional conflicts soon to come.<sup>208</sup>

The tide eventually turned in late 1961, after Sharkey returned from his prolonged stay in Moscow for the 22<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the CPSU. He delivered a report to the

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disagreement on whether a discussion on Khrushchev's secret speech should be held within the CPA, but, it seemed that Hill's view prevailed, and the CPA eventually came to a more unanimous hard-line approach towards the question of Stalin. Calkin, "'Cracking the Stalinist Crust" : The Impact of 1956 on the Australian Communist Party," 88-90; Ian Turner, "In Peking's Orbit", *Nation* 62 (1961): 7-8. See also John Herouvim, "Chapter Two of the Unfinished Ph.D Thesis from a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L),Pa 92/29," (196?-1998?), 36-37.

<sup>207</sup> "The younger, anti-Hill faction in the Victoria organisation, among them Rex Mortimer (subsequently to become known as a spokesman of the moderate, 'Italian line' in the party), and such party state executive members as Bernard Taft (prior to being sent to Moscow by the party for 'study') and H.K. Stanistreet, despite Hill's criticism and veiled threats of expulsion, stepped up their opposition. van der Kroef, "Australia's Maoists," 93.

<sup>208</sup> Yet, the attacks wield by Taft's group, however, was not just about the question of Hill's pro-China line, but also about his leadership style which the former considered as authoritarian. It was observed at the time the question of China or Soviet was closely entangled with the power struggle within the CPA. Herouvim, "Chapter Two of the Unfinished Ph.D Thesis from a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L),Pa 92/29," 45. See, e.g. Anon, "Between Moscow and Peking-the C.P. Of Australia", *Current Affairs Bulletin* 34, no. 32 (1964): 37-38; van der Kroef, "Australia's Maoists," 92; Bernie Taft, *Crossing the Party Line : Memoirs of Bernie Taft* (Newham, Vic.: Scribe, 1994), 102-05.

Political Committee of CPA, in which he openly rejected “the criticism of the CPSU made by the Albanian Party of Labour regarding the alleged departures from Leninism”. This was in fact, a *prima facie* statement that CPA openly endorsed the Russian position in favour of the Chinese one.<sup>209</sup> Sharkey’s report was accepted, despite the strong opposition of Hill and a few others, first at the CPA’s Political Committee, then at the Central Committee held in early 1962, so that henceforward, it became the official policy of the Australian party. In his speech to the Central Committee of the CPA in February 1962, Hill argued that “the Communist Party of China is fighting a stern battle to uphold the truths of Marxism-Leninism against a modern revisionist line. That battle affects the theory and practice of every Communist Party and every communist.”<sup>210</sup> Still not being persuaded, Hill resigned from his position as the State Secretary of the CPA, and a small group of likeminded dissidents quickly gathered around him to build up an oppositional force against what they regarded as the turn towards “revisionism” of the CPA leadership.

Hereafter, an open battle line which mirrored the broader ICM at the time was drawn within the CPA, between a small group of ‘China liners’ and the majority of other Party members. These clashes among the Australian communists lingered on for 18 months until Hill and some others were forced to resign or be expelled from the CPA in the middle of 1963.<sup>211</sup> According to different sources, a hall meeting attended by approximately 120 former members of the CPA was

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<sup>209</sup> *Tribune*, Wed, Feb, 14, 1962, 1

<sup>210</sup> E. F. Hill, *Australia’s Revolution : On the Struggle for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party* (Melbourne: [publisher not identified], 1973), 189-90.

<sup>211</sup> For the official CPA’s account of this split, see e.g. Ralph Siward Gibson, *My Years in the Communist Party* ([Melbourne]: [International Bookshop], 1966), 245-67.



held on 24<sup>th</sup> August 1963, at which a resolution was passed to establish a new communist party in Australia.<sup>212</sup> Then after several months of preparation, the same group of people gathered again and founded the CPA (ML) in the middle of March 1964.<sup>213</sup> A central committee was set up at the same meeting, with Hill being elected as the Chairman of the new party, Charlie O'Shea and Paddy Malone as Vice-Chairmen, and Francis Johnson took up the role of secretary. The other prominent founding members of the CPA (ML) included Florence Russell, Ted (Albert Edward) Bull, Vida and Vic Little, Richard (Rick) Oke, Edward O'Sullivan, Norm Gallagher and Gerald O' Day, etc.<sup>214</sup> In a statement released after this founding conference of the CPA (ML), the new party committed itself to a "unremitting" struggle against the CPA leaders Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey, all of whom had become "regenerate" not just because they publicly attacked the correct line of the CCP but also for advocating a "reformist" policy towards the ALP which had served the interests of the Australian capitalist monopolists and the latter's American "imperialists".<sup>215</sup>

Its polemical rhetoric aside, this statement of the CPA(ML), did indeed convey, in my view, an important message, which explains both how the Sino-Soviet split was received by a certain group of Australian communists and why this event was so important to them. While, for some, the only possible reason that Mao reacted so strongly towards the 'three-peace' policies championed by Khrushchev, was

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<sup>212</sup> NAA, "A6119, 6013": 3; "Communists Pledge "Unremitting" Fight against Revisionism," *The Vanguard*, September 1963, 1,3.

<sup>213</sup> John Herouvim, "Chapter One of the Unfinished Ph.D Thesis from a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29," (196?-1998?). , also see NAA, "A6122, 2578": 32.

<sup>214</sup> Most of these mentioned individuals were senior members of the CPA before they broke up with it. See Herouvim, "Chapter One of the Unfinished Ph.D Thesis from a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29," 9,23.

<sup>215</sup> "Conference Establishes Communist Party (M-L)," *The Vanguard*, March 1964.

because in vehemently attacking the modern ‘revisionism’, he would be able gain an upper-hand in the inner party struggle against his opponents, such guess could not have been further from the truth in the eyes of the a few so called “Maoists” in Australia. Since for those members of the CPA (ML), as indicated by the aforementioned quotations, in sternly rejecting a policy which prioritized peace with the American “imperialist”, Mao was defending the truth of Marxism-Leninism, and in refusing to adhere to this truth, the CPA leaders ceased to be genuine communists.<sup>216</sup> Moreover, it is argued that in their failure to acknowledge the truthfulness of the position of the Chinese party, the leadership of the CPA immediately subscribed to a lopsided policy which sought to reconcile with the “social democratic ideology of the A.L.P. both in relations with that Party and in the trade unions.”<sup>217</sup>

Hence, as the discussion so far has suggested that regardless of whether the accusation against the CPA was a fair one or not, for these Australian Maoists, the ACM’s position on the Sino-Soviet dispute was crucial. It would not because it was a simply a matter of deciding on which side Australian communists should stand in the conflict between the two parties, but rather it was a question of which ‘truth’ to subscribe to, for the truth would determine how they would aspire to work, as communists, for the ultimate cause of achieving socialism in Australia. However, before I explain in detail the effects engendered by this new truth known as Maoism, in the case of political projects developed by CPA (ML) after

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<sup>216</sup> See, e.g. Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), "For the Building of Party Press of a New Type", *The Australian communist* 2 (1964).

<sup>217</sup> *Declaration of Australian Marxists-Leninists*, (Coburg: Challenge Press PTY. Ltd., 1963), 7.

it was founded, a few words on the membership of organization concerned is needed.

First to be noted is that the majority of the founding members of the CPA (ML) were associated with the Victorian Branch of the CPA, which implies, *ipso facto*, that Melbourne was the power base of the new party. Secondly, there were very few CPA (ML) members in other states, other than South Australia (SA), where a relatively independent branch was founded by a militant trade unionist, Charles McCaffrey, who did not always agree with the decisions made by the CPA (ML) in Melbourne.<sup>218</sup> A third important point was that among those who left the CPA and joined the CPA (ML), quite a few were prominent trade unionists, such as Ted Bull (the secretary of the Victorian branch of the Waterside Workers Federation (WWF) since 1967), Charlie O'Shea (the Victorian State Secretary of the Australian Tramways and Motor Omnibus Employees' Association (AT&MOEA) until his retirement in 1970), Paddy Malone and Norm Gallagher (who were both senior officials of the BLF, and Gallagher became the Federal Secretary of the BLF since 1970).<sup>219</sup> While it is hard to be certain that to what extent the rank-and-file members of the above mentioned unions was influenced

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<sup>218</sup> "Leading Union Official Joins Communist Party (M-L)," *The Vanguard*, November 1964. According to Herouvim's research, the presence of the CPA (ML) in other states was negligible, but it did have a few contact persons in Sydney such as Syd Clare and Bruce Milliss. John Herouvim, "Chapter Three of the Unfinished Ph.D Thesis from a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29," (196?-1998?), 68. Michael Williss, one of the earlier members of the Adelaide CPA (ML), for example, recalled some occasions when the Adelaide and Melbourne branches of the Party disagreed over the question whether a separated State committee should be established in Adelaide and whether the East Bookshop, run by the Party, was entitled to order materials directly from China. Michael Williss (a), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 21/11/2013. Also worth quoting for the purpose, was a note taken down by an ASIO agent responsible for monitoring the CPA (ML): "He (McCaffrey) remembered that when David and Tess Caust suggested to him that he come over and have a talk with Hill, and he had replied "To hell with Hell, I don't like the way he's acting." NAA, "A6122, 2578," 9. For disputes between Hill and McCaffrey see also "A6122, 2577": 6.

<sup>219</sup> Malone was the Victorian branch secretary of the BLF from 1941 until his death in 1970. That position subsequently went to Gallagher who also acted as its federal secretary.

by Maoism, we shall be able to say the CPA (ML) definitely had had some impact upon Bull, O'Shea, Malone and Gallagher, all of whom shared with Hill a strong hostility towards the right-wing faction of the trade union movement and the ALP.<sup>220</sup> Fourthly, in both Melbourne and Adelaide, the CPA (ML) was able to exert some influence upon several universities in the late 1960s and early 1970s, after the recruitment of a small group of radical students. Fifthly, various sources have suggested that once it was founded, the CPA (ML) established a close relation with the Australia China Society (ACS), a civic organization established in 1950, to promote mutual understandings and cultural exchanges between Chinese and Australian people.<sup>221</sup> According to the existing ACS Victorian Branch records, the organisation itself was radicalised by the GPCR in the middle of 1960s, and established a direct affiliation with the CPA (ML).<sup>222</sup> From the CPA (ML)'s point of view, to have the ACS on its side was certainly advantageous, since the later was responsible for organizing regular civic trips to China.<sup>223</sup> Finally, apart

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<sup>220</sup> See. e/g/ Norm Gallagher, *Norm Gallagher Interviewed by Stewart Harris [Sound Recording]* (1992), Access open for research, personal copies and public use; [*Biographical Cuttings on Patrick (Paddy) Malone, Former State Secretary of the Federation of Builders' Laborers Union, Containing One or More Cuttings from Newspapers or Journals*]; C. O'Shea, *Clarrie O'shea Interviewed by John Merritt* (1982).

<sup>221</sup> After the CPA (ML) was founded, the ACS gradually developed a strong association with the CPA (ML), or at least that was the case in Melbourne and Adelaide. In fact, the Adelaide branch of the ACS was actually founded by members of the CPA (ML). Michael Willis (c), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 03/06/2014.

<sup>222</sup> The ACS Victorian Branch constitution reports in 1970 declared that: "If we want to strengthen and develop friendly relations between two peoples it is necessary for the Society to rely on the revolutionary left organisations. The Australian communist party (M.L.) under the leadership of Comrade Hill is a strong revolutionary force in Australia. Therefore, I wish to say that if the Society unites with the revolutionary left organization in their common struggles against the enemies it is better. On this basis the friendship between Chinese people and Austrian people will surely and continuously develop with each passing day." Victorian Branch of Australia-China Society, "Victorian and National Constitution Reports in Australia-China Society Victorian Branch Records, 1952-1982. [Manuscript]. Ms 13187, Folder 3848/1", 1970.

<sup>223</sup> Hill himself valued highly these trips to China, as on his meetings with one young CPA (ML) member who returned from China, Hill greeted with the question: "are you fortified? See Herouvim, "An Alien Association: Australian Maoism and the Communist Party of China , 1971-1977," 18. Also see Hill's correspondence to Charlie O'Shea in 1977 on matters of related ACS tours to China, the latter of whom was the state secretary of the Victorian branch of ACS. O'Shea Clarence, "Clarence Lyell O'shea Collection", 1988.

from its involvement in the ACS, the CPA (ML) also inherited another tradition from the past, which was financing a few communist bookshops in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Brisbane. In these bookshops, a wide range of Chinese literature could be found, including *Peking Review*, *China Pictorial*, *China Reconstruct*, Mao's selected works and the famous *little red book*.<sup>224</sup> Moreover, my interviews with several former members of the CPA (ML) also confirmed that these bookshops also occasionally served as *de facto* meeting places for them.<sup>225</sup>

To sum up, in this section, I have explored the divided reactions among Australian communists towards the Sino-Soviet dispute in the early 1960s, which eventually led to a split in the CPA and the establishment of the CPA (ML). Instead of seeing the antagonism developed between the Chinese and Russian communist party as either a result of conflicting national interest, or a well-intended plot manipulated by Mao for securing his position within the CPA, I have approached it simply as a singular moment which signalled the birth of an alternative socialist truth known as Maoism. I then reviewed the changing reception of this rising new truth by the leadership of the CPA, and I have argued that regardless which position one had taken in relation to the Sino-Soviet dispute and the reason behind it, what was really at stake for the members of the Australian Party, was the truthful character of the event itself. That been said, what has yet been discussed, was the local, i.e. Australian social-political context that had prepared a conclusion: that it was Mao

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<sup>224</sup> "Bookshop That Serve the People," *The Vanguard*, Thursday, Nov 25 1971.

<sup>225</sup> Williss (a); Bill Dowling, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 19/02/2014; Leslie Bowling (a), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 05/06/2014. Karl Armstrong, an ex-member of the CPA (ML), for example, used to work for the East Wing Bookshop in Melbourne. Karl Armstrong and Barry York, *Karl Armstrong Interviewed by Barry York in the China Maytime Festival Tour 1971 Oral History Project* (2013). On National Socialist Party's attack on the CPA (ML)'s bookshop see "Cops Stand by with Arms Folded...but.....Nazis Will Pay," *Struggle*, 29/05/1972.

not Khrushchev who was upholding the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, which, a minority group within the CPA eventually subscribed to. In the next section, I will try to fill in this blind spot by offering a political biography of the founding chairman and the main theoretician of the CPA (ML), Edward Fowler (Ted) Hill.

## **The Making of an Australian Maoist: a political biography of Comrade Hill**

Like most communists in Australia and elsewhere, Ted Hill (1915-1988) did not get a very positive mass media representation. Moreover, he was also frequently attacked by his opponents from both the left and the right, who often regarded him as being “single-minded”, “sectarian” and “authoritarian”.<sup>226</sup> If we put aside for the moment the question of whether all these derogatory descriptions can be attached to Hill, it is nonetheless arguable that no serious scholarship on the CPA (ML) can afford not to take into account the life and politics of its founding chairman.<sup>227</sup> There is, however, another reason for devoting this section to unravelling the entanglement between the social environment within which Hill grew up and the development of his political views. Although it is certainly true that Hill himself could not possibly represent all those who have ever joined CPA (ML), yet, considering that the unparalleled influence he exerted upon the party

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<sup>226</sup> Taft, *Crossing the Party Line : Memoirs of Bernie Taft*, 65. See also Aarons, *What's Left? : Memoirs of an Australian Communist*, 131. Doug White, "Obituary to Ted Hill", *Arena* (1988). For a more favourable account of Hill, see, e.g. E. F. Hill, *Communism and Australia : Reflections and Reminiscences* (Victoria: Communist Party of Australia, 1989), vii-xii.

<sup>227</sup> According to Barry York's recollections, Hill would proof-read every single article appeared in *The Vanguard*. Barry York (b), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 14/05/2014. Some of my interviewees even suggested that the CPA (ML) was the one-man party of Hill, although this claim was disputed by the current members of the party.

is the concern here, it is worthwhile to understand under what sort of structural conditions did Hill first become a communist, before he earned the reputation of being the ‘spokesman’ of Mao’s China in Australia. But first a disclaimer is needed. As I have already suggested a couple times before, it is my conviction that little can be gained, from a scholarly point of view, by indulging in an uncontrolled speculation of the deeper “psychological truth” behind what people actually did and said, so in what follows, I shall limit my focus only to those seminal historical events of a universal type and to a few sociologically important predisposing factors, which may have drawn Hill finally towards a conclusion that a new communist party must be established after the leadership of the CPA had turned “revisionist” in the midst of the Sino-Soviet contention.

Edward Fowler (Ted) Hill was born on 23 April 1915 in Mildura, Victoria, to a middle-class background family. His father James Frederick Hill was a high school principal known for his left-liberal thinking. Given the fact that he was raised in a relatively well-off and intellectual family background, it is likely that Hill was introduced to the world of reading and politics at a relatively early age. Nevertheless, according to Hill’s own account, what has had a most profound impact upon him during those early formative years of his life was the Great Depression.

Although Hill did not himself suffer as much as many of his countrymen after the 1930s world financial crisis hit Australia, even simply being an eye witness to the great human ordeal, which occurred in this particular era, had left a long lasting impact upon him: “every day (I) saw the spectacle of people starving or

desperately resorting to ‘crime’.”<sup>228</sup> Deeply affected by the plight of so many his fellowmen, the young Hill began to search not only for the cause of this man-made disaster, but also a plausible means to prevent a similar tragedy from ever happening again in the future. At first, Hill was inspired by the writings of Henry George and Major Douglas, but soon after reading a copy of *The Communist Manifesto*, which someone who gave it to him in advance, the theory of ‘Single Tax’ and ‘Social Credit’ championed by George and Douglas lost their appeal to scientific materialism, which, as Hill later recalled: “satisfied me that (because) it made a thoroughgoing and correct analysis of society and offered the correct solution, namely scientific socialism through revolution.”<sup>229</sup>

Hill’s turn towards Marxism, however, was by no means an isolated example, since as I have noted before, many others also joined the CPA after they became disillusioned with the empty promise offered by the ALP in the period of Great Depression. One of the early members of the CPA, Len Fox, for instance, suggested that many of whom from his generation was drawn towards communism in the 1930s/40s, largely because of the same economic crisis.<sup>230</sup> It is also noteworthy that the two founding vice-Chairmen of the CPA (ML), Paddy Malone and Charlie O’Shea, also turned to communism after suffering in the early 1930s because of unemployment.<sup>231</sup> It is, however, James (Jim) McClelland, a Trotskyite before he joined the ALP, who in my view, best summarized the

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<sup>228</sup> Hill, *Communism and Australia : Reflections and Reminiscences*, 2.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid.

<sup>230</sup> Len Fox, *Broad Left, Narrow Left* (Chippendale: L. Fox : Distributed by APCOL, 1982), 8.

<sup>231</sup> Aidan Moore, ""It Was All About the Working Class" : Norm Gallagher, the Blf and the Australian Labor Movement" (Victoria University (Melbourne, Vic.), 2013), 5-6; O’Shea, *Clarrie O’shea Interviewed by John Merritt*



organic structural link between Depression and the growing popularity, which communism enjoyed in the period concerned:

*The Depression was not a short thing, and it was misery such as ordinary human being in Australia today can hardly imagine. There were actually gaunt, hungry-looking people confronting you every day, sitting in the parks and couldn't get feed, couldn't feed their families. It was a type of society the present society just cannot imagine. Now that's what gave birth to the Communist movement in Australia. It was very easy to persuade ordinary sensible people that the form of society which had brought this to pass was an evil society that should be overthrown by any means.*<sup>232</sup>

However, before Hill eventually joined the CPA, he was first introduced into the world of conventional party politics, which consolidated his initial perception that socialism is a more righteous system than capitalism. Shortly after graduating from high school, Hill got his first job as a clerk working for William (Bill) Slater in the latter's solicitor's office.<sup>233</sup> Then through Slater, Hill deepened his knowledge of the ALP and parliamentary politics. According to John Herouvim, one of the crucial lessons Hill learnt from the old Slater is that the parliament in a capitalist country is nothing but a "talking shop".<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Cited from DeBelle, *Red Silk : The Life of Elliott Johnston, Qc*, 191. Originally from J. Russell, 'Communism', in Encounter, ABC Radio National, 14 February 1999.

<sup>233</sup> Hill, *Communism and Australia : Reflections and Reminiscences*, 3. Slater is a Victorian Labor politician and used to be the first Australian diplomatic representative to USSR. He holds a pre-Bolshevik view, but later seemed to be disillusioned by what he has seen in USSR. He formed Slater & Gordon in 1935 and recruited many left-wing law students.

<sup>234</sup> It seems to me that this distrust of the ALP was one of the lifelong views held by Hill. According to Herouvim's research, a large number of the published articles of Hill in the *Communist Review* tackled the ALP. Herouvim, "Chapter One of the Unfinished Ph.D Thesis from a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29," 24.

While studying for a part-time law degree at the University of Melbourne from 1933, Hill immersed himself ever more deeply into the Marxian literature to the extent of being summoned several times to see the dean of the Faculty of Commerce, who was concerned about the explicit Marxist line of reasoning underlining Hill's thesis.<sup>235</sup> Three years later, Hill finally became a member of the CPA, and he was recruited by Cecil Sharpley, then a full-time functionary of Party's Victorian Branch.<sup>236</sup> Once he joined the CPA, Hill participated in many of the campaigns that the Party was organizing at the time. The working capacity as well as dedication of Hill to the Party, was demonstrated by the ostensible increase in the membership of the local CPA branch, which he became a member of after joined the CPA.<sup>237</sup> Hill's wholehearted commitment to party work, soon earned him a reputation among his fellow CPA members, which might also help to explain his rapid ascension within the Party hierarchy. In 1948, Hill was elected to the Central Committee of the CPA, then to the Political Committee three years later. After Jake Blake being deposed the leadership position in 1954, Hill succeeded him and became one of the four Secretariats of the CPA.<sup>238</sup>

Other than being known for his remarkable working ability, what also made Hill different compared to most other CPA members, was his unusual professional background. Trained and working as a lawyer specialising in workers' compensation, Hill won many compensation cases for injured workers over his entire life, and this gave him a good reputation among the Australian working

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<sup>235</sup> Hill, *Communism and Australia : Reflections and Reminiscences*, 10-11.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, 18; Herouvim, "Chapter One of the Unfinished Ph.D Thesis from a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29," 11.

<sup>238</sup> Phillip Deery, "The Sickle and the Scythe: Jack Blake and Communist Party 'Consolidation', 1949-56", *labourhistory Labour History*, no. 80 (2001): 217.

class.<sup>239</sup> Also, worth mentioning in the same regard, was the fact that in heyday of the Sixties student movement, Hill had provided legal advice to young activists who faced the prospect of being sent to jail, because of their political activities.<sup>240</sup> Finally, I wish to mention two notable occasions, when Hill used his legal knowledge not for himself, but for the party he belonged to. For instance, Hill acted as a legal advisor for the CPA, first during the 1949 Royal Commission of inquiry into Communism, then during the 1954 Royal Commission on Espionage triggered by the notorious Petrov Affair (both exemplified, in a most blatant way, the application of the State Power onto its enemies, triggered by a Cold War paranoia over the 'Red Menace')<sup>241</sup>. While the attempts of the Chiefly Labour government and the later Menzies's Liberal-Coalition government to contain domestic communism through the legal apparatuses of Royal Commissions failed, at least partly because of the skilful defences of Hill. Nevertheless, the on-going attacks on the CPA substantially weakened and undermined the strength and reputation of communism in Australia.<sup>242</sup>

It has been well established by previous studies that in a period between 1949 and 1954, which represented the pinnacle of Australia's Cold War, not only those top leaders of the Australian party, e.g. Sharkey, were jailed for passing an unpatriotic

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<sup>239</sup> John Herouvim, "Commitment and Politics", *Workers and Intellectuals* 9 (1992): 160.

<sup>240</sup> Nick Butler (b), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 15/01/2015.

<sup>241</sup> Petrov Affair referred to the defection of a Soviet diplomat/KGB agent to Australia, Vladimir Petrov and his wife Evdokia Petrova, an MVD officer, in April 1954. The Petrov Affair has significant political repercussions upon the forthcoming 1954 federal election, and it directly affected the CPA. The reflections of Ted Hill, who helped defend the CPA in the Royal Commission lodged aftermath on the same incident can be found in E. F. Hill, *The Labor Party? : Dr. Evatt, the Petrov Affair, the Whitlam Government* (Melbourne: Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)], 1974).

<sup>242</sup> Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia; a Short History*, 108; O'Lincoln, *Into the Mainstream : The Decline of Australian Communism*, 85-88; Phillip Deery, "Chifley, the Army and the 1949 Coal Strike", *labourhistory Labour History*, no. 68 (1995).

comment, some rank-and-file members of the CPA members also suffered enormously because of a hostile political environment, and these experience seem to have further shored up Hill's conviction that the capitalist state was and forever would be a repressive instrument of the dominant class.<sup>243</sup> This characteristic Marxist understanding of the nature of the state held by Hill, I suggest, intersected with another key proposition which he never failed to emphasise throughout his life. And that is all communist activists should develop a hyper-vigilance towards any possible future attacks waged by the state. It is fair to say that Hill was not the only one among the Australian communists, who insisted that iron discipline was crucial for the survival of a communist party in a capitalist society, and that threat posed the 'class enemy' is ever present. Many of Hill's comrades in the CPA shared his view that a proper internal party security protocols was essential, though few would have been as much concerned about this aspect of the party life as Hill was.<sup>244</sup>

In fact, the stress put on the importance of counter-espionage was probably one of the notable differences between Hill and other CPA members. According to Bernie Taft, one of Hill's former juniors and later opponents in the CPA, it was at Hill's initiative that an alarm system was installed in the CPA's office, so that before a police raid, the staff could gain some time to destroy important party documents.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> For example, Sharkey who was imprisoned for making "unpatriotic comments". See, e.g. Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia; a Short History*.

<sup>244</sup> Herouvim, "Chapter One of the Unfinished Ph.D Thesis from a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29," 26.

<sup>245</sup> Taft, *Crossing the Party Line : Memoirs of Bernie Taft*, 141.

It is perhaps also worthwhile to mention another story told by Taft, which shows not unreal threat presented by secret police to the CPA, and Hill's counter-strategy against it. Justification for suggesting that the influence of ASIO was "not unreal", is not offered here, but in a later chapter. For the moment, it is sufficient to note that the countermeasures adopted by Hill was as impressive as the various means used by ASIO to infiltrate into CPA. Hill, as Taft recalled, not only succeeded in receiving information from "someone in ASIO (who) would contact him (Hill) every now and again, and give him the names of people whom ASIO had selected to infiltrate the party," but also managed to gain the upper-hand against the Australian secret service, through Duncan Clarke, who, under the instructions of Hill, acted as a double agent for ASIO while being a member of the CPA.<sup>246</sup>

This aspect of Hill's involvement in the CPA aside, it should be noted that after he reached the top of decision making body of the party, criticisms of Hill's style of leadership also began to pile up. Some, as noted earlier, expressed grievances over Hill's inflexibly and secretiveness, though, the same Hill was also remembered by a few who were close to him, as a staunch fighter for principles, and someone who rarely turned down a request for consultations.<sup>247</sup> Also worth mentioning in the same regard is that despite being known as a serious, even humourless, character, Hill's impartiality when it came to the question of politics, was acknowledged by some of his most dreadful adversaries. John Herouvim, for instance, noted that on occasions when Hill was interrogating a political opponent,

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<sup>246</sup> Ibid., 138-41. Clarke is a member of the CPA by then and later joined CPA (ML). All the information Clark supply to ASIO, was pre-examined by Hill to ensure that they would not damage the interest of the CPA. Ibid., 139-41.

<sup>247</sup> Norm Gallagher, Ken White, and Barry York

his only interest was to find out nothing but the political difference between himself and his interlocutor.<sup>248</sup> The kind of approach Hill took towards politics as illustrated by the above-mentioned incident may be an indication of the distinction Hill made between political matters and personal affairs, since it was known that he was not only an acquaintance of some prominent ALP leaders, but was also on friendship terms with many influential figures in the legal circle.<sup>249</sup>

Whereas, it is wise not to overstress in a mechanical way, the correlation between, on the one hand, the stimulus of a few important historical events (e.g. depression and the two Royal Commissions) as well as the indisputable negative impacts exerted by the power of the state upon the CPA (e.g. ASIO) just mentioned, and on the other hand, the constitutions of Hill's idiosyncratic political dispositions, I shall nonetheless suggest that all those aforementioned historically specific conditioning factors, provides an indispensable context for us to understand Hill's later stern opposition to what he regarded as the pernicious process of "liberalisation" on which the CPA embarked in the 1950s. In other words, it is lopsided, in my view, to disregard the salient structuring power of the most important "field" that is the ACM up until the late 1950s, upon shaping Hill's political *habitus* as a communist leader.<sup>250</sup> To illustrate this organic link between field and *habitus*, I shall examine, in the rest of this section, the published writings of Hill in the late 1950s.

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<sup>248</sup> Herouvim, "Chapter Two of the Unfinished Ph.D Thesis from a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 92/29," 52. This observation was backed by Eric Aarons's account: "At least one experience also led me to believe that Hill could be generous in appreciation of an opponent." Aarons, *What's Left? : Memoirs of an Australian Communist*, 133-34.

<sup>249</sup> Barry's interview Herouvim, "Chapter One of the Unfinished Ph.D Thesis from a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29," 24-25; "Commitment and Politics," 160-61.

<sup>250</sup> Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*.

First to be taken into consideration, is Hill's responses to those CPA dissidents who demanded an open discussion of Khrushchev's secret speech on Stalin after the text of the latter went public. Hill argued that those who raised the issue of Stalin, in fact took this opportunity to attack the CPA's leadership, which in his opinion, subscribed to "an incorrect view of party democracy". Hill contended that the idea of the "freedom from the party to attack the Party" reflected a bourgeois rather Marxist understanding of democracy.<sup>251</sup> Second, and not irrelevant to his adamant resistance to the attempt to turn the CPA into what he viewed as a counter-productive "debating society", was Hill's changing assessments of Chinese communism. Initially, as some of his old CPA colleagues recalled, Hill was somewhat suspicious of the so called Chinese method of teaching actively promoted by Eric Aarons, after the latter had returned from his study in China in the early 1950s.<sup>252</sup>

Yet, as I have briefly noted in the last section, when it came to the question of Stalinism, Hill supported wholeheartedly Mao's criticism of the inappropriate method Khrushchev used to expose the crimes of Stalin. It can be seen in an article Hill wrote in September 1957, where he argued that: "(W)e of course recognize the great creative contribution to Marxism that the Communist Party of China has made. And we recognize openly and with all enthusiasm the

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<sup>251</sup> Lawrence Louis Sharkey, "Report to the Central Committee", *Communist Review* No. 180 (1956): 397. Also see E.F. Hill, "Defend Peace-Defend Menzie", *ibid.*No.194, no. February (1958): 62. In this article, Hill argued that "The publications and discussions groups they have established have been born of the failure to win the battle within our Party for anti-Soviet, anti-Party ideals, born of the failure of these people to secure for themselves leading positions in the Party, for they saw themselves as leaders of the Party."

<sup>252</sup> Taft recalled that "Ted Hill was openly critical of what he called 'the-fangled ideas of bourgeois liberalism which we had imbibed in China.'" Taft, *Crossing the Party Line : Memoirs of Bernie Taft*, 97; Herouvim, "An Alien Association: Australian Maoism and the Communist Party of China , 1971-1977," 4.

tremendous contribution that the Chinese people are making, not only to the solution of their own problems but to the advancing of the great cause of the international proletariat.”<sup>253</sup>

Thirdly, in another article he wrote in 1958, entitled: *Changing role of the state*, we can pick up some of Hill’s latent reservations about the plausibility of the “peaceful transformation/co-existence” policy. He wrote: “(N)aturally we cannot tell precisely what path to power the Australian working class will follow. We know that its foundation is **class struggle** – struggle of the working class against all aspects of capitalism – working class struggle for Socialism. That the capitalist will **resist** it is not merely a question of academic speculation – their State is based on violence against the working class – it uses violence and undoubtedly it will continue to use violence.”<sup>254</sup>

What the above discussion tried to show is that, even before the Sino-Soviet dispute became publicised in the late 1950s and early 1960s, or put it in a different way, even before the emergence of Maoism *qua* truth, there some latent tendencies in Hill’s thinking, e.g. his repeated insistence upon the repressive nature of the capitalist state, and the importance of building up a highly disciplined party, based on Leninist democratic centralism, which clearly show more affinity with the later “continuous revolution” theory espoused by Mao than with Khrushchev’s “Three Peace” policies.

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<sup>253</sup> Calkin, ""Cracking the Stalinist Crust" : The Impact of 1956 on the Australian Communist Party," 66-67,86. Hill, "Proletarian Internationalism.", p278, also see "Re-Study Teachings of Marx, Lenin", *Communist Review* Vol. 197 (1958).

<sup>254</sup> "Changing Role of the State", *Communist Review* Vol. 197 (1958)., emphasis mine



Yet, irrespective of the implicit parallels which I have drawn above, it would be wrong to assume that Hill's position before and after he became a "Maoist" was always consistent. In the first place, and this is a rather self-evident fact, Hill followed Mao in firmly rejecting the "peaceful transformation/co-existence policies", which he used to defend while still a member of the CPA in the late 1950s.<sup>255</sup> Secondly, whereas he did not oppose, at least not publicly, the "united front" policy the party adopted towards the ALP, after coming to a Maoist position, Hill rejected, tout court, the idea of unconditional cooperation with the ALP.<sup>256</sup> A clear example of his shifting analysis on the question of ALP can be seen in the article Hill wrote in 1958, which stated that: "(T) here is a unity of many programmatic demands between the ALP and us and the power of the united Australian working class can be brought to bear to defeat this guns before butter government, this government of economic crisis."<sup>257</sup>

There are some other crucial political differences between Hill when he was still a leader of the CPA, and after he turned against some of his former colleagues, but before dealing with them in the following sections, there is a need to first summarize the main findings of this one, and I wish to do so, by quoting from an obituary of Hill, written by Doug White, which in my view, best summarizes Hill's politics "Ted Hill personified the communist of the Leninist style. He was resolute, uncompromising, and unwavering in his support of those who fought and those who were victims in the class war. At the same time, he fought for the

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<sup>255</sup> In an article, he wrote in late 1959, Hill claims that: "There is no doubt that one of the most remarkable events of our time was the visit of N.S. Khrushchov (sic) to the U.S." E.F.Hill, "A.L.P. Crisis and Working Class Unity", *ibid.* 216 (1959): 504.

<sup>256</sup> For Hill's critique of the CPA, see, e.g. E. F. Hill, *Looking Backward, Looking Forward* (Melbourne: Communist Party of Australia, 1968).

<sup>257</sup> Hill, "Defend Peace-Defend Menzie," 60.

party and its line with the diligence of a committed warrior, and this at times led both to the wounding of many men and women, and to falsification of the greater goal to which he devoted his life.”<sup>258</sup>

## **The CPA (ML)’s Main Policies in the 1960s/70s: The Contradictions between National Independence and Permanent Revolution**

What I aimed to present so far, through first a brief review of the rise and fall of the CPA’s influence before the Sino-Soviet dispute, then a discussion of the bifurcating effects instigated by this singular event, which led to the split of the ACM, and finally a case study of Hill’s life and politics, was an appropriate historical background against which the CPA (ML) was established. This in itself was one among many “effects” engendered by the new “regime of truth” known as Maoism in Australia.

This present section moves into considering the evolution of the CPA(ML)’s policies over a period of roughly two decades (that is from the middle of the 1960s toward the end of 1970s), formulated in accordance with the changes of the Maoist discourse itself over the same period. What the discussion below tries to reveal, is that in the first two years of its existence, the CPA (ML)’s main concern was countering the influence of the “reformist” CPA. From 1966, however, more efforts were spent on campaigning for two major objectives. The first was

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<sup>258</sup> White, "Obituary to Ted Hill," 99.

building up an oppositional force against the power of U.S. “imperialism” through a “united front” strategy; the second was supporting various political movements and cultural initiatives. Both of these strategies had the ultimate aim of making Australia a really independent country. I shall argue that whereas the CPA (ML)’s strong anti-American and anti-Vietnam War policies did succeed in bringing a few radical university student activists to join its ranks in the late 1960s, it began losing its prestige and power from the middle of 1970s, when the theme of national independence somehow appeared to contradict some of the earlier more ‘revolutionary’ claims.

One of the issues which featured regularly in the CPA (ML)’s early propaganda was the global expansion of U.S. “imperialism”. One notable example was America’s intervention in the Vietnam War, but the presence of the U.S. force in Australia was another as well as Australia’s economic dependence on the U.S. According to the CPA (ML)’s analysis, both the presence of American military bases in Australia and the monopolisation of Australia’s domestic economy by growing American investments, were just two among many examples which indicated that Australia was not a genuinely independent country, but rather a “colony” of the U.S.<sup>259</sup>

It is fair to say, that these two claims were not anew, since they had been brought up in the CPA’s publications ever since the late 1950s. Not until the decision of the Menzies government to send actual combat forces to Vietnam in late 1964,

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<sup>259</sup> "United Front against U.S. Imperialism Is Developing Well," *The Vanguard*, August 1965, 1; "United Front against U.S. Imperialism Develops," *The Vanguard*, May, 1.

however, did both these points raised by the CPA (ML) gain some currency among some sections of the population, though still not the majority of Australians. In fact, it should be shall be noted that the CPA (ML) was one of the first political organizations, which openly announced its opposition to the American/Australian military operation in Vietnam War.<sup>260</sup> It is also important to recognise that, through the entire 1960s, the CPA (ML) played an active part in the Anti-Vietnam War movement in Australia. Bound by the truth of Maoism, the CPA campaigned vigorously for building a “united front” against the U.S. “imperialism”. When the tide began to turn to the advantages of the anti-war movement, after the brutality of the Vietnam War being gradually exposed in the late 1960s, the CPA (ML) also upgraded its attacks against not just the conservative trade unions and the Liberal Party, but also both the ALP and the CPA.<sup>261</sup> According to what was published in *The Vanguard*, the organ of the CPA (ML), both the Australian Liberal Party and the ALP were “clients” of the “Yankees”. Even the CPA was accused of actually seeking to serve the interests of U.S. “imperialism” because of its “reformist” policies.<sup>262</sup>

Not long after the end of Vietnam War, however, the CPA (ML) started to advocate a new theory based on the new Maoist thesis of “two superpowers (U.S. versus Soviet) contention”, according to which, the national independence of

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<sup>260</sup> On 5 November 1964, the Menzies government introduced the conscription war, and the same month *The Vanguard* published an article against it. "No Conscription for U.S. Aggression," *The Vanguard*, November 1964, 1.

<sup>261</sup> "Test Calwell's Policy in Practice," *The Vanguard*, November 1963, 1,4; "Defend Peace against U.S. Imperialism," *The Vanguard*, January 1964, 1,4; "Lessons from Struggle against U.S.-Owned Gmh," *The Vanguard*, November 1964, 1.

<sup>262</sup> "Conference Establishes Communist Party (M-L)," 1; "A.L.P Leaders Back U.S.," *The Vanguard*, August 1964, 1; "Australia Must Fight for Indepence from Toils of U.S. Imperailism," *The Vanguard*, May 1965, 1; "There Can Be No Reconciliation with Modern Revisionism," *The Vanguard*, July 1965, 3-4.

Australia became the primary and immediate objective of the party. This major shift in the CPA (ML)'s policies, argued Herouvim, took place after a new analysis of the global political situation had been construed by Mao in the early 1970s.<sup>263</sup> According to Mao's view, after the defeat of Americans in Vietnam, the Soviet Union had emerged as an equally if not more dangerous threat to the world peace. This projection of the USSR led the CPA (ML) to a conclusion that the national independence of Australia would be threatened by the rising Soviet "imperialism".<sup>264</sup>

A closer look at *The Vanguard* clearly shows that both the nationalist theme and the criticism of the CPSU predated the proposition of a new two superpower contention line by the CCP. The national independence of Australia and the threat posed by the Russians, were clearly not the main concerns of the CPA (ML) prior to the 1970s.<sup>265</sup> Hence, in order to facilitate this change of focus from a full-scale attack on U.S. "imperialism" towards a more moderate line aimed at achieving national independence, Hill resorted to a "two stage" theory which stipulated that:

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<sup>263</sup> See "Continuing Revolution by Stages for Objectives of Socialism, Communism," *The Vanguard*, Thursday, May 3rd 1973, 4. In the CPA (ML)'s second Congress held in 1971, the theme of socialist revolution was still paramount; yet, this strategy was repudiated in the next congress held two years later. Melbourne University Political Science Society, "Politics of the Revolving Door: The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)," 59.

<sup>264</sup> "Soviet Union Is an Imperialist Power," *The Vanguard*, Thursday, July 26th 1973, 1. The U.S. imperialism was described in this period as losing its grip on Australia because it's general weakening. "Superpowers' Struggle for Control of Australia Is Building Up," *The Vanguard*, April 18th 1974, 8.

<sup>265</sup> For earlier signs of the independence line see, e.g. "Soviet Leaders Assist U.S. Aggression: The Khrushchov "Interview"," *The Vanguard*, April, 1. For the latter more elaborated form, see e.g. "Continuing Revolution by Stages", *The Australian communist*, no. 58 (1973). Also see the last two pages of Hill's 1968 book *Looking backward, looking forward*, in which following comments was made: "The splendid struggles of the Australian working class and working people, highlighted in the early days by Eureka and over the six-odd decades by many, many outstanding events, have developed a great fighting tradition. That tradition must be cherished, preserved and developed. Based on that tradition, the ranks of the Communists have been cleansed..... Supreme optimism and supreme confidence in the victory of the struggle for genuine Australian independence from Anglo-U.S. imperialism through the victory of Australian socialist revolution are fully warranted." Hill, *Looking Backward, Looking Forward*, 160-61.

*It is improbable that Australian socialism could be attained without a complete break from all forms of dependence on imperialism. Preliminary to establishing socialism, breaking from imperialism is essential.....Struggles can develop into more conscious unity for anti-imperialist independence. If too early, they are asked to unite on socialism, there will be divisions. The issue of socialism can be determined after the attainment of anti-imperialist independence.*<sup>266</sup>

This two-stage revolution theory was said to be based upon the “Chinese experience”, as an article published on *The Vanguard* explained “(T)he conditions in Australia are vastly different from those in China and China’s revolution of necessity followed a different course from that in Australia. Nonetheless, it is a process of continuing revolution by stages we can learn an immense amount from China’s revolution and appropriate what is applicable to the conditions in Australia.”<sup>267</sup> However, as early as the late 1940s, the CPA had already developed a similar kind of argument in demanding the real independence of Australia.<sup>268</sup>

Although it was criticised by some of the CPA (ML) members, this new national independence line nevertheless became, through the 1970s, the party’s main policy, which eventually gave birth to a loosely coordinated campaign known as the Australian Independence Movement (AIM).<sup>269</sup> As a movement with a modest

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<sup>266</sup> *Communism and Australia : Reflections and Reminiscences*, 155-56. See also *The Great Cause of Australian Independence* (Melbourne: [s.n.], 1977), 55.

<sup>267</sup> "Continuing Revolution by Stages for Objectives of Socialism, Communism," 4.

<sup>268</sup> Gollan, *Revolutionaries and Reformists : Communism and the Australian Labour Movement, 1920-1955*, 209-10.

<sup>269</sup> "Towards a People's History of Australia," *The Vanguard*, Thursday, Noember 14th 1974, 6. "Vanguard endorses moves to develop a better mass understanding of Australia’s real history—that is the history of the people’s struggle against imperialist oppression." The name Ned Kelly also appears. See also "Call for Independent Australia at Eureka Celebrations," *The Vanguard*, Thursday, December 5th 1974. The Eureka Flag was adopted as a symbol. "A Comment on the Cultural Question in the Australian Situation," *The Vanguard*, Thursday February 13th 1975, 5.

aim, the AIM had some relative success in attracting some student Maoists of the Sixties generation, but also a few supporters who had not formerly joined the CPA (ML). Before its eventual dissolution in the early 1980s, this movement did yield some notable achievements, especially after the unexpected constitutional crisis of 1974. The sudden dismissal of Whitlam as the incumbent prime minister incumbent helped the spread of a variety of grass root magazines and newsletters, all of which were dedicating to promoting the Australian local culture and advocating the national independence of Australia.<sup>270</sup>

Despite all these positive results, there were also some notable problems caused by the discursive manoeuvre of the CPA (ML) to bridge the gap between the changing foreign and domestic policies of the Chinese and its own political agenda. Instead of naming all of them here, I shall only mention one of the major criticisms levelled against the CPA (ML)'s close attachment to the CCP. Once himself a member of the CPA (ML) and the assistant editor of *The Vanguard*, John Herouvim has argued that, irrespective of its avowed commitment to build up a communist party capable of construing applicable strategies towards the aim of achieving socialism in Australia, the main policies of the CPA (ML) as they developed over the years, followed every twist and turn of the global analytical framework of the CCP and thus "betrayed an inability to assimilate the creative flexibility with which Mao approached his own society."<sup>271</sup> This observation of Herouvim contains an element of truth, since, as I have suggested in the first

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<sup>270</sup> See, e.g. "Bowyang," (Goodwood, S. Aust.: Bowyang); "Australian Independence Voice," (Elsternwick, Vic.: [Independence Voice Editorial Voice],1974); Movement Australian Independence, "Independence Voice," (Elsternwick, Vic.: Australian Independence Movement (Melb.),1977).

<sup>271</sup> Herouvim, "An Alien Association: Australian Maoism and the Communist Party of China , 1971-1977," 71.

chapter of this thesis, it is illogical to assume that the Australian Maoists would think or act otherwise if they regarded Maoism as a universal truth. If a truth is what it is, then individuals are obliged to live in accordance with it. Yet, this does not completely rule out the possibility that the same truth being understood and acted upon by the subjects who are bound to live by it in different ways. Or to rephrase it in a way which matches more closely the case of the CPA (ML), although no disputes or conflicts ever took place within the CPA (ML) over what was the correct interpretations of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, however, as the discussion below shows, the members of the CPA (ML) were not always unanimous about the application of the former onto analysing the Australian conditions.

For example, Herouvim himself provided us with an example, which shows how the discursive practices of Maoism had led to different conclusions towards the question regarding the correct analyses of Australia's political economy. In his master thesis, Herouvim told the readers, that while still a member of the CPA (ML), he came up with the view that Australia was a "third world country". By his own account, this conclusion was considered to be too "heretical" for and soon rejected by the leadership of the CPA (ML)<sup>272</sup> Of course, such an incident was mentioned by Herouvim, to suggest how 'dogmatic' he himself and some other members of the CPA (ML) had become in the 1970s. However, looking from a different angle, this recollection of Herouvim, nonetheless revealed the contingency and unpredictability of the results engendered by any discursive practices in a particular context.

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<sup>272</sup> Ibid., 31-33.



Herouvim's own testimony is perhaps not the best example. Hence, it is useful to mention another more serious disagreement, which developed among Australian Maoists. It can be seen that a debate centred initially on the question of achieving national independence in Australia, had taken place between two factions within the CPA (ML), which appeared in *The Vanguard*. In an article published in 1971, it was argued that the revolution in Australia would go through a "two stage" process: the first would be the so called the "anti-imperialist stage", which would be replaced by a "socialist transformation stage". This argument was criticised by a second article in the same journal on the ground that the distinction between the struggles against foreign domination and the anticipation of a revolution was clearly rejected by Mao himself.<sup>273</sup>

The same debate on the future of revolutionary struggles in Australia resurfaced on *The Vanguard* four years later. In an article entitled *Communists and Patriotism*, the following propositions was made. First, it was suggested that "in Australia at the present time, a Communist must be a patriot."<sup>274</sup> The author then challenged the validity of an "economist" theory, according to which, the working class was regarded as the leading force of the struggle, on the basis that the workers were the "biggest and strongest". In the view of the same author, this "economist" thesis reflected an unrealistic romanticisation of the immediate consciousness of "workers" involved in the anti-imperialist struggle, which if encouraged, would dampen the enthusiasm of those student activists who had

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<sup>273</sup> "Apply Mao Tsetung Thought to Australian Conditions!," *The Vanguard*, Thursday, July 22 1971; "Apply Mao Tsetung Thought to Australian Conditions!," *The Vanguard*, Thursday, August 12 1971.

<sup>274</sup> "Communists and Patriotism," *The Vanguard*, February, 13 1975, 4.

committed themselves to revolutionary works.<sup>275</sup> It is interesting to note the “official” Party position on the aforementioned article. While the editor of *The Vanguard* criticised the argument that the Australian workers’ class consciousness was low, (s)he acknowledged the emphasis put on patriotism, which was regarded by the Party at the time as an intrinsic virtue of a genuine communist.<sup>276</sup>

However, it seems that not every members of the CPA (ML) agreed with the views expressed in the article mentioned above. A commentary published in *The Vanguard* on February 1975, argued that: “In the article (*Communists and Patriotism*) mentioned above the impression could have been given that Communists are patriots in one situation and not in another.”<sup>277</sup> Rejecting the plausibility of this duality, the author of the same commentary contended that the notion of a “communist qua patriot” had greatly undermined “class” as a foundational analytical category of Marxism, and suggested that the relation between nationalism and communism should be better understood as : “Communist (should) strive to develop the class struggle against the exploiters by integrating the universal revolutionary truths of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the struggles of the Australian people. By doing this a Communist shoulders his proletarian internationalist duty.”<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> See the editorial note of same article: *ibid.*, 5.

<sup>277</sup> "A Comment on the Article "Communists and Patriotism", " *The Vanguard*, February 27 1975, 6.

<sup>278</sup> *ibid.*

The debate first over the question whether the communist led movement in Australia should prioritize a “worker-centred” or a “student-centred” approach, and second, on the question regarding applicability of the “two stage revolution” theory in relation to the issue concerning the relation between communism and nationalism, as revealed above, I argue, are just two among the under-acknowledged contentious aspects of the Maoist discourses in Australia. To take the argument a step further, we might say that the *effects* engendered by Maoism conceptualized as a “regime of truth” in the context of Australia’s Sixties varied from and sometimes even contradict each other. In other words, at least in the case of Australian Maoism, we have seen that there were multiple truth claims dictating which social group was the right agency capable of leading the revolutionary movement in Australia, as well as what was the most effective strategy for achieving the aim of socialism, based on contested interpretations of the lessons of Chinese Revolution. Furthermore, what this revelation has called in question, is the suggestion, that the CPA (ML) was simply a small group of blind followers of an alien tradition.

The growing tensions generated by the disputes over the main policies of the Party among members of the CPA (ML) will be explored in the following chapters. For the moment, however, I would like to conclude this section by summarizing the main points so far raised. As shown by the above discussion, while the policies formulated by the CPA (ML) over these two decades, clearly reflected the changing discourse of Maoism *qua* truth, the level of success in terms of its reception by the broad Left circle in Australia and among its own members saw first an upward trend in the late 1960s and then a gradual decline from the

beginning of the next decade. Part of the reasons for this change is, I argue, that unlike its early policies which had drawn some young radicals to join its rank because of their strong anti-revisionist, anti-imperialist and anti-war tenor, the later “national independence” theory actively advocated by the CPA (ML) from the early 1970s, created some latent internal divisions among its rank. But apart from the disputes over the question of Australian independence, CPA (ML) also faced some other serious challenges, which are considered in the next section.

### **The Truth of Leninist Vanguardism and the “Lie Low” Strategy**

When the CPA (ML) was established in March 1964, it was decided by Hill and other founding members that the new party shall distance itself from the “reformist” CPA as much as possible. When translated into organizational terms, this implied a commitment to build up a highly-disciplined party according to the principle of democratic centralism, which would help the party to survive the attacks wielded by the capitalist state against it. The emphasis put on the repressive nature of the state, and the importance for communists to remain vigilant towards future threats, as I have noted earlier, however, had its roots in the time when Hill was still a member of the CPA. According to Deery’s study, in the 1950s, Hill was once involved in a dispute against Jack Blake, of whom Hill thought had gone too far to lose the grip of the control of the Party. Hill believed that any idea of “working with non-Party ‘revisionist’ should be strongly

resisted and a true communist party supposed to be “small, pure and in tight control of broader movements.”<sup>279</sup>

Hence, when the conflicts between the “pro-China” group and the “pro-Russia” group within the CPA emerged against the global background of the Sino-Soviet split in the 1960s, Hill came to openly challenge others who like Blake had been misled by the bourgeois liberalism:

*[the CPA leaders] have confused every single question of the Australian working class (sic) movement: peace and war, transition to socialism and reformism or revolution, relations between fraternal Communist Parties: Whether or not the main danger is revisionism: whether or not the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism should go on: whether or not to uphold the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 81 Parties' Statement.*<sup>280</sup>

In Hill and other CPA (ML) members' terms of reference, “reformism” meant two pernicious aspects of the CPA's policies which they deemed as unacceptable. The first was the method used by the CPA with its work in the trade union movement. To Hill and others, the method forsook one fundamental teaching of Leninism that the ultimate aim of communists' involvement in the trade union movement was not to fight for economic benefits *per se*, but to organize the workers for class struggle.<sup>281</sup> Second, Hill and his comrades also rejected the CPA's ambivalent attitude towards parliamentarianism, which in Hill's view,

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<sup>279</sup> Deery, "The Sickle and the Scythe: Jack Blake and Communist Party 'Consolidation', 1949-56," 219.

<sup>280</sup> Parenthesis are mine, see E. F. Hill, "Continuing E.F. Hill's Report to the Historic Conference of Australian Marxist-Leninists", *The Australian communist* 6 (1964): 3.

<sup>281</sup> Frank Johnson, "The Struggle against the Penal Legislation", *ibid.* 1: 22-23.

undermined the Marxian thesis of armed struggle as the *sine qua non* means for achieving socialism.<sup>282</sup>

Whether these above-mentioned criticisms of the CPA were valid or not is not a concern here, what is at stake instead is how both of these criticisms formed the basis upon which the members of the CPA (ML) organized themselves. It can be seen that in his report delivered at the founding conference of the CPA (ML), Hill claimed that “Our Party is a Party of a new type.”<sup>283</sup> But how exactly ‘new’ was the CPA (ML) when compared to the parent the CPA?

In the first place, the newness is reflected in the emphasis put upon maintaining a high security consciousness in relation to the truth of Maoism. According to Bill Kerr, a formal member of the CPA (ML), when he asked Rickard Oke in 1970, on how to conduct effective party work in the work place, Oke him an English copy of Liu Shaoqi’s article entitled: *On Open & Secret Work*, and asked Kerr to study it.<sup>284</sup> It appeared that Oke first obtained this article written by Liu while he was in China, before eventually passing it to Kerr.<sup>285</sup> It is interesting to note that although by that time, Liu was already openly repudiated by the CCP, the CPA (ML) leadership still found the “lie low” strategy elaborated in the

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<sup>282</sup> See .e.g. "Parliament- a Talking Shop," *The Vanguard*, May 1965, 4; "Secret Police Underline Farce of Parliament," *The Vanguard*, Thursday, March 6th 1969, 4. Hill, *Communism and Australia : Reflections and Reminiscences*, 38.

<sup>283</sup> "Conference Establishes Communist Party (M-L)," 1.

<sup>284</sup> The ‘lie low’ strategy is developed by Liu Shaoqi, which summarized the lessons he learnt while working in the ‘white areas’ (areas controlled by the Kuomintang). Bill Kerr (a), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 03/06/2014.

<sup>285</sup> Apparently, Bill Kerr later gave this document to John Herouvim, and it is now kept in the State Library of Victoria. See John Herouvim, "Box Titled: (Radical) Student Publications Inc Struggle(Wsa Publish), Pa 98/29," (SLVC196?-1998?).

above-mentioned article useful in the Australian context.<sup>286</sup> But if that was indeed the case, then it also raises a question regarding why the leadership of the CPA (ML) would ever run the risk of contradicting Mao's assessment that Liu was China's Khrushchev, by endorsing the latter's "lie low" strategy?

As I have repeatedly stressed in this chapter, the key to explaining many of the seemingly random decisions made by the CPA (ML) can be found only when we look at the history of the CPA. In terms of this particular case concerning the "lie low" strategy, it is worth recalling Hill's reaction to the repercussion of Khrushchev's 'secret speech' upon the CPA in the middle of 1950s. While facing mounting demands for open discussion of the question of Stalin's crime, Hill strongly opposed an approach which favoured the idea of organizing "horizontal discussions" among the rank-and-file members of the CPA, opting instead for "'vertical discussions' between the leading committees and those who held opposing views."<sup>287</sup> Thus, in light of the example cited above as well as other evidence so far presented, it seems to me that contrary to what was commonly presumed, Hill did not endorse everything 'shipped from China', but rather made his decision regarding about what would or would not be practised in the Australian context, according to the *habitus* he formalized first as a member then as a leader of the CPA. Speaking from a theoretical point of view, the point I wish to emphasize here again is that the concept of *habitus* has more explanatory power

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<sup>286</sup> See, e.g. Melbourne University Political Science Society, "Politics of the Revolving Door: The Communist Party of Australia(Marxist-Leninist)," 56; "Study Lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," *Vanguard*, Thursday, March 29th 1973, 3.

<sup>287</sup> Calkin, "'Cracking the Stalinist Crust" : The Impact of 1956 on the Australian Communist Party," 167-68.167-168

than psychological reductionist framing which simply pictured Hill and other Maoists as blind followers of a ‘nasty’ false god.

Nevertheless, all what have been so far discussed does not mean to imply that all members of the CPA, or even some of its leaders, such as Clarrie O’Shea, the founding vice-chairman of the CPA (ML), always shared with Hill’s preference for the “vertical discussion”. According to the evidence I have gathered, O’Shea, later recalled in a regretful manner that when he was still a member of the Party “there was not “real opportunity of debating.”<sup>288</sup> Also notable is that two other founding members of the CPA (ML), Vida and Vic Little, who found it hard to accommodate themselves to Hill’s leadership style, chose to leave the CPA (ML) and latter formed their own group known as the Marxist Workers organisation.

<sup>289</sup> I shall also suggest that it is not unusual that some of the initial grievances emerged for the same reason would eventually develop into a sharp and open criticism of the Party. As some of the ASIO documents have revealed, there were members of the CPA (ML) who were highly critical of Hill, and considered that as the leader of the Party, he did not always make the right decisions.<sup>290</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> Herouvim, "An Alien Association: Australian Maoism and the Communist Party of China , 1971-1977," 66. One of the reasons why O’Shea left the CPA(ML), according to John Herouvim’s interview with him, was a joint congress participated by both the CPA and the CPA(ML) to discuss possible merge. Melbourne University Political Science Society, "Politics of the Revolving Door: The Communist Party of Australia(Marxist-Leninst)," 64.

<sup>289</sup> Herouvim, "Chapter Three of the Unfinished Ph.D Thesis from a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29," 89. The existence of this organisation was also reaffirmed by my interview. Butler (b). From CPA (ML)’s point of view, it was stated that there were three main differences between Vic Little and the Party, the first is the question of Liu Shaoqi, her expulsion or exclusion from the Party life, and the question of “Little’s acceptance of orthodox municipal activity (municipal elections, putting forward ideas that municipal councils can solve certain problems), trade union politics and more latterly her activities in the Unitarian Church.” A Note About Mrs. Vida Little," *The Vanguard*, Thursday, January 30th 1975, 6.

<sup>290</sup>NAA, "A6119, 3963": 15.



In fact, one may even say that when put into practice, the strategy of “lie low” bore less commonality with what had been implemented by the Chinese communists in the KMT controlled area, than with the orthodox Leninist Vanguardist model. Strictly following what had been stipulated by Lenin in his writings, the CPA (ML) rejected most of the elements which were essential for the survival of a conventional political party. For example, the CPA (ML) did not have any paid functionary nor did it keep any systemic records of itself; or at least not that I am aware of. Moreover, the CPA (ML) did not regularly hold a national congress in the early days of its existence, as indicated by the fact that there was a seven year gap between its first and second national congress.<sup>291</sup>

Also, according to the recollections of Nick Butler, who attended one of the national congresses of the CPA (ML) held in the early 1970, the meeting was convened with only half dozen people attending and the discussions were kept to a minimum.<sup>292</sup> The main communication channel of the CPA (ML) was the “cell” it helped develop, which was a small group usually containing about four to five members of the Party.<sup>293</sup> Normally a cell of the CPA (ML) would meet every fortnight to discuss a whole range of issues regarding either the party’s policy or their political activities in the workplace, and to commence studies of classic Marxian literature or the organs of the CPA (ML). Finally, for the same reason of security, intra-cell contacts seemed to be discouraged by the leadership of the CPA (ML), and all the party members, except for a few publicly known figures,

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<sup>291</sup> The second congress was held in 1971, see Congress Report from Herouvim, "Box Titled: (Radical) Student Publications Inc Struggle(Wsa Publish), Pa 98/29."

<sup>292</sup> Butler (b).

<sup>293</sup> ASIO ‘knew’ that Duncan Clarke is the main editor of The Vanguard, and also an employer of the New China News Agency. NAA, "A6122, 2577," 94.

such as Ted Hill, Clarrie O'Shea and Paddy Malone, were asked not to disclose their membership.<sup>294</sup>

In theory, all these measures were taken, for the purpose of countering ASIO's infiltration and minimising the casualties caused by any potential government repression. As Hill himself explained: "Our society is bourgeois dictatorship which can very rapidly pass to fascist dictatorship.....our Party must be so organized to meet this..... our members are ..... readily tabulated and overnight could be collected. There is loose talk, loose use of the telephones, the mail. This is entirely wrong and must be ended."<sup>295</sup> Yet, as I have briefly mentioned before, there was a price to be paid for implementing such a strong security protocol. Herouvim's study showed, for example, that it was not unusual for the members of the CPA to become increasingly confused, even bewildered with an ever-dimming hope that "eventually Ted (Hill) would see the light."<sup>296</sup> Bill Kerr, in his interview with me, was also critical of this organizational aspect of the CPA (ML): "Party members went so far underground that even the wombats couldn't find them."<sup>297</sup> Michael Williss, a member of the CPA (ML) also frankly told me that he did not always know whether those who he had been working with were

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<sup>294</sup> Michael Hyde, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 12/13/2013; An anonymous CPA(ML) member, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 05/05/2014; Kerry Miller, Arthur Dent, and Dave McMullen, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 05/15/2014. It must be noted that Arthur Dent used to be known as Albert Langer back in the Sixties. Mike Williss, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 06/02/2014; Leslie Bowling (b), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 26/07/2014; CPA(ML) member. See also Fred Wells, "Ideology of Power", *Quadrant* 8, no. 1 (1964): 66.

<sup>295</sup> See E.F. Hill, "Concluding E.F. Hill's Report to the Historic Conference of Australian Marxist-Leninists", *The Australian communist* 7 (1964): 3. Hill made it clear that: "the reality of our society is bourgeois dictatorship which can very rapidly pass to fascist dictatorship with its murder, gaoling, persecution of its most energetic foes, the Communists."

<sup>296</sup> Herouvim, "Chapter Three of the Unfinished Ph.D Thesis from a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29," 84.

<sup>297</sup> Kerr (a), "Xiaoxiao." Also see Jeff Sparrow and Jill Sparrow, *Radical Melbourne II : 1940-2000* (Carlton North, Vic.: Vulgar Press, 2004), 172.

also members of the Party, and that was one thing that he found sometimes somewhat frustrating, though he understood that the exposure of one's communist belief may cause some unnecessary difficulties for conducting effective political works.<sup>298</sup> Finally, some of the ASIO documents I found, also revealed that complaints over the lack of proper channels of inter-party communications were occasionally expressed by some members of the CPA (ML).<sup>299</sup> On the other hand, the leadership of the CPA, however, although seemed to be aware of the rising concerns of some of its rank and file regarding all the issues raised above, still kept an view that "correct mass work involves not knowing the details of another comrades (sic) work or even of the existence of that comrade."<sup>300</sup>

It seems quite clear to me, that some leaders of the CPA (ML) had developed such a tenacious concern for the security of the party, and that the question whether it is necessary or appropriate was never raised. One line of reasoning is that this hyper-vigilance so much insisted on by the CPA (ML), owed much to Hill's 'paranoia' over the unreal threat posed by the infiltration by Australia's secret service and damage done by any potential state repression. Another alternative is to 'blame' all the issues revealed above on the "bad" influence injected by Liu Shaoqi's "lie low" strategy. Yet, my view is that both assumptions are lopsided, and the second one is less convincing than the first.

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<sup>298</sup> Because according to Williss, the revelation of one's membership with a communist party may establish a strong barrier between oneself and those ordinary people (s) he intends to work with. Michael Williss (b), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 06/02/2014.

<sup>299</sup> It was reported by one leader of the CPA (ML) that "In our struggle some have become frustrated. They find it difficult to see that there is any Party work. They find it difficult to see because their experience was of an entirely different character. They want a Party which duplicates the previous party. These are often very good comrades, but fail to understand the problems." NAA, "A6122, 2577," 115.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid.

As the later discussions will show that it was indeed true that the CPA (ML) was under incessant surveillance and that it had indeed been infiltrated by ASIO. Furthermore, I would also like to suggest that Hill's seemingly 'irrational' demand to "lie low" had an under-acknowledged 'rational' aspect to it. To be more precise, it seems to me that Hill's "obsession" with secretiveness was closely tied to his peculiar vision of the global political situation in the late 1950s and earlier 1960s.

In his last published book, Hill told his readers that he was quite convinced that the eventual collapse of capitalism would take place in the near future and that socialism was just "round the corner" in the late 1950s.<sup>301</sup> While many who live in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, may find this an eschatological view of Hill quite, yet, if one takes into account the fact that communism had sprouted over the whole world and that many socialist countries had been established after WWII, then it becomes less hard to appreciate that many Australian communists shared the same view as Hill did of revolutionary change. Having said that, however, there were perhaps some other personal factors which could have contributed to Hill's conviction that the final war between communism and capitalism was not only inevitable but also imminent.

In the first place, different sources have suggested that in the early 1960s, Hill held the view that the force of communism would soon reach the shore of

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<sup>301</sup> Hill, *Communism and Australia : Reflections and Reminiscences*, 17. The organ of CPA (ML) in its earlier days also expressed such optimism: "we are living in great times. Revisionists notwithstanding, it is the epoch of the transition from Capitalism to Communism." (Marxist-Leninist), "For the Building of Party Press of a New Type," 21. According to ASIO, this is a view shared by other members of the CPA (ML) at the time. NAA, "A6122, 2577," 63.

Australia. As one former CPA (ML) member recalled, when he complained to Hill about the way the Australian party was organised, the later admitted that “the party was small, weak and isolated”, but told his interlocutor not to worry too much because “Australia would be liberated from the north.”<sup>302</sup> If the reliability of this anecdote is to be trusted, which is hard establish without the support of further evidence, then this might also be one of the reasons for Hill’s insistence that the CPA (ML) should keep a low public profile. If Hill really thought that another world war would soon occur and that Australia would consequently experience a socialist revolution, then it would be ‘logical’ for him to conclude that the most important task for the Australian communists would be to preserve their strength as much as they could until the time for revolution finally became ripe.

Secondly, what might also lead Hill to the conclusion that one shall never lessen his/her vigilance, was reinforced by the unexpected massacre of the members of the Communist Party of Indonesia in 1965. According to what I had learnt from my interviewees, this event had fortified Australian party member’s conviction of the repressive nature of the State and their belief in the dangers of ASIO surveillance and penetration.<sup>303</sup>

Thirdly, it is also likely that Hill’s exceptional concern for security was closely tied to his personal experience with the hostile political environment during the height Cold War. Acting as a legal advisor of the CPA as well as the first officer

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<sup>302</sup> Herouvim, "Chapter Three of the Unfinished Ph.D Thesis from a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29," 86. One of my other interviewees Nick Butler, also mentioned this same anecdote. Butler (b).

<sup>303</sup> Williss, "Mike Williss Interviewed by Xiaoxiao Xie."

in charge of its counter-espionage work before the 1960s, could have consolidated Hill's conviction that the communists in Australia should always be prepared for any future attacks from its enemies, because of the repressive nature of the capitalist state would never change.<sup>304</sup>

However, regardless all the reasons suggested above, for the repeated emphasis Hill put on being vigilant, for most members of the CPA (ML), who did not have regular contact with the Party, their only reliable source of information was the party organs *The Vanguard* and the *Australian Communist*.<sup>305</sup> Yet, as it turned out, the quality of the Party publications did not always satisfy its readers and complaints were made about *The Vanguard*'s 'exotic' language expression and its lack of substance. The leadership of the CPA (ML) though not unaware of the type of criticism that its organ would hardly appeal to the ordinary Australians, tended to dismiss it on the ground that the targeted group of the Party's propaganda was not the laymen but rather those already committed cadres.<sup>306</sup> This view regarding the nature of its organ can be seen in an article published in any early edition of *the Australian Communist*:

*We must not "popularise" the Party press at the expense of the class stand. Of course, we should not see partisanship and the mass character as one, as this indeed would be mechanical and would lead to dogmatism. There are various strata amongst the masses---some are advanced, some are travelling a middle-*

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<sup>304</sup> CPA was outlawed in 1942, and Menzies has tried to ban the communist party in the 1950s and when that attempt failed, he resorted to referendum. The notable event in the 1950s which weakened the strength of the CPA is the Petrov affair. According to ASIO records, when asked why CPA (ML) did not hold a democratic election, Norm Wallace answered that that was mainly for security reasons. NAA, "A6122, 2577," 59.

<sup>305</sup> Herouvim, "Chapter Three of the Unfinished Ph.D Thesis from a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29," 86.

<sup>306</sup> NAA, "A6122, 2577," 118.

*of-the-road course and some are backward. Naturally, people of different levels cannot have the same outlook. But we do not lower our level of partisanship by catering for all.*<sup>307</sup>

To sum up the findings of this present section, I would like to mention a 1977 letter sent by Hill to Barry York, then still a member of the CPA (ML). In the concluding sections of his letter, Hill wrote:

*The copy [referred to the letter Hill received earlier from York] I have, seems to have been produced in some sort of duplicating process and I have heard that it is being circulated. I am not sure on what basis and amongst whom. If it is a party matter (and its content shows that it is) it is not quite correct to circulate it without proper authorisation. The Party constitution provides ways in which matters like this can be raised and discussed. Just as I believe my comments should not be circulated except in a very carefully controlled way so I think similar considerations apply to this material.*<sup>308</sup>

It seems to me that the above quoted comment made by Hill shows that he maintained a commitment to an orthodox Leninist Vanguardism throughout his life. I have already touched on some of the practical implications related to how the same commitment has constituted those a few fundamental rules, which stipulated what a CPA (ML) member must abide by. In Chapter Five, we shall see challenges to some of these rules.

## **Conclusion**

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<sup>307</sup> (Marxist-Leninist), "For the Building of Party Press of a New Type," 23.

<sup>308</sup> John Herouvim, "Hill's Reply to Barry's Letter in a Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29," (196?-1998?).

In both the *Order of Things* and *Discipline and Punish* Foucault tells us, how, in a relatively short period of time, our taken for granted way of thinking, speaking and acting can be changed.<sup>309</sup> Bourdieu, on the other hand, tries to show us in *the Logic of Practice* and *Homo Academicus* that the middle-range structural conditioning factors, such as field and *habitus* could contribute to and reciprocally be shaped by the concrete practice through which the very subjectivity came into being.<sup>310</sup> Based on the insights provided by both authors, this present chapter sets out to uncover the intersections of various historically constituted networks of power relations, that was Australian communism. Its very development had been not only conditioned by the fact it was an organic sub-field of the ICM, but also restrained by the institutional power of the capitalist state, in a way that foregrounded the manifestation of Maoism as an alternative “regime of truth” in the Australian context.

More specifically, I have tried to explicate the establishment of the CPA (ML) which had been precipitated by the power effect unleashed by this new socialist truth known as Maoism, by situating the former within two correlated contexts. The first was the genealogy of the CPA prior to the Sino-Soviet Split, with a particular focus on the formulations and revisions of its policies over the years, while the second was the growing dispute between two centres of the ICM in the late 1950s. I have argued that, as an external catalyst, the ideological battle between the Soviet communists and the Chinese communists galvanized the latent divisions among the CPA members, who were divided over the question of

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<sup>309</sup> Foucault, *The Order of Things : An Archaeology of the Human Sciences; Discipline and Punish : The Birth of the Prison*.

<sup>310</sup> Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice; Homo Academicus*, ed. Peter Collier (Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Basil Blackwell, 1988).



whether a more “orthodox” or “reformist” interpretation of Marxism-Leninism better suited the Australian condition. Eventually, these divisions led to the split of the CPA and the subsequent formation of the CPA (ML).

The third section of this chapter provides a political biography of the CPA (ML)’s founding chairman, Ted Hill. I first discuss a number of historically specific events, e.g. Great Depression, which helped to constitute his early political dispositions. I then briefly review Hill’s past involvement in the CPA, focusing particularly on his role as a legal advisor for the party and his extensive knowledge of Australian secret service, consolidating his previous understanding of the nature of capitalism. The second part of this section tries to explicate the continuity and discontinuity in terms of his attitude towards the ALP, and his belief in the importance of democratic centralism, before and after he became a Maoist.

The last two sections deal with the CPA (ML)’s main policies formulated in the two decades after it was founded, and its organizational structure modelled upon a Leninist Vanguardism. Both of these, as I suggested before, would not ‘be’, without the new knowledge provided by Maoism conceptualized as an alternative “regime of truth”. Yet, this does mean to imply, that the CPA (ML) was simply a copy of a foreign tradition, because, no matter how true certain Maoist propositions were, there is always a degree of difference in terms of what this truth really was. Hence, the discussion presented in the fourth and fifth section of this chapter showed that there were internal disputes and conflicts over certain policies and organizational arrangements, both arising from the lessons of the

Chinese Revolution. Furthermore, I have also tried to bring in some structural and historical substance into accounting for this discursive divergence generated by the attempt to put into practice some lessons drawn from Chinese communism, by noting the idiosyncratic but by no means unique political *habitus* of Hill, formed while he was still a member of the CPA.

To conclude, it is perhaps useful to return to one of the early arguments I made. It is my view that the establishment of the CPA (ML) could possibly be understood as a minority undercurrent of the communist movement in Australia, which manifested itself in a formal organizational way, after the rise of Maoism in the early 1960s. For some like Hill, all these political developments, both international and domestic ones, reaffirmed the universal truth of orthodox Marxism-Leninism. For others, like Aarons and Sharkey, it became increasingly clear that the previous strategies and tactics based on the Soviet model of socialism, or simply Stalinism, was no longer appropriate for a world that they saw as being fundamentally changed. The split within the ICM, in that sense, acted like an unstable valve which finally loosened, polarizing the latent divisions within the CPA, and giving birth to the CPA (ML). Hence, it is important to bear in mind that while the CPA (ML) was clearly influenced by the Chinese model of socialism, it nonetheless bore a legacy which it inherited from the past. Finally, it must be noted that while the CPA(ML) was indisputably the most well-known political party that claimed to be upholding, along with the CCP, the banner of Marxism-Leninism in Australia, it could not be equated with the whole story of Australian Maoism. As I mentioned earlier in the Introductory Chapter, many previous studies have correctly noted that the Chinese socialism had also inspired,

particularly after the outbreak of the GPCR, a relatively small group of radical student activists in Australia. Therefore, in the next chapter, we will move onto considering the birth of the modern University in post-WWII Australia, and how the same rationale behind its establishment, not only helped to formalize the war commitment of Australian governments in Vietnam, which in turn precipitated the Australian New Left of which the Maoist was an organic part<sup>311</sup>, but also informed the technologies of government, was manifest in the discipline and containment of the Maoist inspired student uprising in the late 1960s.

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<sup>311</sup> See, e.g. Raewyn Connell's reflection as one of the participants of the Australian New Left, Raewyn Connell, "Ours Is in Color: The New Left of the Sixties, Forty Years On", *Overland on line* Nov. 12 (2008)., alternatively, one may also wish to consult Kristy Yeats's study of the same topic. Kristy Yeats, "Australian New Left Politics, 1956-1972" (2009).



## Chapter Four: ‘Revolution Is Not a Dinner

### Party’<sup>312</sup>

#### Introduction

This chapter engages with the rationale behind and the techniques used in containing the Maoist student movements, by situating them in the context of the construction of the modern universities in a *new Britannia*<sup>313</sup>. The first section lays the foundation of latter discussion by first invoking, then analysing the new ‘truths’ of the old ‘ivy towers’ as uttered by politicians like Sir Robert Menzies and his many advisors. We will then ‘dive’ into one of the universities established in Sir Robert’s term as Prime Minister in Australia, that is Monash, also known in the late 1960s as the Australian version of Berkley or Nanteere<sup>314</sup>, to see how an anxious representation of the Red China as an enemy of the State, underscored the application of different technologies of government in disciplining, excluding and silencing the rebellion of Monash Maoists.

#### Seeking the ‘truth’ of, and within the ‘Free World’: The Birth of Modern University in Australia

This present section aims at elucidating the rationality of government underpinning a desire to ‘achieve’ the modern university in Menzies Australia.

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<sup>312</sup> 毛泽东, *毛泽东选集* 第一卷, 17. English Translations: Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao*, Vol. 1, 17.

<sup>313</sup> McQueen, *A New Britannia*.

<sup>314</sup> Christopher. A. Rootes, "The Development of Radical Student Movements and Their Sequelae", *AJPH Australian Journal of Politics & History* 34, no. 2 (1988). p.175

The adjective modern have been placed prior to university in the previous clause, for university had existed in Australia since the mid nineteenth century, were the large-scale reform and expansion initiated jointly by state and commonwealth took place in the 1950s/60s.<sup>315</sup> This process of ‘modernization’ of Australian universities began when the barrels of guns were still firing in the midst of the WWII, and the need of channelling the returned war-time soldiers, via the university, back into the labour market came to be seen as a political imperative.<sup>316</sup> But the same war also revealed, particularly after the killing power of nuclear bombs manifested itself through the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the ‘truth value’ of the ‘scientific knowledge’, which no institutes apart from the universities had been able to produce.<sup>317</sup> The bare truth of the Science *qua* the Bombs, I shall suggest, led the Australian Federal government to give universities a central role in the Post-War Reconstruction Plan it established after WWII.<sup>318</sup> The incorporation of the University into the strategic planning of the Federal

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<sup>315</sup> Those few universities first established in Australia, remained relatively ‘small’ in terms of both the number of enrolled students and the number of staff in the first half century or so of their existences. “When teaching began at the University of Melbourne on 13 April 1855 three professors faced sixteen students.” Stuart Macintyre and R. J. W. Selleck, *A Short History of the University of Melbourne* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne Univ. Press, 2003), 1. By 1911, each of the six states had its own university established and financed with some help from the public. They were all tiny. There were around 3000 university students in Australia in total, with more than two-thirds of them enrolled at the two oldest universities in Melbourne and Sydney. Hannah Forsyth, *A History of the Modern Australian University* (2014), 7.

<sup>316</sup> *A History of the Modern Australian University*, 21.

<sup>317</sup> All these education policies pertinent to the Australian universities construed and implemented before and after the WWII was a reflection of a somewhat belated –oversea (but particularly the U.S.) influence, upon Australia in terms of shoring up a truth which claims the indispensability of the university knowledge in securing the prosperity and security of the nation. Walter Rüegg, *Universities since 1945* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

<sup>318</sup> “(A) s far as the first forty years of Federation were concerned, relatively little had been undertaken by the Commonwealth in matters concerned with education.....Up to 1939, there is little to distinguish Commonwealth governments in their attitudes to the question of the Commonwealth’s participation in education. Overall, there was a strong reticence, if not downright opposition, to such an involvement.....The one area in which national governments did assume early responsibility for education was in connection with defence. Even before the exigencies of war made their demands, educational institutions were established. ” Ian Keith Falconer Birch and Don Smart, *The Commonwealth Government and Education 1964-1976: Political Initiatives and Development* (Drummond Publishing, 1977), 13-14. Also worth quoting, is a remark made by Hannah Forsyth in her more recent study: “Australia did do atomic research,

government, is evident not only from the legislation and enactment of the State Grants (Universities) Act (1951), the establishment of new universities like the purely research oriented Australian National University (1946) and University of New South Wales (1949), but also in the formation of the Commonwealth Universities Grants Committee (1946), as well as the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CRISO, 1949), with special responsibilities for developing and implementing research related to industry and agriculture.<sup>319</sup>

If all that has been just said could be viewed as signifying the rise of a new governmental rationale, according to which the University had become a key to the prosperity and security of the Australian nation, then it also raised a number of ‘ineluctable’ questions regarding not only the ‘appropriate’ distribution of a growing amount of government funding for the universities, but also the latter’s actual status within the terms of reference of national building.

The impossibility of not raising the questions hinted at above, became even more acute, once the world was divided into two antagonistic blocs by the ‘Iron Curtain’. On the 19<sup>th</sup> December 1956 Concern over the prospect of the nation being ‘left behind’ in the race, can be seen in a letter sent by the then Prime Minister of Australia, Sir Robert Menzies to Sir Keith Murray, who was the acting Chairman of the University Grants Committee in Great Britain. In this same letter,

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however, which could have resulted in Australian-built nuclear weapons. Prime Minister Robert Menzies made atomic research a priority. It is only a slight exaggeration to suggest that the Australian National University was established primarily to do just that.” Forsyth, *A History of the Modern Australian University*, 32.

<sup>319</sup> *A History of the Modern Australian University*, 27.

Sir Robert expressed his wish to invite Sir Murray to lead a Committee of Inquiry into the scenery of Australian University, with respect to “the role of the University in the community, the extension and co-ordination of university facilities, technological education at university level and the financial needs of universities and appropriate means of providing for these needs.”<sup>320</sup> The invitation was accepted, and the famous Murray Report was released on 19<sup>th</sup> September, 1957. In what follows, I would like to dwell a little on what was said in the report, by way of a succinct summary.

In the first place, Murray and his colleagues stated in their report that the “purpose and way of life” of the University, despite all the “superficial changes” they had ‘suffered’ in history, remained nonetheless the same.<sup>321</sup>

Secondly, they suggested that more university graduates of all different kinds were in needed for the common good of Australian community, and thus “every boy or girl with the necessary brain power *must* in the national interest be encouraged to come forward for an education.”<sup>322</sup> This need was reinforced by the “increasing complexity in every part of that machinery of modern society,”<sup>323</sup> the rapid urbanization and industrialization, and the new commitment made by the Australian government to the outside world, with the participation in the Colombo Plan was named as an example in this regard.<sup>324</sup> Thirdly, based on what they had found out in the investigation, the authors of the Murray Report

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<sup>320</sup> Committee on Australian Universities, *Report of the Committee on Australian Universities* (Melbourne: Committee on Australian Universities, 1957), 127.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.



concluded that there was a number of deficiencies in Australian universities as they presently stood, such as the wastage of the man power (by which they mean low rates of graduation), the lack of proper student accommodation, the small number of existing scholarships, the difficulties in recruiting qualified academics, the lack of collaboration between the university administration and the government, in devising plans for the future development of the universities.<sup>325</sup> Finally, several recommendations were made for tackling the problems thus identified, e.g. the report proposed the establishment of an Australian University Grants Committee, an increase in Commonwealth and state funding for university, and the creation of a new university in the State of Victoria.

A number of questions can be raised in relation to the above summary of Murray Report,<sup>326</sup> but what would be highlighted here, was two, what I see as central but also somewhat ‘problematic’ emphasises underscoring the rationality of government of the University, as it had been expressed in the Murray Report.

First to be noticed is a conceptual conflation of the interest of the nation and the community, or to put it in a different way, the ‘representation’ of the interest of

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<sup>325</sup> Forsyth, *A History of the Modern Australian University*, 257.

<sup>326</sup> One may like to query, for example, about the presumably ‘timeless nature’ of the University. The extent to which the University has changed over ‘time’, can be inferred from early studies on the Medieval European universities, like the ones done by Robert Rait, who in this work, unveiled an image of the Universities as a Tower, which “is crowned by Theology” Robert S. Rait, *Life in the Medieval University* (Cambridge; New York: University Press; G.P. Putnam, 1912), v. To give another example, I shall like to quote a passage from the introduction to Hastings Rashdall’s early work: *The Universities of Europe In the Middle Ages*: “we can see in the early history of Bologna and Paris the continuous influence of ecclesiastical ideas, not merely as external influences upon alien material, but as an expression, both in deliberate policy and in more or less conscious application, of that movement which we generally describe as the development of the papal system.” Alfred Brotherston Emden, Sir Frederick Maurice Powicke, and Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* ([London, Glasgow]: Oxford University Press, 1936), xxxviii.

the community by the nation-state in the form of the Federal government. Secondly, while claiming that the prosperity and security of the Australian nation *qua* community could not be achieved and simultaneously secured, without the support of ‘good’ universities, which were fundamental for maximizing the “Man Power” of the country, the Murray Report also suggested that education should not *be* the only function of the Australian university. The Report claimed that the university should also be a place where new knowledge was generated through ‘freely’ conducted research, in order that the values of ‘free world’, but also the freedom and integrity of all humanity were safeguarded.<sup>327</sup> However, I would argue that, if the ideal model of the University as envisaged by Murray Report was supposed to be achieved, then, the ‘truth’ thus established via ‘freely conducted’ research could not *be* at odds with either the logic of capitalism or the *raison d’etre* of the nation-state. But, the critical question is, can the University *be*, in fact, an indispensable component of a capitalist nation-building project while being the same time, a presumably ‘sacred’ institution, which committed fully towards “seeking the truth and making it known”? Such a question was unfortunately never raised (probably because it fell outside the scope of ‘terms of reference’ of the report), let alone being dealt with in the Murray Report,<sup>328</sup> but that does not mean it did not raise the eyebrows of some others, particularly those to whom the report was first presented.

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<sup>327</sup> Australia. Committee on Australian Universities and Keith Anderson Hope Murray, *Report of the Committee on Australian Universities, September, 1957* (Government Printer, South Africa, 1957), 10-11.

<sup>328</sup> In fact, we might even say that the terms of reference of the committee *naturally* ruled out the possibility of even envisaging that the ‘truth’ produced by the service of the university, could call into question the very ‘freedom of truth’ welcomed or simply required by the State.

In a speech entitled *The Universities – Some Queries* delivered on 28<sup>th</sup> August, 1964, Sir Robert Menzies began by telling his audience that he was “deeply impressed” by the stunning level of “wastage” of manpower in Australia, as revealed by the Murray Report, then took a sudden turn, by picking up the issue of “academic freedom”. In the first place, Sir Robert stated that while his government had formally taken over much of the financial responsibilities for universities, he had “at no time sought to interfere with university autonomy.”<sup>329</sup> Now, whether this no-interference statement can be taken as true, as I see it, depends first on how the autonomy of university was understood, and in that regard, I feel obliged to mention that in a different context, Sir Robert had in fact once said that: “money is the weapon by which oversight of universities will be secured.”<sup>330</sup> In other words, if the university autonomy, regardless of how it was defined, had indeed been ‘respected’ by Sir Robert, it would still have been accompanied by an incessant ‘check’ by the overseeing power of money, which, was of course, provided by his government.

There was, however, another restriction imposed by Sir Robert upon the ‘autonomy of the university’, ‘academic freedom’, and the ‘pursuit for truth’. Although every citizen of a “modern civilised country” was, he said, entitled to all three “natural rights” but certainly not “privileges” thus mentioned, the then Australian Prime Minister warned against some “over-emotional” academics who were inclined to see their “freedom” as being beyond the reach of the “ordinary law”.<sup>331</sup> Indeed, as Sir Robert claimed, no such “freedom” could be practised

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<sup>329</sup> Robert Menzies, *"The Universities - Some Queries."* ([Sydney]: University of New South Wales, 1964), 12.

<sup>330</sup> Forsyth, *A History of the Modern Australian University*, 59.

<sup>331</sup> Menzies, *"The Universities - Some Queries."*, 14.

without respecting the law: “academic freedom is freedom within the law, subject to the law, and that if recourse is made to the law, the ordinary rules of law will apply.”<sup>332</sup> However, given that Socrates himself has set as an example for us as a tireless inquirer, we may still like to ask, and in the same stubborn and foolish Socratesian manner, what exactly is this law, which Sir Robert had talked about? Where did the presumably *ipso facto* authority of this law come from? And why is that the claims for freedom to pursue the truth within the premise of university “cannot and must not be sustained” if by so doing, the authority of the law is defied?

In his speech, Sir Robert answered all the three questions which I had been imprudent enough to raise. He justified his argument of the procedural superiority of the law over ‘academic freedom’, by referring first to the trial of Thomas Paine, then to a play produced by Robert Bolt, called “A Man for All Seasons”. I shall not go into any details of the examples provided by Sir Robert, other than simply to say that by invoking the discourse supposedly uttered by Thomas Erskine in his defence of Paine,<sup>333</sup> and of Thomas Moore in ‘resisting’ the suggestion of his wife for persecuting Rich, who was believed to be Moore’s enemy,<sup>334</sup> Sir Robert showed that he was a true disciple of Thomas Hobbes, the father of classic liberalism.<sup>335</sup>

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<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>333</sup> “If I were to ask you, Gentlemen of the Jury, what is the choicest fruit that grows upon the tree of English liberty, you would answer SECURITY UNDER THE LAW. If I were to ask the whole people of England the return they look for at hands of the Government, for the burdens under which bend to support it, I should still be answered SECURITY UNDER THE LAW.” (*emphasis original*) *ibid.*, 15.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>335</sup> The dialogue between Hobbes *B* and Hobbes *A* on the University goes like follows:  
“B. This that you say looks (methinks) like an advice to the King, to let them alone till he have gotten ready money enough to levy and maintain a sufficient army, and then to fall upon them and destroy them.

In my view that Sir Robert is, a good student of Hobbes, not only because he seemed to be in complete agreement with Hobbes on the necessity of preserving the supremacy of Leviathan over its subjects, when he said that “in a democracy, Parliament, acting within its constitutional jurisdiction may, under some circumstances, pass legislation which limits the rights of expression,”<sup>336</sup> but also for the reason that both appeared to be very anxious about finding out, disciplining and destroying the “Trojan Horse” hidden in the Universities.<sup>337</sup>

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A. God forbid that so horrible, unchristian, and inhuman a design should ever enter into the King's heart. I would have him to have money enough readily to raise an army to suppress any rebellion, and to take from his enemies all hope of success, that they may not dare to trouble him in the reformation of the Universities; but to put none to death without actual committing such crimes as are already made capital by the laws. The core of rebellion, as you have seen by this, and read of other rebellions, are the Universities ; which nevertheless are not to be cast away, but to be better *disciplined* : that is to say, that the politics there taught be made to be (as true politics should be) such as are fit to make men know, that it is their duty to obey all laws whatsoever that shall by the authority of the King be enacted, till by the same authority they shall be repealed ; such as are fit to make men understand, that the civil laws are God's laws, as they that make them are by God appointed to make them; and to make men know, that the people and the Church are one thing, and have but one head, the King ; and that no 'man has title to govern under him, that has it not from him ; that the King owes his crown to God only, and to no man, ecclesiastic or other; and that the religion they teach there, be a quiet waiting for the coming again of our blessed Saviour, and in the meantime a resolution to obey the King's laws (which also are God's laws) ; to injure no man, to be in charity with all men, to cherish the poor and sick, and to live soberly and free from scandal; without mingling our religion with points of natural philosophy, as freedom of will, incorporeal sub-stance, everlasting news, ubiquities, hypostases, which the people understand not, nor will ever care for. When the Universities shall be thus *disciplined*, there will come out of them, from time to time, well-principled preachers, and they that are now ill-principled, from time to time fall away. (italics mine )Thomas Hobbes, "Behemoth; or, the Long Parliament (1682)", *Ed. F. Tönnies. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co* (1889): 57-58.

<sup>336</sup> Menzies, "*The Universities - Some Queries.*", 14.

<sup>337</sup> On the metaphor of Trojan Horse, see again a dialogue between Hobbes *A* and *B*:

“B. But who can teach what none have learned? Or, if any man have been so singular, as to have studied the science of justice and equity; how can he teach it safely, when it is against the interest of those that are in possession of the power to hurt him?”

A. The rules of just and unjust sufficiently demonstrated, and from principles evident to the meanest capacity, have not been wanting; and notwithstanding the obscurity of their author, have shined, not only in this, but also in foreign countries, to men of good education. But they are few, in respect of the rest of the men, whereof many cannot read: many, though they can, have no leisure; and of them that have leisure, the greatest part have their minds wholly employed and taken up by their private businesses or pleasures. So that it is impossible that the multitude should ever learn their duty, but from the pulpit and upon holidays; but then, and from thence, it is, that they learned their disobedience. And, therefore, the light of that doctrine has been hitherto covered and kept under here by a cloud of adversaries, which no private man's reputation can break through, without the authority of the Universities. But out of the Universities, came all those preachers that taught the contrary. The Universities have been to this nation, as the wooden horse was to the Trojans.” Hobbes, "Behemoth; or, the Long Parliament (1682)," 39-40.

It would be redundant to mention all the disastrous consequences brought upon the Indigenous Peoples in Americas, Oceania, Asia and Africa, as a result of the actual practice of liberalism in the history of European Civilisation, since this matter itself has already been broached to some extent in Chapter Two. I shall restrain myself from going into the details (mostly because this has already been covered by past scholarship) regarding the deep and persistent interests of Sir Robert and ASIO in ‘watching over’ the careers of Russel Ward<sup>338</sup>, who later became a legendary historian, and Frank Knopfelmacher<sup>339</sup>, a psychologist known for his anti-communist views. Suffice to say here is that the extent to which, the surveillance of both Ward and Knopfelmacher has been conducted, clearly shows how anxious Sir Robert was when came to the question of successful incorporation of the University into the nation building project he championed.<sup>340</sup> That said, what does seem to me to be of some value to briefly comment upon is Sir Robert’ choice of examples. On the one hand, it is true that the names of Paine and Moore could be, as shown by Sir Robert’ usage of both, employed to prove the ‘indispensability’ of the ‘ordinary law’, on the other hand, however, I do think that, for the reason that the author of *the Rights of Man* and *Utopia* was charged for sedition for writing and publishing the same book, and the man who had written *Utopia* was later beheaded for committing ‘treason’,

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<sup>338</sup> Frank Bongiorno and David Andrew Roberts, *Russel Ward : Reflections on a Legend* (Armidale, NSW: University of New England. School of Humanities, 2008).

<sup>339</sup> Frank Knopfelmacher, *Intellectuals and Politics, and Other Essays* ([Melbourne: Nelson [(Australia)], 1968).

<sup>340</sup> On monitoring the intellectuals during Menzies’ era, see, e.g. David McKnight, *Australia's Spies and Their Secrets* (St. Leonards, NSW, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1994), 153-54. Also see Forsyth, *A History of the Modern Australian University*, 34-35. Also see an early study done by Fiona Capp, who notes that: “Surveillance of academics was widespread throughout Australia, particularly during the late 1940s and early 1950s. At Sydney University, at least 17 staff members were on file, at Melbourne 63, at Canberra University College and Australian National University 16, at Perth 17, at Adelaide 12 and at Hobart four.” Fiona Capp, “Institutional Subversives’: Asio Profiles of Australian Intellectuals”, *Meridian* 12, no. 2 October (1993): 129.

that Paine and Moore are actually better examples, for reaffirming the validity of Weber's definition of the State. That is to say, the State can only 'qualify' for its name, as understood by Weber, by demonstrating that it had an 'unqualified' power to take the life of the subjects under its reign.<sup>341</sup>

But, there is something else, apart from the authority of the 'King', which, as Sir Robert told us in the same 1964 speech, that the University must respect. Something that was known as the Gresham's law, which, said Sir Robert, "applies to universities and their degrees just as much as it did and does to money."<sup>342</sup> Whether a correlation between the decrease of the quality of university education and the latter's expeditious expansion can be established *tout court*, is a question most likely to stir debates among historians and economists. For my part, however, I wish to simply focus on two matters. The first is that by stating that, according to the Gresham's law, the 'bad money', or in Sir Robert's terms of reference, the university degrees, will 'naturally' drive out the good ones', we see that a new problematic of the university has emerged, which centred, not so much on the

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<sup>341</sup> Weber says: "A comprehensive classification of all forms, conditions, and concrete contents of 'domination' in that widest sense is impossible here. We will only call to mind that, in addition to numerous other possible types, there are two diametrically contrasting types of domination, viz., domination by virtue of a constellation of interests (in particular: by virtue of a position of monopoly), and domination by virtue of authority, i.e., power to command and duty to obey. The purest type of the former is monopolistic domination in the market; of the latter, patriarchal, magisterial, or princely power. In its purest form, the first is based upon influence derived exclusively from the possession of goods or marketable skills guaranteed in some way and acting upon the conduct of those dominated, who remain, however, formally free and are motivated simply by the pursuit of their own interests. The latter kind of domination rests upon alleged absolute duty to obey, regardless of personal motives or interests. The borderline between these two types of domination is fluid." Max Weber, Guenther Roth, and Claus Wittich, *Economy and Society : An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, vol. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 943.

<sup>342</sup> Menzies, "The Universities - Some Queries.", 10., By referring to the monetary theory presumably first developed by an English financier Thomas Gresham in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, according to whom the "bad money naturally drives out the good ones", Sir Robert aimed to draw the attention of his audience towards an 'undesirable' decrease of the quality of the university education as a result of the rapid expansion of the enrolment.

‘scarcity’ of degrees as on their devaluation. Secondly, I suggest that Sir Robert’s recourse to the analogy of the circulation of the money in his 1964 speech is an indication that the rationality government underscoring the ‘modernization’ of university in Sir Robert’ Australia, was shaped as much by the ‘hidden hand’ of the Market as by a discourse of the ‘Crown’.

To provide some substance to the second argument presented above, I would like to examine another seminal text, known as the Martin Report, which, like its predecessor the Murray Report released 5 years earlier, was composed by a committee commissioned by Sir Robert in 1961 to investigate the status of Australian Universities.

First to be noted with regards to the Martin Report was that it reaffirmed the conclusion reached by Murry Report that the University was crucial for the “national survival” and the “economic growth” of Australia.<sup>343</sup> Secondly, and this what one may say, was the ingenious discovery of the authors of Martin Report, that the secret of Man, who, says the report, “may be distinguished by his reasoning capacity, nonetheless, when considering his need for education for life in the societies of the future, it is well to remember the extent to which his behaviour is irrational and how many of his attitudes are unscientific.”<sup>344</sup> In other words, while by the nature of the things, Man might be born with the potentialities to reason, he can be equally inhibited by the ‘anti-social’<sup>345</sup> quality of being

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<sup>343</sup> Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia and Australian Universities Commission, *Tertiary Education in Australia: Report of the Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia to the Australian Universities Commission*, vol. 1 (The Committee, 1964), 2.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.



irrational and unscientific, or in Sir Robert's own terminology in 1964, too emotional. Fortunately, however, although the 'Stones of Tablets' was no longer feared by the modern civilised Man, nor was the 'Kingdom of God' seen as desirable to him anymore, so long as the knowledge of the natural and human world had been available by the university education to the general public, the Martin Report concluded that the Mad Man among us can be turned into a responsible citizen.<sup>346</sup> However, if, for reasons just mentioned, not only must the University be further developed in Australia, but also that if everyone who desired to go to the university, and to study whatever subjects at his/her will was allowed to or in fact encouraged by the government, asked Martin and his collaborators, how can we *know* that such a 'laissez-faire' attitude towards admission to the university, will not actually run against the interest of the community?<sup>347</sup> So, in a sense, it seems that while what Sir Robert had been concerned with, as we have seen in his speech, was the depreciation of the university degree (though that was certainly not his only worry, as seen in the above mentioned speech), as a result of increased enrolments, the Martin Committee was anxious about the 'oversupply' of university graduates, if the door of the 'ivy tower' was opened to everyone.

Yet, from the perspective of the government of university, we can also say what Sir Robert and his advisors had been talking about was actually the two sides of the same coin, for although the then Australian Prime Minister put more emphasis on 'maintaining the standards of the university' in his 1964 speech, and Martin

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<sup>346</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid., 12.

Committee instead argued that the effect of the ‘supply-demand’ equilibrium generated by the market, would or should eventually resolve any possible conflict between the individual’s desire for a university education and the general interest of the community *qua* nation, both were nonetheless speaking in the same language of political economy.

Nevertheless, we should be careful not to equate Sir Robert and the Martin Committee’s subscription to a view, which stipulates that the management of the problems of Australian university’s expansion must respect the law of the free market, with a vow of reticence, if not abstinence of the State’s intervention. Such an equation cannot be established, since as the mere ‘existence’ of Sir Robert’s 1964 speech and the Martin Report, and if I may venture to add, numerous other reports produced during the late 1960s and early 1970s, by the Australian Universities Commission, the Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee, etc., had by themselves reminded us that the State must instead ‘act’ actively upon and in relation with the University.<sup>348</sup> The State was, of course, not supposed to be ‘directly’ involved in the internal affairs of the university, nor to curtail the ‘freedom of the academics’ in their individual pursuit for truth. But, the ‘non-intervention’ of the State, did not mean, I argue, that it did not constantly seek to improve the quality of its planning for the future of the university, nor did it imply that the State was not anxious to be ‘blind’ on how and why its past investment in the ‘human capital’ had failed to produce the expected outcome.

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<sup>348</sup> To name just two here: Committee Australian Vice-Chancellors, A. G. Mitchell, and Samuel Wolf Cohen, *The Australian University Student; Admission, Selection and Progress* ([Canberra 1968]; Australian Universities Commission, *Third Report of the Australian Universities Commission: Australian Universities 1964-1969* (Canberra: Government Printer, 1966).

However, if the State actively sought to know what Manpower had been wasted, and the reason behind this wastage, for improving the future planning for the university, from where could such a knowledge be derived? Now, it seems to me that this very question was answered by Sir Robert and his entrusted advisors in the 1960s with a rather simple word: statistics.

The extent to which, the reliability and thus the importance of the statistics was acknowledged, by the rationality of the government of university in the 1960s Australia, is hard to measure statistically, but I shall nonetheless try to at least, and in lieu of three examples, provide some indications of it.

What struck me as quite revealing and therefore worth mentioning, in the first place, was the precursory apology offered by Sir Robert, when he felt compelled to bother his audience in the same 1964 speech with ‘a few figures’:

*The last thing that I want to do is to encumber you with statistics, but I would ask you to carry in mind just a few figures which I derived from the last report of the Australian Universities Commission.*<sup>349</sup>

And since Sir Robert mentioned Australian Universities Commission in his speech, I sense that there is an obligation on my part to pay a tribute to the contribution of the same organization, by pointing out that in the very second report it produced in 1963, a complaint was lodged about the lack of statistics regarding various aspects of Australian universities, along with a

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<sup>349</sup> Menzies, "The Universities - Some Queries.", 10.

recommendation for that this knowledge be made available about every higher learning institution in the country.<sup>350</sup>

Finally, I think that even engaging in a rudimentary ‘numbers game’ helps to illustrate how extremely important statistics had become within a relatively short period. For example, in the Murray Report, a total 12 tables were presented, and none of them, if I dare to say so, were very sophisticated ones, while in the Martin Report released seven years later, the number of the tables included reached 126.

I wish now to conclude this section, by summarizing some of the main findings thus presented. First, I suggested that while the State initiated and continuously funded expansion, restructuring, and transformation of Australian universities even before the end of WWII, the process accelerated during Sir Robert’s second term as the Prime Minister of Australia. Secondly, and with regards to the rationality of government underlining the modernization of Australian University in Menzies’ Australia, I tried to highlight, by analysing three key texts: the Murray Report, Sir Robert’ 1964 speech and the Martin Report, that it was embroiled in the inherent contradiction of a liberal capitalist governmentality. That is to say, the rationality of government, which drove the ‘development’ of Australian Universities in the 1960s, was caught in a tension between, on the one hand, an earnest desire to encourage the ‘free’ pursuit of truth through the University, and, on the other hand, an acute anxiety keep this ‘freedom’ under the incessant check of the power of the State. Finally, I had endeavoured to show how

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<sup>350</sup> Commission Australian Universities, *Second Report of the Australian Universities Commission : Australian Universities, 1961-1966* (Canberra: Govt. Printer, 1963), 13.

the ‘problems’ emerged, because of the modernization of Australian University in the 1950s/60s, e.g. the ‘scarcity’ and ‘wastage’ of the ‘Man Power’, the duplication of the courses, the devaluation of the university degree, were supposed to be resolved by resorting to the discourse of the market, with the aid of statistics as a new technology of government.

## **‘Dirty’ Monash, the Puzzle over Mao’s China and the Enemies of the State**

With a classic liberal governmentality that underwritten the construction of the Modern University in Australia being introduced, in this and next section, we will ‘swim’ into one of the hotbeds of the Sixties student movements<sup>351</sup> in Australia,

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<sup>351</sup> The scholarship of the Sixties student movement in Australia *per se* is still, in my view, under-developed when compared to the studies on its counterparts in the U.S. and Europe. That said, it must be noted that, there is a growing literature on the same phenomenon in Australia, see, e.g. Jon Piccini, "‘There Is No Solidarity, Peace or Friendship with Dictatorship’: Australians at the World Festival of Youth and Students, 1957–1968", *History Australia* 9, no. 3 (2012); *Transnational Protest, Australia and the 1960s : Global Radicals* (2016); Kate Murphy, "‘In the Backblocks of Capitalism’: Australian Student Activism in the Global 1960s", *Australian Historical Studies* 46, no. 2 (2015); Connell, "Ours Is in Color: The New Left of the Sixties, Forty Years On!"; Ann Curthoys, "Mobilising Dissent," in *Vietnam Remembered*, ed. Gregory Pemberton (Sydney [u.a.: New Holland, 2002); *Freedom Ride : A Freedom Rider Remembers* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2002); Russell Marks, "Towards an Intellectual History of the Australian New Left: Some Definitional Problems", *Melbourne Journal of Politics* 34 (2010); Piccini, "‘There Is No Solidarity, Peace or Friendship with Dictatorship’: Australians at the World Festival of Youth and Students, 1957–1968."; "Up the New Channells’: Student Acitivism in Brisbane During Agustralia's Sixties", *Crossroads* V, no. 2 (2011); Rootes, "The Development of Radical Student Movements and Their Sequelae."; Michael Hyde, *All Along the Watchtower : Memoir of a Sixties Revolutionar* (Carlton North, Vic.: Vulgar Press, 2010). And one may also like to consult the relevant literature on the same topic, see, e.g. Rex Mortimer, "The New Left", *Arena* 13, no. Winter (1967); Rowan J. Cahill and Foundation Australian Marxist Research, *Notes on the New Left in Australia* ([Sydney]: [Australian Marxist Research Foundation], 1969); Dan O’Neill, "The Growth of the Radical Movement", *Semper Floreat* 39, no. 2 (1969); Justus M. van der Kroef, "Campus Rebels, the New Left, and Australian National Policy", *South Atlantic Quarterly* 68, no. Autumn (1969); Michael Hyde, *It Is Right to Rebel* (Marrickville, N.S.W.: Free Association Press, 1972); Richard Gordon, *The Australian New Left: Critical Essays and Strategy* (Melbourne: W. Heinemann Australia, 1970). Moreover, it must be pointed out that though it, as Kristy Yeats suggested in her Ph.D. thesis that, the New Left was certainly not irrelevant to Maoism in Australia, the relation between the two was certainly too complicated to be covered here, though according to Hyde, the support that the Monash Maoists had received from the student body,

that Monash University, which is itself a brain child, tout court, of the Murray Report mentioned above. In 1958, acting on the recommendation of the report, the Victorian State parliament passed a bill to establish a second university in the state. Monash University received its very first students, a total number of 363 in 1961.<sup>352</sup> The next decade or so saw a dramatic expansion of the university, in terms of both the size of the campus and the number of annually enrolled students, which reached 11,000 by 1971. The pace of the growth of Monash University was impressive, but perhaps by no means exceptional, for it was only one among other tangible signs, e.g. establishment of La Trobe University and Flinders University in 1964 and 1966 respectively, which testified to the rapid expansion of Australian universities in the 60s.<sup>353</sup>

Still in its early ‘Sturm und Drang’ moment notwithstanding, the ‘reputation’ or simply the ‘name’ of Monash University, as an article, which appeared on *The Age* in 1967 noted, has become tainted’, in the eyes of certain sections of the Australian society in the second half of the 1960s<sup>354</sup> This transition from the one of the newest (and thus arguably the ‘cleanest’) universities in the country to one of the “dirtiest”, probably agonized no one as much as it did the founding Vice

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was substantial until the early 1970s. Yeats, "Australian New Left Politics, 1956-1972."; Hyde, *It Is Right to Rebel*. Finally, with regards to Monash Maoists’ alliance with the CPA (ML), the impression I gained from my interviewees was that the more so of an unexpected overlapping than a formal affiliation. Nick Butler (a), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 13/01/2015; Butler (b); Miller, Dent, and McMullen.

<sup>352</sup> Graeme Davison and Kate Murphy, *University Unlimited : The Monash Story* (Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 2012), 6. Also see Simon Marginson: Simon Marginson, *Monash: Remaking the University* (Allen & Unwin, 2000).

<sup>353</sup> Forsyth, *A History of the Modern Australian University*, 46-66. “Monash University was established by an Act of the Victorian Parliament on 15 April 1958 after the immediate acceptance by the Government of the advice of the Murray Committee.”

<sup>354</sup> “Monash, to some Australians, is a dirty word” quoted from Lani Russell, "Today the Students, Tomorrow the Workers Radical Student Politics and the Australian Labour Movement 1960-1972" (1999), 146.

Chancellor of Monash University, Dr Louis Matheson. Six years after he had stepped down as the ‘steward’ of the same institution, Dr Matheson would recall in his memoir, the adorable relationship he used to enjoy with the students of Monash in the early days of the university:

*The students of those early days, as I remember them, were a pleasant lot of young people with whom I enjoyed friendly relations. This was possible because all of us accepted the proposition that Monash was being established for a serious educational purpose in which responsible student government had an important part to play.*<sup>355</sup>

One may like to gauge from the words presented above that a sense of nostalgia has grabbed the first Vice Chancellor of Monash University when he reflected upon the good old days, and yet, I think it would be unwise to do so for, as far as I can see, no statistical knowledge has ever been made available to us regarding the ‘inner world’ of retired Vice-Chancellors of Australian universities. That said, what appears to me to be more reasonable is to say that the ‘dirtiness’ of Monash University had become apparent in the late 1960s, at least partly due, as the below discussion will unveil, the political activities of a few Maoist student activists, whom many then, or arguably even today would still regard(ed) as indisputably ‘unpleasant’, ‘irresponsible’ and ‘disruptive’. Moreover, one of the arguments in this section is that this development itself together with the student uprisings at La Trobe, Flinders, Sydney, and Queensland Universities, signals a momentary crisis the liberal capitalist governmentality underpinning the modernization of the Australian University, as broached in the last section. And I would like to qualify

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<sup>355</sup> J. A. L. Matheson, *Still Learning* (South Melbourne, Vic.: Macmillan, 1980), 109-10.

this observation by recounting below, some furious comments made by a group of senior Australian politicians regarding the rising student unrest.

In late 1966, the then U.S. president, Lyndon Johnson came to Australia and he was 'greeted' by demonstrators in Melbourne and elsewhere who oppose the Vietnam War. In commenting on the demonstrations against President Johnson in the Legislative Assembly, John Bloomfield, the then Victoria's Minister for Education, however, said that "a section of Victoria's university population as uncouth, unwashed, undesirable, unkempt, uncultured and unprofitable".<sup>356</sup> Bloomfield's comments was supported by the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Denis Lovegrove, who suggested that "the Government should "carefully examine the behaviour of some of these students and the University should be told to get rid of them." What *The Age* called "the most disgraceful incident in Australia's history concerned two educated young thugs who threw paint over President Johnson's car,"<sup>357</sup> had shown, that political agreement can and did, under certain conditions, travel across the imagined or bona fide barriers, which were supposed to separate one party from another.

What happened in the demonstration against the visiting U.S. president Johnson, as experienced by those who were involved in it, has already been documented elsewhere, and so I have no intention to repeat it here, nor is it my intention to say much with the regards to the student movement at Monash, for the same reason that that story has already been told by activists themselves and scholars.

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<sup>356</sup> *The Age*, December 2, 1966, 3, from "Albert Langer Collection: Student Radicalisation (Melbourne Clippings), 1966-1971, Z457 B19," (Noel Butlin Archives Centre ).

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*



What my plough shall instead lie onto, is a ‘post’ colonial governing rationality, which underpinning the discipline lodged against and the containment of the student radicals at Monash University in the Sixties.

Let me begin by first explicating what I mean by this ‘post’ colonial governing rationality, through invoking a discourse related to communist China (the imagined patronage behind the NLF.), which was sitting in the background of a tireless effort aimed at taming the ‘irreverent’<sup>358</sup> Monash Maoists. In 1967, some had ‘discovered’ (or in fact, once again, ‘rediscovered’<sup>359</sup>) that, while the Australian soldiers were fighting the Chinese backed NLF in Vietnam, their government had not ceased making backdoor ‘deals’ with the ‘enemy’ from the North. The extent to which certain sections of the Australian community had become furious after ferreting out that the country’s wheat and wool, but more importantly, steel, had been shipped to an ‘enemy’ country of the ‘Free World’, can be inferred from the newspaper articles and media correspondences. In one of the ‘Letters to the Editor’, which appeared in *The Age* on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1967, we find the following comments being uttered:

*The arguments which Government put up to justify this action that there was some sort of agreement forbidding China from putting this material to warlike use (non-strategic) and, secondly, that although we are fighting the communists, we want to show them we are willing to live in harmony. I would like to ask Mr. Hasluck if he is asking Australians to believe that China would honor this*

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<sup>358</sup> I am thankful for Authur Dent’s suggestion of the word “irreverent”. Miller, Dent, and McMullen.

<sup>359</sup> For how this ever-returning image of China or Asia in general came to be, see, e.g. David Walker, *Anxious Nation : Australia and the Rise of Asia, 1850-1939* (St. Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1999); David Sobocinska Agnieszka Walker, *Australia's Asia : From Yellow Peril to Asian Century* (Crawley, W.A.: UWA Publishing, 2012).

*agreement, and secondly, would it not appear logical that when Australians are dying in Vietnam supposedly to save our country from the threat of communism that we don't aid the enemy in any sphere, whether it be with food or concrete materials?* <sup>360</sup>

The person named is Hasluck mentioned in the above quoted passage, is the then Minister for External Affairs of Australia, Paul Hasluck. And apparently, it was not just Mr. Hasluck who was being criticised by some Australian citizens as being 'responsible' if not 'guilty' for acquiescing to the 'unglamorous' trade with communist China. And we can see this from another commentary on the same matter in *The Sun*:

*It might have been advanced the bright ideas that wool would help to make Chinese women more fashion conscious and rid them eventually of their blue-ant fanaticism. "Wool for the Vamps of China" or "Out of the Mouth of Gunn" might have been posed as slogans that would insidiously undermine the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung.* <sup>361</sup>

Whether the women in Mao's China lacked a sense of fashion, I cannot say, though I doubt that would be the case, but from what had been said above, we can at least get the impression that the writer thought so. But, provided that the 'ant-like' Chinese women in the 1967 had indeed been 'unfortunate' enough to have their eyes glued on the 'blue-coloured uniform', as we told by the same text just quoted, then the 'bad' guy who must be called to account for it would be their Chairman. Moreover, and from the presumably true *prima precept just*

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<sup>360</sup> *The Age*, September 4, 1967, 5, from "Albert Langer Collection: China- Australia's Relations with, 1967-1971, Z457 B5," (Noel Butlin Archives Centre ).

<sup>361</sup> *The Sun*, Tuesday, 29 August, 1967, 31 from *ibid*.

*established, a corollary could also be reached, though it did not seem to be the view which the author of the same article subscribed to, that a more effective way to 'free' or 'save' the 'unfashionable' Chinese women from the grip of 'blind' Mao Zedong thought, is to encourage, instead of blocking the commerce between the communist China and the 'Free World'.*

As above two examples have shown, in a free country like Australia back in the 1960s, its citizens were indeed given the right to express a different view on certain aspects of the policies of their government, as much as they were entitled to openly dispute the overtly 'emotional' comments on the same matter, like the ones just presented. I shall try to show this by the examples provided below:

*The response of Labor Party spokesmen was entirely predictable. The Government is hypocritical, they say. Cabinet has implied that China is a threat to peace, the cause of much of Asia's political turmoil and unfit for admission to the United Nations, yet is willing to supply her with steel. Other less-partisan critics have claimed there is something fundamentally immoral in trading with a country which encourages the enemies of Australia troops in Vietnam. Both propositions owe more to emotion than to logic; the Labor Party's savors of opportunism.* <sup>362</sup>

As any student of Australian politics in the 1960s, would be likely to outguess from the type of argument just presented, the attacks on the ALP's 'savors of opportunism', was followed by a defence of the incumbent Liberal-Coalition government, which, interestingly, was justified on the same ground of 'freedom of trade':

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<sup>362</sup> *The Age*, Tuesday, 29 August, 1967, 5 from *ibid*.

*There is a clear distinction between selling wheat to China and sending funds to the National Liberation Front. The first is trade; the other is aid – not merely to an ideological opponent but to a subversive organisation which is shooting at Australian troops. Steel is hardly a strategic material nowadays; subscription to the NLF may be used to buy bullets.* <sup>363</sup>

When it came to the question of dealing with ‘enemy’ of the State, an analogous distinction was made first between wheat and money, then between trade and aid, and finally one between steel and aid. And the type of distinction just mentioned is, of course, constructed to support the claim that for a nation state like Australia in the period of Vietnam War, it was necessarily to impose a ban on trading with its ‘enemy’.<sup>364</sup> But, given that none of us wish to become Enoch Powell’s Mad Man, we must not be satisfied with this elusive line of reasoning and, if I dare to say, thus we may like to take one small step forward by asking, not the question of whether wheat, money, steel and bullets, had not all been made by human labor?<sup>365</sup> Nor even whether they were indispensable for the State to achieve the three Vs: *Veni, vidi, vici*? But rather the question of what are these goods which belong not to Caesar; but to ‘God’, and thus ‘thou shalt not’ trade in them?

The very same question was brought up by a certain Dr. Malcolm Mackay, who was then sitting in the House of Representatives as a member of Liberal Party. On 4<sup>th</sup> October 1967, Dr Mackay addressed the queries presented below to the then Australian Prime Minister, Harold Holt during Question Time in Parliament:

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<sup>363</sup> Ibid.

<sup>364</sup> Matthew 22:21

<sup>365</sup> Marx, *Capital : A Critique of Political Economy*.

*Has the Prime Minister seen reports that a teacher in a Melbourne girls school begins classes each day with reading from the 'Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung', which she says are above argument as plain statement of fact? Are these collected thoughts the condensed essence of Marxist-Leninism and do they advocate violence, warfare and class hatred? Have these little red books encouraged riots and bloodshed, especially involving youth, in many countries where they have been promulgated? Will the Prime Minister endeavour to determine the school involved, whether it is a State or private school, and to what extent it is dependent on public funds? Finally, will he do all in his power to prevent Australian children from being subjected to this sabotage of our moral and ideological ideals?* <sup>366</sup>

Then in early 1969, Dr Mackay, made the following comments, which can be seen to be repeating what he had said roughly two years before:

*I believe that there is in Australia today demonstrably and obviously a conspiracy to subvert our youth from allegiance to the nation, its traditions and its constitutional forms of government... ..These forces, which are often much to the Left of the Communist Party, are seducing and subverting our young people, aided and abetted by misguided academics, clerics and others whose positions give them special privileges in the community.*<sup>367</sup>

Dr Mackay's suggestion, was supported by another member of the House of Representatives, Mr. John Jess, who suggested that:

*We were once a peace-loving society. But it is clear that we are reaching a position where the bastions of the security of our homes and our way of life are being slowly infiltrated.* <sup>368</sup>

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<sup>366</sup> NAA, "A463, 1967/5374", (1971): 5.

<sup>367</sup> *The Age*, 21 April, 1969 from "Albert Langer Collection: Student Radicalisation-General: 1966-1971, Z457 B20," (Noel Butlin Archives Centre ).

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*

A similar line of reasoning to the types of questions raised and answered by both Dr Mackay and Mr. Jess, can be also found in a book published in 1970 under the title *School Power: Is Your Child Being Manipulated by Political Operators?* Its concern are expressed in the following words:

*In the past two or three years there have been political disturbances in secondary schools in all States ..... If it were a genuine movement of independent and critical minds in the schools it would be welcome. It is in fact the product of something new, anti-educational and reactionary. It is the first attempt in Australia to turn schools away from education and convert them into political centres. It is a political operation, a deliberate and conscientious attack on the integrity of schools, the authority of teachers and the rights of school students. It is organised not by educationists but by a variety of sometimes competing revolutionary parties. It is still in its early stages and it is not too late to take appropriate counter measures.*<sup>369</sup>

Finally, from the other side of the political spectrum, there was an ALP representative sitting in the parliament, Mr. Tom Uren, who offered, in the late 1960s, a different take on the same question of ‘students’ rebellion’ raised by Dr. Mackay and the others mentioned above:

*They (the student radicals) are disturbed because only a few selected young men of this nation are being conscripted and then being forced to go overseas to an unpopular war, a vicious war and a cruel war that has been derided and condemned by the majority of the nations of the world .....But we know that in all movements there are minorities who will try to do something unusual and will*

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<sup>369</sup> Peter Coleman, *School Power in Australia* ([Sydney]: [P. Coleman], 1970), 5.

*try to make the headlines.....But surely the police should be intelligent? The police should be able to understand and deal with this very small minority.* <sup>370</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this section to consider whether the police were intelligent enough to “understand and deal with” a small minority of student protesters who tend “to do something unusual” <sup>371</sup>But, we can say at least that ASIO knew fair a bit, though that is certainly not to say that all of what they knew was correct, about the matter which had concerned both the members of parliament from both the Liberal Party and the ALP, as discussed above. <sup>372</sup>

A quick survey of the existing ASIO records kept in the National Archives of Australia revealed that not just the CPA (ML), <sup>373</sup> but also various Left-wing student groups, including both the Monash Labor Club (MLC) and later Worker-Student Alliance, had been targets of ASIO’s surveillance operations. <sup>374</sup> Moreover, ASIO collected a large amount of information on individual members of the CPA (ML), such as its party chairman, Ted Hill (Hill had come to the

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<sup>370</sup> *The Age*, 21 April, 1969 from "Albert Langer Collection: Student Radicalisation-General: 1966-1971, Z457 B20."

<sup>371</sup> Barry York, "Baiting the Tiger: Police and Protest During the Vietnam War", *Policing in Australian Historical Perspectives* (ed. Finnane, M) Kensington: New South Wales University Press (1987).

<sup>372</sup> On ASIO’s early history, see, e.g. Sean Brawley, "'Days of Rage' Downunder: Considering American Influences on 'Home-Grown' Terrorism and Asio's Response in 1970s Australia", *Australian Historical Studies* 47, no. 2 (2016); Frank Cain, *Terrorism & Intelligence in Australia : A History of Asio and National Surveillance* (North Melbourne, Vic: Australian Scholarly Pub., 2009); David Horner, *The Spy Catchers. The Official History of Asio, 1949-1963. Volume One* (2014). Brawley, "'Days of Rage' Downunder: Considering American Influences on 'Home-Grown' Terrorism and Asio's Response in 1970s Australia."; Cain, *Terrorism & Intelligence in Australia : A History of Asio and National Surveillance*; Horner, *The Spy Catchers. The Official History of Asio, 1949-1963. Volume One*. For one who wished to know how, and the extent to which, the life of individual political activists back in the 1960s/70s, were affected by ASIO’s operations, a recent book edited by Meredith Burmann is worth reading: Meredith Burgmann, *Dirty Secrets : Our Asio Files* (2014).

<sup>373</sup> With regards to the CPA (ML), the ASIO files so far released for public access shows that its surveillance operations on the latter lasted at least two decades, from the middle of 1963 to 1983.

<sup>374</sup> ASIO records on CPA (ML) after 1987 had yet been released at the time when this thesis was written.

attention of ASIO in the late 1940s, when himself was still a member of the CPA) and Australian student activist in the 1960s, like Albert Langer who had at least 23 volumes of ASIO records, with the last piece of information created on 7<sup>th</sup> December, 1976, showing that ASIO was in liaison with the Criminal Investigation Branch of the Commonwealth Police.<sup>375</sup>

It is apparent that ASIO could not have accumulated all the information without an investment in ManPower, or in fact, 'advanced' Manpower as Sir Robert Menzies and his policy advisors would have described it. In this regard, I would like to say no more than three things, which I consider to be most relevant to the interest of this section, beginning with a succinct summary of the techniques employed by ASIO in collecting the information it deemed valuable.

First came the telephone interception. It is evident that ASIO tapped and transcribed the conversations, which took place between 'persons of its interest', e.g. between Hill and others and *vice versa*. Second, information that existed in the public domain, particularly newspaper articles, was another important source of ASIO's database.<sup>376</sup> For instance, the staff of ASIO were so greatly impressed by the 'quality' of two articles written by a certain Robert Murray on the CPA(ML), that they not only added both texts into their collection, but also tried to contact the author for further information.<sup>377</sup> Thirdly, and by some means, possibly through an agent planted within the CPA (ML), documents, which

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<sup>375</sup> Attachment of the Victorian Police Special Branch report, giving details of a public meeting organised by the Citizens for Democracy, which Langer was involved. NAA, "A6119, 4307": 89.

<sup>376</sup> For ASIO's collection of mass media coverage of the CPA (ML) see e.g. "A6122, 2577," 57, 89,91. See also ASIO's collection of Vanguard *ibid.*, 75, 108.

<sup>377</sup> "A6122, 2578," 42.



supposed to have been circulated only within the CPA (ML), fell into the hands of ASIO.<sup>378</sup> Fourthly, ASIO staff also undertook frequent on-site ‘operations’, by which I mean they took photographs and documented the activities and personal information (addresses of residencies and registered numbers of vehicles, etc.) of individuals, whom, they deemed to be worth such effort.<sup>379</sup> Finally, the evidence also indicates that ASIO had tried to obtain information through interviewing people, who had been close to, or associated with, its ‘targeted’ organizations or individuals.<sup>380</sup>

ASIO did not, however, see itself simply as being responsible for gathering information. ASIO also applied the Manpower in its possession into analysing the information it had acquired. In the very first fortnightly report produced by ASIO on the CPA (ML) in 1964, we see the latter organization being ‘divided’ or ‘cut into’ pieces. There were sections detailing the policy of the CPA (ML), and others examining its propaganda work, its liaison with other foreign communist parties, its structure of leadership and membership, its finance and education, etc. And this format of the report, henceforth appeared regularly in ASIO’s records on the CPA (ML).<sup>381</sup>

Then, in September 1968, ASIO composed a comprehensive report (a total 123 pages, including five appendices) report consisting of seven separate sections: “synopsis, introduction, the origins of the C.P.A (M/L), organisation, strategy and

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<sup>378</sup> Ibid., 20-24.

<sup>379</sup> "A6119, 3932," 59; "A6119, 3931": 77. Also see *ibid.*, 174.

<sup>380</sup> See., e.g. "A6119, 5485," 32. Also see "A6119, 3931," 148. It revealed that ASIO conducted an interview with someone who apparently knew Langer and his parents. McKnight, *Australia's Spies and Their Secrets*, 228-29.

<sup>381</sup> NAA, "A6122, 2577," 20.

tactics, liaison with overseas communist parties, and conclusion on the same CPA (ML). A full analysis of this ASIO report on CPA (ML) rendered by ASIO is beyond the scope of this study, but I think it is worthwhile to quote its conclusion to exemplifying the *raison d'etre* of its surveillance on Hill and his comrades:

*Although achievement of the Party's objectives is unrealistic in its operational milieu, there is a real possibility that its theory and organisation may make it a valuable asset in terms of Chinese espionage and may produce violent attempts to subvert the nation's social, political and economic structures.*<sup>382</sup>

Clearly, or at least as I see it, in ASIO's judgement, the CPA (ML) was conceived as an instrument of Red China, and since the latter threatened the nation of Australia, both must be closely 'watched'. The same rationale underlying ASIO's operations on the CPA (ML) was articulated in a more explicit way in another undated ASIO report (presumably written in the period between 1973 and 1976), in which the following descriptions under the title "Significance for National Security":

*The CPA (ML) clearly threatens national security: it is a revolutionary party which sees the necessity for violence both in the long and short term; it gives unswerving loyalty to a foreign power from which it receives wide general support, including financial assistance; and it is a clandestine organization with a dedicated and disciplined membership. The seriousness of this threat is not easy to determine. The conspiratorial nature of the Party has seriously limited coverage, and prevented a conclusive assessment of its capacity and activities.*<sup>383</sup>

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<sup>382</sup> "A12694, 24," 107.

<sup>383</sup> "A6119, 3975," 67.

We can see from the above quote that the CPA (ML) was not only understood as a violent and secretive organization, but also because of its 'loyalty' to a foreign country, or an 'enemy' country of the Australian State, seen to constitute itself as a threat to the nation.

Yet, as I have suggested above, it was not only the CPA (ML) that was considered by ASIO as an 'enemy' planted by a foreign country within. In the first place, it can be observed in the records that ASIO tried for years to identify links existing between the CPA (ML) and individual student activists like Langer, in order to prove that Langer was 'used' by the CPA (ML) for conducting 'subversive' works.

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Another piece of evidence can be drawn from a document produced by ASIO in July 1967, entitled *'New Left' Trends and Developments in Australia Over the Period 1966/67, Including the C.P.A.'s Programme For A 'Coalition of the Left'*. It contained the following comments:

*This Committee (Vietnam Solidarity Committee) has issued its first pamphlet, entitled "Vietnam – the Face of Imperialism." It is significant that the pamphlet was authorised by H. McQueen who is Secretary of the "Vietnam Day Committee" ..... However, in its rejection of negotiation as the means of bringing the war to a close, it is in conflict with both the Communist Party of Australia and the Australian Peace movement and closer to the line of the pro-Peking Communist Party of Australia (Marxist/Leninist) ..... Such a new move to link the policies and activities of the protest movement with a hard, communist – type political line concerning Australia's internal and foreign relations is a new*

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<sup>384</sup> "A6119, 3931," 37.

*development in the protest movement, and could lead to serious dissension therein.*<sup>385</sup>

Finally, I would like to quote a passage from a text, with the title: *A Note On Terrorist Activity* produced by ASIO in 1971:

*4. In Australia numerous established revolutionary bodies, both 'Old Left' and 'New Left', have, over a period of time, indicated their support various of these revolutionary or 'freedom' movements. Further, it may be significant that, in Australia over the period 1969 to 1971 inclusive, between 90 and 100 politically motivated incidents of violence and vandalism (including the use of incendiary devices and high explosives) took place, of which 25% were publicly claimed by persons alleging to be spokesmen of bodies described variously as 'People's Liberation Army', 'Australian Liberation Army, 'People's Liberation Army Forces', and 'Students' Liberation Army corps'.*

*Whilst it is not known if these organisations actually exist, it seems likely that the person involved in such incidents received their incentives for action, models for organization, and ideas for weapons from the programmes and operations of the bodies listed in paragraph 3 (namely foreign terrorist groups), furthermore, it is possible that such persons are associated with actual organisations in Australia promoting violent revolutionary programmes, e.g. the CPA(ML), the 'worker-student alliance' and the Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group.*<sup>386</sup>

I wish to recall, at this point of the discussion, a book written by David McKnight, called *Australia's spies and their secrets*. In it, McKnight suggested that: "ASIO and other intelligence agencies were particularly concerned with what they called "China's 'cultural offensive' – essentially exchange programs of Chinese artists

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<sup>385</sup> "A12389, A30 Part 5," (1971), 36-37.

<sup>386</sup> "A12389, A30 Part 14," (1971), 2.

and unionists on the one hand and sympathetic Western visitors to China on the other,” and that “(a)s part of an aggressive campaign to isolate China, CSM (Committee of Security Experts) members banned trade, diplomatic and cultural exchanges at various times”.<sup>387</sup>

Now, as the analysis presented in this section has tried to show, the CPA (ML) and various China ‘related’ individuals and organizations had become ‘problematic’ in the eyes of ASIO. Or, to be more precise, at various points of time, i.e. in 1968 and sometime in the early 1970s, ASIO reported that the CPA (ML), some individual student activists, and student groups like the ‘worker-student alliance’, which was known for being a Maoist organisation, were threatening the nation state, because of their connection with and subservience to an ‘enemy’ country. Yet, it seems to me, as late as the late 1970s, ASIO’s operation on the CPA (ML), was still underscored, as revealed by a commentary on the “existing Threat Assessments (TA)” on the CPA (ML) dated on 19<sup>th</sup> May 1978, presented below, by the discourse of ‘national security’. An anonymous writer commented on the memo of the TA:

*The first sentence of the TA says ‘A local instrument of the PRC in Australia is the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) (CPA (M-L))’. Comment – this is a leading statement which gives the wrong interpretation of the situation. The CPA (ML) is an instrument of the PRC, but is also more than that, as it both seeks to achieve a communist society in Australia, and publicly espouses Australian nationalism..... Paragraph 2.13, the final sentence, says ‘The CPA (M-L) in turn influences the affairs of the Australia/China Society, a cultural group which advocates PRC causes’. Comment – this is too weak a description*

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<sup>387</sup> McKnight, *Australia's Spies and Their Secrets*, 224.

*of the ACS, and as such is misleading. The ACS does more than 'advocate' PRC causes (by implication some but not all causes), it vigorously pushes the policies of the PRC. It could be said the ACS is more of an agent in Australia of the PRC than is the CPA (ML).*<sup>388</sup>

Once upon time, a 'Mad Man' said: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's".<sup>389</sup> Approximately one thousand and five hundred years later, that is to say, in the dawn of the death of God and the birth of Man, we heard in Chapter Two, an anxious voice murmuring, from the New World, the following words: "First, by what right (ius) were the barbarians subjected to Spanish rule?"<sup>390</sup> Another four hundred or so years would pass, as I have tried to show in this section, before another discourse, the ones of Hobbes' Leviathan, came to us in a Report about the Australian University: "Australia is also a member of the South Pacific Commission, through which she plays her part in the study of the problems of the scattered island peoples of this vast area and in measures for the furtherance of their welfare."<sup>391</sup>

This commitment of the modern Australian university, I shall argue, reflects a kind of paternalistic mentality, which Barry Hindess has described as the liberal government of unfreedom.<sup>392</sup> And it is this 'modernised' or 'post 'colonial governmentality, that has turned Monash into a 'dirty' battleground between the student rebels and the university administration (I will return to this point in next section), exposed the truth of the 'enemies', i.e. the Chinese Puzzle, which has

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<sup>388</sup> NAA, "A6122, 2579": 150.

<sup>389</sup> Matthew 22:21

<sup>390</sup> Vitoria, Pagden, and Lawrance, *Political Writings*, 233.

<sup>391</sup> Universities, *Report of the Committee on Australian Universities*, 16.

<sup>392</sup> Barry Hindess, "The Liberal Government of Unfreedom", *Alternatives*. 26, no. 2 (2001): 94-95.

been threatening the Nation, the Society and the State of *A new Britannia*.<sup>393</sup> But, with the enemies of the State now identified, the question or say, problem then became, how *WE* suppose to deal with *them*? And it is to this question that the remaining part of this chapter will turn.

## **The ‘University’ Must Be Defended: Governing the ‘irreverent’ Maoists**

On 5<sup>th</sup> September 1967, three Monash University undergraduate students, Michael Hyde, Bill (William) Dowling and Albert Langer, all of whom also ‘happened’ to be known as the Maoists, set up a table in the university’s Union Building to collect funds for the NLF Red Cross. Then a few days later, Hyde, Dowling, and Langer, each received a letter of notification issued by the Academic Registrar of Monash University, which contained following statements:

### *The Terms of the Accusations with Particulars*

*Firstly:* That (as) a student of the University you did with other students of the University on the 5th day of September 1967 in the Union Building commit an act of misconduct and a breach of discipline by soliciting funds for the “N.L.F. Red Cross” in contravention of a direction issued by the Vice Chancellor on the 30th day of August 1967.

*Secondly:* That you also did commit a breach of the discipline of the University on the 5th day of September 1967 in the Union Building by refusing to obey an instruction given to you and other students by Mr. Graeme Sweeney, Warden of

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<sup>393</sup> McQueen, *A New Britannia*.

*the Union, when he instructed you to remove from the building the sign and the table which you did there have in your charge.* <sup>394</sup>

Let us shelve the above quoted “The Terms of the Accusations with Particulars” for the time being, and turn the clock forward a bit to 12<sup>th</sup> September 1967, when an open letter entitled: *Monash Students and Vietnam* (hereafter as MSV) was sent by Matheson, the Vice Chancellor of Monash, to all its students, and I would like to quote a passage from this text:

*At a press conference which I held on 31<sup>st</sup> August I tried to establish my attitude on three matters:*

- a. That collecting unspecified funds which might be used by the N.L.F. for military purposes was repugnant to so many people that it should not be permitted on the campus.*
- b. That collecting for genuine civilian aid certainly was permitted.*
- c. That whatever the private views of individual members, the University as a whole was politically neutral. It therefore behoved all members, staff and students, to endeavour to insulate the University from their personal political actions.* <sup>395</sup>

So, in late 1967, the Monash Maoists were found ‘guilty’, as we had seen from the two texts quoted above, for defying the prior-instructions imposed by their Vice Chancellor, who forbade “soliciting funds for the “N.L.F. Red Cross”, and therefore, had to be disciplined by the university. And the three primary reasons provided by the Vice Chancellor of Monash University on why the conduct just

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<sup>394</sup> "Albert Langer Collection: Monash Discipline Committee – Correspondence, 1967-1971, Z457 B33," (Noel Butlin Archives Centre ).

<sup>395</sup> Ibid.



mentioned was not permitted, so that if it did take place, the responsible individuals must be punished. First, it was revealed that the Australian dollars collected by Monash students on the premises of university for the NLF Red Cross, because it could be “used by the N.L.F. for military purposes was repugnant”. Secondly, based upon a prior-distinction established between ‘genuine civilian aid’ and, if I may say ‘phony civilian aid’, it was said that former was permitted, most likely for the converse reason of that the former was ‘morally justified’, while the latter was “repugnant”. Finally, it was simply stated that the University as whole was politically neutral and no-one should do anything personally that would suggest otherwise.

I would like to raise three and only three queries to the syllogism presented in the MSV quoted above, because it seems to me that they are all pertinent to the question of how the Monash Maoists had been identified, disciplined, and contained.

First, can we not infer from the same “clause a” of MSV that the War is by itself not a “repugnant” matter, and that killing another human being in the war only became intolerable, when the man killed was one of ‘us’, i.e., one of the citizens of White Australia?<sup>396</sup>

Second, with regards to the “clause b” of MSV, the key issue, other than the ones regarding the wheat/money, trade/aid type of distinction already broached in the

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<sup>396</sup> “We have practically no colour problem” said Matheson in one of his lecture in 1968. Louis Matheson and Trust Alfred Deakin Lecture, *Problems of Australian Universities* (Melbourne: Alfred Deakin Lecture Trust, 1968), 18.

last section, which I wish to raise, concerning the notion of “genuineness”. Assuming that whether a person “genuinely” intended to send civilian or non-civilian aid to NLF could be actually proven by the science of the Men, I wonder that the same science had not been circumscribed by the certain rules of formation, which the governmental rationality of the *raisons d’état* must also obey?

Third, given that the ‘clause c’ of MSV seemed to implying, that the University as a totality, must not only be impersonal and apolitical, can we infer from it that such a restriction applies to all members of the University under all circumstances?

I shall try to avoid (and perhaps I had already done so) seeing the wood for the trees, but in what follows, I wish comment on but the last question just raised in relation to Dr Matheson’s attempts to contain the student activists.

In 1970, that is to say, three years after the Monash Maoists being found guilty, Langer applied to further his studies at Melbourne University. His application was rejected, so did his earlier application to Monash University. Triggered by this rejection of Langer’s application, the student activists at Melbourne University ‘stormed’ a meeting held by the Professorial Board, demanding a revision of the admission Statue. Shortly afterwards, 32 ‘disrupters’ were ‘handpicked’ by Melbourne University for discipline, a decision which incited a student occupation of the Raymond Priestly Building on 6 May 1971.<sup>397</sup> When commenting on this event, Sir Henry Bolte, the state Premier of Victoria, but also an honorary member of Monash University, having been was awarded an LL.D

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<sup>397</sup> Macintyre and Selleck, *A Short History of the University of Melbourne*, 136-37.

by Monash University in May 1967, stated that he would get in touch the Prime Minister (MR. McMahon) about suspending scholarships from students involved in the blockade, because of he was:

*(G)etting sick and tired of the taxpayer carrying a lot of no-hopers.....We do not have to take anyone.....There are any amount of students who might not have such brilliant qualifications but they will turn out better citizens in the long haul than the trouble makers.* <sup>398</sup>

Whether Sir Henry Bolte genuinely meant what he said above, I cannot say in any definite terms, but according to Michael Hyde, after he had become politically engaged in the late 1960s, the studentship previously provided to him by Education Department ceased. <sup>399</sup> It appears to me that what Sir Henry said above was not only personal but also political, and more importantly, that when he was speaking, he was a member of Monash University. And if that was what really is the case, then it seems to me that Sir Henry did not appear to be bonded by 'clause c' of MSV, for otherwise, he should also have been subjected to discipline and punishment in the same way as both did to Hyde, Langer and Dowling.

But, while Monash University was not actually what its first Vice Chancellor wished it to be, was there any other reason provided to justify the discipline and punishment of conduct, which was deemed as too 'repugnant' to be tolerated? And if so, what were the techniques deployed for the same purpose? To answer both these questions, let us now to turn to the words, which had been uttered by

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<sup>398</sup> Unspecified Newspaper from "Albert Langer Collection: Student Radicalisation (Melbourne Clippings), 1966-1971, Z457 B19."

<sup>399</sup> Hyde, *All Along the Watchtower : Memoir of a Sixties Revolutionary*, 160,70,248.

Dr Matheson on 6<sup>th</sup> July 1968, that is, after the three students of Monash had been found guilty and subsequently disciplined for sending 'unspecified' aids to NLF:

*There are some off-campus activities, however, of which the University must take cognisance although what is actually done will naturally depend on the particular circumstances. If member of the University are convicted of certain offences consideration may have to be given to their continued association with our society..... No doubt there will be but few cases of off-campus activity which the University will want to do anything about but I think we should be unwise to deprive ourselves of any authority at all in this matter.*<sup>400</sup>

We shall henceforth direct our attention to another document entitled: *Discipline and Status Draft Statues* sent by the Vice Chancellor of Monash to all members of the university on 17<sup>th</sup> July 1969, and from which I would like to quote the passage presented below:

*17.3 (If) the applicant or student has at any time, by any court of law been convicted of a serious criminal offence or a number of criminal offences and the conduct for which he was convicted is in the opinion of the Committee of such a nature as to provide reasonable grounds for believing that a determination should be made for the protection of*

*17.3.1 any student or member of staff, or*

*17.3.2 any property of the University or of any student or member of staff, and in considering the nature of the conduct the Committee shall take into account the findings, both as to fact and law, of the court, provided however that the Committee, shall not make a determination when the conviction was for an offence which in the opinion of the Committee was of a political character.*<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>400</sup> "Albert Langer Collection: Monash Discipline Committee – Correspondence, 1967-1971, Z457 B33."

<sup>401</sup> Ibid.

What Dr Matheson said on 6<sup>th</sup> July 1968, with regards to the condition under which disciplinary action shall be taken by his university against students “convicted of certain offences”, and the Clause 17.3 of the drafted Monash Discipline Statue quoted above, were sternly opposed by the Left-wing student activists at Monash University.<sup>402</sup> But, the negotiations and conflicts between the students and the administration of Monash University, had indeed led to the repeal of Clause 17.3., and triggered a student sit-in in the administration building on 14<sup>th</sup> July, 1969. Consequently, eight ‘student disrupters’ were ‘identified’ and disciplined by Monash University, and among them, some known members of the ‘notorious’ Monash Labour Club (MLC) received a penalty of suspended expulsion.

The actual history of the disputes and conflicts centred on Clause 17.3 notwithstanding, have been covered by previous studies, and so for my part, I would like to simply argue that both the statement made by Dr Matheson on 6<sup>th</sup> July 1968 and the explications of Clause 17.3 provided in the next year, reflected an attempt to defend the university through a governing technology, which I shall name as ‘double exclusion’. That is to say, the tactic of excluding someone from both the *society* and the *university*, by resorting to a quasi-jurisprudential discourse of criminality construed and legitimatised by the State.

But that this technology of ‘double exclusion’, was only one among many other ones constructed and implemented in dealing with the Sixties student ‘rebels’ at Monash University. For it was reinforced by a second one, which was articulated

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<sup>402</sup> *It Is Right to Rebel*, 74.

by Dr Matheson, after the event of July 4<sup>th</sup> occupation just mentioned had taken place, but before the Monash University Discipline Committee announced a suspended permanent exclusion of five students for their “misconduct”:

*Finally, my own opinion is that too much attention has been concentrated on the punitive aspect of discipline and, indeed, the title Discipline Statute itself is unfortunate, I therefore have in mind trying to write a chapter for the Calendar under the general heading of ‘Behaviour in the University’ of something of that kind, beginning with a description of what is regarded as acceptable normal conduct on the part of both staff and students. A resume of the Parking Regulations, the Library Rules and other such ad hoc regulations might follow, leading on to a statement of the responsibilities and powers of members of staff.*

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Apparently, or perhaps not, but nonetheless that is my argument here, the government of the rebellious students at Monash University through a technology of ‘double exclusion’, would have to be augmented by, and for the reason, as revealed by the above quoted passage, that “too much emphasis” had been put on the “punitive aspect of discipline”, an alternative governing technology of normalisation. In other words, although no further explanations were given on why the “title Discipline Statute itself is unfortunate”, it was considered ‘desirable’ to introduce not only a norm stipulating the “acceptable normal conduct” of the members of the Monash University, but also a whole collection of specified regulations concerning the car park, the libraries, etc., all considered to be fallen within the charted territories of the university behaviour.

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<sup>403</sup> "Albert Langer Collection: Monash Discipline Committee – Correspondence, 1967-1971, Z457 B33."

Now, I feel obliged to make a suggestion that this new normalizing technology was constructed, at least partly on an assumption that the power of total rationality, is more effective than the bare power of discipline, provided that the subject in question was rational. I shall qualify this suggestion, by referencing another passage, quoted from one of the public lectures given by Dr Matheson in 1968, in which he said the following words:

*I can remember in my own student days, in the late 'twenties and early 'thirties, reading about university opposition to established, if not very enlightened, governments and about marches, demonstrations and riots, which were more or less effective in bringing about reforms ..... but I do recall wondering why it was that although in certain countries student pressure could shake, and even occasionally overturn, governments, nothing of the kind seemed remotely possible in Britain; and this despite the rapidly intensifying slump which was making the future look distinctly unattractive to young graduates. The characteristic feature of countries where students did get violently involved in politics – and this is probably true of places like Indonesia today – was a generally low level of literacy..... Moreover a limited revolt staged by students was less fundamental in character than a full-scale workers' revolution; it could be relied upon to subside after certain limited concessions had been won..... I judge that this is how people view current events in Mexico.....To be sure, they are making a great nuisance of themselves with the Olympic Games only a week or two away; and surely to shoot at policemen and blow up buses is going a bit too far, even if the university has been occupied by troops. <sup>404</sup>*

I will not comment on whether or why student movements have or have not actually violently challenged the government in the very piece of land which Her Majesty called home, nor shall I say anything more than that, by the time when

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<sup>404</sup> Matheson and Alfred Deakin Lecture, *Problems of Australian Universities*, 12-13.

the above mentioned speech was delivered, sufficient or perhaps all too much blood had already been shed in vain in order to give literacy to the natives living on the land once known as the Dutch East Indies and Francisco de Vitoria's Barbarians, since I had said perhaps already too much on issues related to both matters in Chapter Two. Indeed, if the simple truth that no Man can serve two masters were to be followed, I sense that I was allowed to add two more comments on the technology of normalisation as discussed above.

First, we shall be able to see, through the references to "Indonesia" and "the current events of Mexico", in Dr Matheson's speech, the establishment of a correlation between 'literacy' and the justified use of violence. Such correlation, I shall argue, again reflects a characteristically illiberal dimension of liberal governmentality, when it comes to a postcolonial subject. Second and in relation to Dr Matheson's "wonder" about the nature of the student radicals who had made "a great nuisance of themselves" in certain countries, I wish to say that the type of problematic underscoring by Dr Matheson's "wonder" (or, actually anxiety, as I see it) as well as its solution, can be traced back to two of Aristotle's famous dictum. And that is, first, Man is an animal "endowed with the gift of speech" and secondly, a Stateless man is by nature prone to be violent.<sup>405</sup>. Indeed, as a stateless

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<sup>405</sup> "Hence it is evident that the state is a creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal. And he who by nature and not by mere accident is without a state, is either above humanity, or below it; he is the 'Tribeless, lawless, heartless one,' whom Homera denounces—the outcast who is a lover of war; he may be compared to a bird which flies alone. Now the reason why man is more of a political animal than bees or any other gregarious animals is evident. Nature, as we often say, makes nothing in vain, and man is the only animal whom she has endowed with the gift of speech. And whereas mere sound is but an indication of pleasure or pain, and is therefore found in other animals (for their nature attains to the perception of pleasure and pain and the intimation of them to one another, and no further), the power of speech is intended to set forth the expedient and inexpedient, and likewise the just and the unjust. And it is a characteristic of man that he alone has any sense of good and evil, of just and unjust, and the association of living beings who have this sense makes a family and a state" B. Jowett, *The Politics of Aristotle* (Clarendon, 1885), 4.



postcolonial subject who is incapable of communicate in a civilised discourse, s/he is doomed to be violently making herself/himself a nuisance in the eyes of those civilised Man.

Neither the technologies of 'double exclusion' and normalisation referred to above, however, worked to the effect of containing the Monash "Maoists". In the midst of campaigning for the first Moratorium scheduled for 8 May, 1970 and a later demonstration planned for July 4<sup>th</sup> outside the U.S. consulate in Melbourne, they discovered that an American company, Honeywell, which, was known for producing weapons used in Vietnam, was about to conduct an interview on the premises of the Careers and Appointments (C. & A.) Office located inside the building, which housed Monash Union. Once the scheduled Honeywell interview was known to the Monash Labor Club (MLC), the latter decided to oppose it by occupying the C. & A. Office. After the occupation being carried out on 29<sup>th</sup> June 1970, charges against the nine students involved, whose names had been taken down by the Monash Discipline Committee. Then, on the grounds that the "work of the Careers and Appointments Office had been seriously disrupted, that some office supplies had been used without permission, and some damage done to the Office",<sup>406</sup> but also weighed against the 'severity' of the previous misconduct records of the charged individuals, two students received the penalty decreed by the discipline committee of Monash University on 17<sup>th</sup> August, 1970, of permanent expulsion from Monash University, one for two years, and the other

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<sup>406</sup> "Albert Langer Collection: Monash Discipline Committee – Correspondence, 1967-1971, Z457 B33."

four for twelve months. Among all eight students thus penalized, three were members of MLC and known for being Maoist.<sup>407</sup>

So, the effort of defining what is “acceptable normal conduct”, and the attempt to speak it ‘with’ the student ‘rebels’ had failed, and so the discourse of the ‘law and order’, and not the ones concerning the political aspect of occupation itself, was reinvoked and enacted to the effect of excluding some from the University. That, however, did not mean, however, the door was forever ‘closed’ to the ‘disrupters’ of the ‘*Studium Generale*’, provided that the latter admitted their previous wrongdoings and promised to observe the ‘law and order’. This was made very clear in the passages, which I quote below from a letter sent by the founding Vice Chancellor of Monash University to the father of one student excluded for the C & A ‘incident’:

*I am forced to the conclusion that your son and some of his friends were just not prepared to regard their membership of the University as being for the purpose of scholarship, since they have consistently used it for the purpose of propagating their political views by any means however unscrupulous. No restraints are placed on the peaceful advocacy of political views in Monash but we do object to their being forcibly imposed by militant actions.*

*Finally I want to assure you that if these students were prepared to observe the “limits of Protest” which the University has adopted then I should be ready to suggest to my colleagues that their re-admission should be reconsidered.<sup>408</sup>*

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<sup>407</sup> Ibid.

<sup>408</sup> Ibid.

At this point of the discussion, I sense that it is worthwhile stressing in the first place and with regards to the text just quoted, that the installation of a dichotomy or differentiation between the “purpose of scholarship” and the “political views”, signified the same inherent contradiction in a liberal capitalist governmentality, which, as my earlier analysis has shown, also saturated Sir Robert’s *The Universities – Some Queries* speech in 1964. That is to say, a contradiction between, on the one hand, an earnest desire to encourage the freedom of pursuing the truth in the University for the benefit of the nation, and on the other hand, a manoeuvre to pre-empt or/and neutralize the truth thus generated from being directed to ends which were perceived by those in authority to put at risk the concept of freedom at the centre of their truth regime.

Secondly, I argue that by seeing this assurance of readmission on the basis of observing the “limits of Protest”, we are also witnessing, from a governmentality perspective, the deployment of a technology of ‘submission’ in containing the Monash Maoists. It is a technology of ‘submission’, in the sense that by the time of the 1960s, ‘God had already been well Dead’, or at least had been pronounced as being ‘Dead’ for centuries, and so one can no longer ask another one to confess her/his past crime by resorting to ecclesiastical authority, but only through speaking in the name of the Enlightened Rationality, or/and the Natural Justice, both of which are sanctified by the power of the State.<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>409</sup> We can see the rationality underscoring this technology of submission, in its most explicit manifestation by the ‘diffusion’ or simply containment of the student movement at Latrobe University, which had gone ‘out of the hand’ of the university administration, by the police in 1972, the appeal for a court injunction prohibiting certain previously excluded students from entering the same university, and finally the arrest and ensued ‘indefinite’ goaling of four students, among whom, some ‘appeared’ to be the so called Maoists for deifying the order thus decreed. Not totally unexpected, those Latrobe student activists who had been jailed for the reason just mentioned, were asked to sign a statement along with the university council in repudiating “any

## Conclusion

This chapter is devoted to an analysis of the rationality underwriting the governments of Australian Maoism. Through first highlighting a connection between on the one hand, the desire of augmenting the wealth of the nation, and securing the hegemony of White Australia in the Asia-Pacific region, and on the other hand, a recognition of the knowledge produced by the University, I further unveil an contradiction inherent in a capitalistic liberal governmentality, which first initiated and continuously drove the rapid modernization of Australian universities in the 1950s/60s. The rationale of ‘seeking the truth’ for the benefit of the nation-state became increasingly ‘problematic’ in the eyes of the University, media, the Liberal and ALP politicians and ASIO, after Australia committed itself to a war fighting against the Chinese backed ‘Viet Cong’, while still wishing to trade freely with Chinese communist regime. As a manifestation of this crisis of capitalistic liberal governmentality, the turmoils ‘incited’ by the student ‘rebels’ became for a time, a recurring feature of some Australian universities. The last section analyses the government of the student uprisings at Monash University in the late 1960s/70s, an endeavour through which I have been able to uncover and discuss three specific technologies of government: the technology of ‘double exclusion’, ‘normalisation’ and ‘submission’, deployed against the Left-wing student activists. All these technologies, I argue, was closely tied up to the project of building up the modern university in Australia in accordance with a capitalistic liberal democratic “regime of truth”.

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types of violence on the university campus of La Trobe University.” York, *Student Revolt! : La Trobe University, 1967 to 1973*, 156-57.

## Chapter Five: 'Things Are Beginning to Change'<sup>410</sup>

### Struggles Against the Turning Tide in Australia

#### Introduction

In this and next chapter, Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' keeps flowing in Australia's Seventies, but this *author* is dying, for it is already too late for him to do anything more than providing with a 'document' and 'analysis' of the decline of Maoism, as an anti-capitalist 'regime of truth' in Australia, from two contradictory angles. This present chapter focuses on the 'internal' contradictions of Maoism as it played out in the Australian context in the period between 1972 and 1977. What will be recounted first are the struggles of those who, had, or has been inspired by Chinese socialism against an increasingly visible trend of political demobilisation in Australia, which began to emerge after the end of the Vietnam War. Aware of this adverse development, the Maoists nonetheless fought hard in the hope to maintain the same political intensity of the revolutionary tide, which they had once been carrying in the late 1960s. Yet, as it often happened or happens in the history of a Movement, while striving to turn an ebbing tide, disputes had also begun to travelling among those who were determined to seek revolutionary changes. The new agenda of national independence, which the CPA (ML) began to promoting in the early 1970s, led to growing confusion and tension. Whereas, some called for uniting with the national bourgeoisie against the foreign imperialist, others began to see the perceived discrepancy, as it appeared to be,

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<sup>410</sup> 毛澤東, 毛澤東選集 第五卷, 423. English Translations: Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao*, Vol. 5, 423.

between the projection of Mao's China as a genuine socialist regime and the 'normalization' of Chinese foreign policy after the restoration of a Party-State structure, which was once temporarily paralysed by the assaults of the Red Guards during the first two years of the GPCR.

All the otherwise concealed grievances and discontent that had been fermenting within the Australian Maoists came to a boiling point, after a leftist faction of the CCP, closely associated with Mao himself, (but later branded by the Chairman's 'designated successor', Hua Guofeng, as the 'Gang of Four') were purged and subsequently denounced by the post-Mao CCP leadership in late 1976. As the final section of this chapter shows, the CPA (ML) was sharply divided over their assessment of the sudden demise of the 'Gang of Four', so that the divisions which thus came into being, finally, but also quickly spilled over to issues concerning the domestic policies of the Party, and eventually led to a painful split in the middle of 1977.

### **Riding on an Ebbing Tide: the Forgotten Story of the Maoists in the Early 1970s**

For some unknown reasons, we know more about the part played by the Maoist students in the Sixties movement, than what happened to the same group of people afterwards. This section will try to fill this vacuum in the existing scholarship.

To begin with, I would like to sum up in a few words, three important political developments, that had contributed to the decline of the Sixties type of radicalism, which the Maoist current was part of. First was the demobilising effect produced by the defeat, then withdrawal of the American/Australian military force in Vietnam, notwithstanding the fact that the end of ‘direct intervention’ in 1972 was followed by a new and equally vicious policy of ‘Vietnamization’, as well as the intensification of American bombings on Cambodia, once the Australian government decided to ‘pull’ out of Vietnam, the mass movement built upon a broad anti-war agenda quickly petered out. This meant that the Left in Australia lost perhaps its most important platform for propagating its ideas.<sup>411</sup>

Secondly, the appeal of the Left to the general public, was further weakened by the ascension to power of the ALP under the leadership of Gough Whitlam. After defeating the Liberal-Coalition Party in the 1972 election, he became the first Labor Prime Minister since 1949 (Ben Chifley was in power from 1946 to 1949). Partly as a response to the general social upheaval of the late 1960s, the Whitlam government proposed a middle-range welfare reforms in line with a social liberal democratic philosophy.<sup>412</sup> During his short tenure as Prime Minister, Whitlam enacted a number of popular social policies, such as equal pay for women, the recognition of the “self-determination” and “land rights” of indigenous Australians, the establishment of Medibank and free university study.<sup>413</sup> All of

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<sup>411</sup> Greg Langley, *A Decade of Dissent : Vietnam and the Conflict on the Australian Homefront* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992).

<sup>412</sup> Thomas Bramble and Rick Kuhn, *Labor's Conflict : Big Business, Workers and the Politics of Class* (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

<sup>413</sup> There are some ‘stories’, as told by Geoff Raby, behind the ‘normalisation’ of the Sino-Australian relations. “AT MIDNIGHT ON 5 JULY 1971 IN PEKING, the leader of the opposition, Gough Whitlam, began a two-hour meeting with China’s premier, Zhou Enlai. This was the first direct meeting between a senior Australian political figure and the Chinese leadership since the

these, when taken together, significantly undermined the ‘mass base’ of the radical Left.<sup>414</sup> For instance, in an editorial published in the Monash Labor Club’s organ *Print*, which appeared in 1974, student movement at the time appeared to have lost “direction and initiative”, due to “the end of Vietnam War, the election of a Labor Government, and the fruits of the victories we won over the University Administration.”<sup>415</sup>

Finally, and this is the point most relevant to the student New Left, from the early 1970s onwards, it became increasingly embroiled with fractional conflicts and disputes.<sup>416</sup> The failure to work out a relatively coherent and stable framework accelerated the dissolution of an always volatile and fragmented New Left, which would soon be replaced by the so called new social movements.<sup>417</sup> By the 1980s, the now ‘old’ New Leftists would each go in new directions and form ‘ginger groups’, centred on issues as diverse as environment protection and various forms of identity based inequality. Meanwhile, some of the old slogans, such as anti-imperialism and class struggle, gradually lost their prominence on the university campus.<sup>418</sup>

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Communist Party asserted its control over China in 1949..... On 12 July, the Prime Minister, William McMahon, responded to the news saying: ‘It is time to expose the shams and absurdities of his excursion into instant coffee diplomacy. We must not become pawns of the giant Communist power in our region. I find it incredible that at a time when Australian soldiers are still engaged in Vietnam, the leader of the Labor Party is becoming a spokesman for those against whom we are fighting.’” Geoff Raby, "Australia and China Forty Years On", *Meanjin* 71, no. 2 (2012): 90,92.

<sup>414</sup> Bramble and Kuhn, *Labor's Conflict : Big Business, Workers and the Politics of Class*, 84.

<sup>415</sup> *Print*, Vol. 8, No.1 March 11, 1974. Such an observation could nonetheless be changed on the ground that in late 1974, students of Monash again occupied the Administration building protesting against issues related assessment, followed by the intervention of police. Davison and Murphy, *University Unlimited : The Monash Story*, 135.

<sup>416</sup> See, e.g. Perry Anderson, *Considerations on Western Marxism* (London: NLB, 1976).

<sup>417</sup> Alan Barcan, *From New Left to Factional Left : Fifty Years of Student Activism at Sydney University* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2011), 127-32.

<sup>418</sup> For the ‘fate’ of academic Marxism in the U.S. context, see, e.g. Jeff Manza and Michael A. McCarthy, "The Neo-Marxist Legacy in American Sociology", *Annu. Rev. Sociol. Annual Review of Sociology* 37, no. 1 (2011).



So, the end of Australian's direct commitment Vietnam War, the establishment of a new reformist Labor government and the decline of the New Left, all meant that it was harder for an explicit anti-capitalist agenda to make headway in the 1970s. None of the things mentioned above are new, but, as I remarked earlier, what is comparatively less well known is what happened to the so-called student Maoists. Some, of course, would probably presume that this small group of Australian 'followers' of Chairman Mao had *naturally* become disenchanted and come to see the 'realities', after their 'unrealistic' social upheaval had worn itself out. But the evidence indicates that this was not true. As the discussion below shows, while the Maoists, like many others on the Left were affected by changing political environment, they did not immediately abjure their previous commitment to socialism.

According to a report compiled by an ASIO agent in late August 1972, during a meeting held by the Maoist Worker-Student Alliance (WSA) in Melbourne, disputes emerged among its members over the future policies of the organization. Among issues debated, was the question of whether revolution in Australia would go through the 'two stage' process, according to Mao's theory of "New Democracy", that is to say, whether Australia would first experience a 'New Democratic' Revolution, before it had a socialist one.<sup>419</sup> Then in early 1973, agents planted by ASIO in the WSA again reported that the organization was divided into three different groups. There was one faction which advocated "national liberation", and supported the idea of developing "a united front with the national bourgeoisie against the No.1 enemy U.S. imperialism"; another made

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<sup>419</sup> NAA, "A6119, 3974," 6.

up of “Maoist proletarian” liners, who insisted that the WSA should prioritize its work towards working class struggles; and a third one which consisted of “the Old Guard” of the Monash Labor Club.<sup>420</sup>

Since many who had been subjected to its surveillance later found out that ASIO often got things wrong, when recording their earlier ‘subversive’ activities, one may well question whether the things ASIO said about the WSA which I have represented above were accurate.<sup>421</sup> It seems to me that ASIO is likely to have been right in observing that divisions related to nationalism had arisen within the Maoist camp, for, they were recorded after Mao shook hands with Richard Nixon in Beijing. The Sino-American rapprochement initiated by Mao, who was determined to counter the rise of what he called Soviet socialist imperialism, perhaps set an example for the Australian Maoists, some of whom came up with the idea of aligning with the ALP against American influence in the country. A more conciliatory attitude towards the ALP can be detected also, if one compares the rhetoric of *The Vanguard* published in the pre- and post-Whitlam period, though as ASIO’s source again shows, there was certainly some disagreements within the ranks of the CPA (ML) towards the question of whether their party should openly endorse certain aspects of the newly elected Whitlam Government, or maintain a more critical stance.<sup>422</sup> Eventually, however, the nationalist/anti-imperialist line seems to have prevailed, a view that can be inferred from the name changes of various campus based Maoist groups from early 1973.

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<sup>420</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>421</sup> See, e.g. Burgmann, *Dirty Secrets : Our Asia Files*.

<sup>422</sup> NAA, "A6119, 5640," 123.

While the mass student movement at La Trobe University, as Barry York and Brian Pola's works have shown, slowly waned after 1972, the Maoists at the same university were nonetheless determined to keep alive their political work. As ASIO reports show, regrouped under a new organization named the Radical Student Movement (RSM), the La Trobe Maoists were still able to occasionally organize successful protest movements on issues related to Vietnam War.<sup>423</sup> Then in 1974, members associated with WSA (Melbourne) decided to change the name of their organization to the Australian National Liberation Movement (ANLM), with the stated objective of "continuing the militant profile of anti-imperialism in Australia", and maintaining an armed struggle "as necessary for achieving genuine Australian National Independence."<sup>424</sup> Similar changes followed elsewhere; the RSM, for example, changed its name to Students for Australian Independence (SAI) in 1975, and while Monash University saw the establishment of the Monash Students for Australian Independence, in Adelaide WSA became the WSA for Australian Independence.<sup>425</sup>

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Speaking in more practical terms, during the same period of transition, the Maoists began to campaign more vigorously for Australia's independence from U.S. domination. SAI organized several demonstrations against the then Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, as well as Prime Minister Fraser, both of whom were held responsible for the dismissal of Whitlam in 1975.<sup>426</sup>

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<sup>423</sup> See, e.g. "A6119, 5484," 51.

<sup>424</sup> A Short Paper on Moving Toward The Anti-Imperialist Movement, Oct 1975, Herouvim, "Box Titled: (Radical) Student Publications Inc Struggle(Wsa Publish), Pa 98/29."

<sup>425</sup> NAA, "A6122, 2567," 2, 24.

<sup>426</sup> "A6119, 5484," 111, 14. It is worth mentioning in the same regard is that from the CPA (ML)'s point of view, the "coup" was actually directed by the American government through the CIA, and Whitlam was sacked for he dared to "even mildly question some of U.S. 'imperialism's

Another issue that the ex-student Maoists focused upon in the early 1970s was the existence of U.S. military bases in Australia, which was viewed by some members of WSA as the “only mass ‘direct action’ issue worth pursuing.”<sup>427</sup> Apparently, many ex-student Maoists after leaving the university turned their attention to organizing campaigns against the presence of U.S. intelligence and naval bases in Pine Gap and the North West Cape.<sup>428</sup> As ASIO records show, from 1974 to 1977, activists associated with RSM (later SAI), as well as various groups in both Melbourne and Adelaide, conducted a number of interstate trips (known as the “Long March”) to the remote areas where U.S. military bases were located, in the hope of drawing public attention to their existence.<sup>429</sup>

Other than co-ordinating demonstrations against the dismissal of Whitlam and American naval bases in Australia, some student Maoists in Melbourne and Adelaide also used the means of “street theatre” to propagate their political agenda.<sup>430</sup> According to the reflections of one of the participants, the street theatre was “simple, stylised and [repeated] short performance ideally suited for passers-by gaining the essence of the particular political message”. The “materialization of this idea came possibly around 1974”.<sup>431</sup> Once a member of

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position.” Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), “People’s Mass Movement for Independence Grows”, *The Australian communist* 75 (1976): 20.

<sup>427</sup> NAA, “A6119, 5640,” 159.

<sup>428</sup> See, e.g. “A6119, 4526,” 104.

<sup>429</sup> For example, the destination of the “Long March” in 1974 was the North West Cape in the Western Australia in 1974. “A6119, 5641,” 41-42. And in 16 May 1976, after a long bus trip from Adelaide, about 50 activists arrived at Pine Gap and organized a demonstration outside its main entrance. “A6122, 2567,” 10-18. See also Worker Student Alliance For Australian Independence, “Pine Gap Contradictions”, *Worker Student Alliance For Australian Independence Theoretical Bulletin* (?).

<sup>430</sup> John Herouvim and Barry York, *Memories of Street Theatre, 1974-1977 : Transcript of an Interview with John Herouvim (1955-1995)*, 20 September 1988 (Lyneham, ACT: Barry York, 1999), 19.

<sup>431</sup> *Ibid.*

the SAI street theatre group, Robert Darby, recalled that he and others composed and performed four to five different plays at La Trobe University and other social functions for the purpose of promoting patriotic ideas and national liberation, with varying degree of success.<sup>432</sup>

Also, worth mentioning in the same period were the political activities of those student Maoists who had by then become teachers. In the late 1960s, Nick Butler, who was greatly inspired by Chinese socialism after his first trip to China in 1967, established a Socialist Teachers Group, along with some others who had progressive ideas.<sup>433</sup> By the early 1970s, the group had changed its name to the Progressive Action Group for Education (PAGE), and was joined by a number of ex-student activist graduates from Monash University, such as Michael Hyde and Vic Zbar.<sup>434</sup> As one among many organizations associated with the AIM, the PAGTE produced its own magazine called *Blackboard*, which advocated better working condition for teachers and the Australianisation of school courses. Moreover, the PAGTE also had its own programme regularly broadcast through a new community radio 3CR (known as the People's Radio) set up by Darcy Cassidy in 1975, who had also once been a member of the Monash Labor Club (MLC), together with some others.<sup>435</sup>

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<sup>432</sup> Ibid., 1; Robert Darby, "Preaching to the Unconverted: Memories of La Trobe's Radical Street Theatre", *Overland* 165, no. Summer (2001): 54.

<sup>433</sup> Before he went to China, Butler had already read a few books about China which he found quite refreshing because the mysterious country portrayed in these texts seemed to be an actual realization of what Marx and Engels had talked about in the Communist Manifesto. Butler (a).

<sup>434</sup> Elizabeth Davidson, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 06/05/2014.

<sup>435</sup> Federation Community Radio, "Annual Report," ([Collingwood, Vic.]: The Federation.); "Community Radio 3cr 840 on Your Dial", *Metro Magazine: Media & Education Magazine*, no. 34 (1975).<sup>435</sup> For example, the destination of the "Long March" in 1974 was the North West Cape in the Western Australia in 1974. NAA, "A6119, 5641," 41-42. And in 16 May 1976, after a long bus trip from Adelaide, about 50 activists arrived at Pine Gap and organized a demonstration outside its main entrance. "A6122, 2567," 10-18. See also Independence, "Pine Gap Contradictions."

The situation in Adelaide was a bit different; members of the WSA and its successor the WSA for AI, were heavily into organizing workers employed in the vehicle manufacturing industry, which was embroiled in incessant strikes in the mid-1970s. Some political activists, such as Leslie Bowling and Bill Kerr, was deeply involved in the then fermenting workers struggles against the managers of the car factories and the conservative union officials of the Vehicle Building Union (VBU).<sup>436</sup> Foremost among various issues that aroused consecutive strikes of militant workers were the massive layoffs imposed by the American car companies,<sup>437</sup> the victimisation of militant workers, e.g. Will Heidt, a Dutch immigrant to Australia, who worked in a Chrysler factory located in Tonsley Park, before himself being sacked and jailed for interrupting the assembly line, in protest against an intolerable working condition.<sup>438</sup> The Maoist activists who worked in the same car industry, while devoting themselves to organizing strikes and protests, also campaigned fervently for the nationalisation of multinational automobile manufacturers in Australia, such as Chrysler, GMH, and Ford.<sup>439</sup>

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<sup>435</sup> Herouvim and York, *Memories of Street Theatre, 1974-1977 : Transcript of an Interview with John Herouvim (1955-1995)*, 20 September 1988, 19.

<sup>435</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>435</sup> *ibid.*, 1; Darby, "Preaching to the Unconverted: Memories of La Trobe's Radical Street Theatre " 54.

<sup>435</sup> Butler (a).

<sup>436</sup> On the subject, also see, e.g. Thomas Bramble, "Conflict, Coercion and Co-Option: The Role of Full-Time Officials in the South Australian Branch of the Vehicle Builders Employees' Federation, 1967-80", *Labour history*, no. 63 (1992); Garry Hill, "Anatomy of an Industrial Struggle: Chrysler Factory at Tonsley Park in Adelaide 1976-1978," <http://www.takver.com/history/chrysler.htm>, last accessed 18/08/2016.

<sup>437</sup> Chrysler Purge Legal, Court backs firm in sacking of 'troublemakers', Australian, Ted Knez, 29/11/77, 3, Judge rules on trouble makers, Age, 29/11/77, 3, drew from *Rank and File Bulletins*, 1973-1978

<sup>438</sup> Worker Student Alliance(Adelaide), "Chrysler Worker Bashed and Jailed- Exclusive Interview", *People's Voice* 10, no. December (1975): 3.

<sup>439</sup> "Down with the Foreign Robbers," (Possibly 1974?), 1; "Chrysler Workers Fight Back!," *People's Voice*, August 1975; "Fighting Layoffs - Chrysler Workers Show the Way," *People's Voice*, April 1975. See also NAA, "A6122, 2368": 72. Bowling (b); Kerr (a), "Xiaoxiao."

Finally, with regards to the Adelaide scene, I wish to highlight two cultural projects as the crystallization of an endeavour to make art serve the people. There was one known as the Progressive Art Movement (PAM), while other was a folk band with the name Red Gum. The birth of both was closely tied up with the foundation Professor of Philosophy at Flinders University, Brian Medlin, who was also known for being strongly influenced by Maoism.

In 1967, Medlin began to teach at the recently established Flinders University, where he was the coordinator of a newly set up course named: *Politics and Art*. In the early 1970s, *Politics and Art* attracted a group of politically attuned artists, who later decided to form a working group; that is how the Progressive Art Movement (PAM) came into being. According to the reflections of one of its early participants, PAM was established with a commitment to making art “serve the people rather than the interest of big business”.<sup>440</sup> This idea of challenging bourgeoisie art, was reflected both in experimenting with unconventional artistic methods, like photo screen printing, and in the political connotations of the artworks thus created. It can be seen that this ‘flirtation’ between political commitment and artistic experiment, helped to conjure up a number of remarkable creative works, such as the poster designed by Ann Newmarch for a campaign to free the Chrysler worker, Will Heidt, from jail, and the painting *Women Hold Up Half The Sky* by the same artist.<sup>441</sup>

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<sup>440</sup> Julie Robinson, Ann Newmarch, and Art Gallery of South Australia, *Ann Newmarch : The Personal Is Political* (Adelaide: Art Gallery of South Australia, 1997), 8-9.

<sup>441</sup> Ann Newmarch, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 31/10/2014 .See, also Robinson, Newmarch, and Australia, *Ann Newmarch : The Personal Is Political*.

Moreover, because it aimed to break the barrier which separated the workers from the artists, PAM made a deliberate effort form close liaisons both with militant unions, like the Builders' Labourers Federation (BLF), and political groups like the WSA. Again, according to Newmarch's recollections, some PAM members actually went into the car factories, and helped set up an art workers group that consisted of both artists and workers.<sup>442</sup> Mandy Martin, another early participant of the PAM, also recalled that some members of the PAM group were themselves firm supporters of the campaign against the foreign military bases in Australia and the workers' struggles for nationalisation of the car industry, as well as being consciously involved in the movement for environment protection, gender equality, and the demands for land rights of Australian Aboriginal people.<sup>443</sup>

Another fruit from the *Politics and Art* course was the local Adelaide folk band, Red Gum. As one of its founding members, but also a student of Flinders University at the time, John Schumann recalled, it was Medlin, who had encouraged him and other two members of the band, Michael Atkinson and Verity Truman, to submit a musical piece for the course *ad hoc Politics and Art* course, and that is how the Red Gum came into being in the first place.<sup>444</sup> As the lyrics of some of its early songs clearly shows, Red Gum broached several political themes, such as anti-imperialism, fighting for the welfare of the workers against growing unemployment rate in the country, and attacking a colonial mentality that had literally destroyed (and is still destroying) the peoples and

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<sup>442</sup> Newmarch, "Xiaoxiao."

<sup>443</sup> Mandy Martin, "Political Posters in Adelaide.,"

<http://www.printsandprintmaking.gov.au/references/409/>, last accessed 24/03/2015.

<sup>444</sup> Brian Medlin, "Politics and Art, 1982, Programme for Weeks 1, 2 (3?) of Term Iii", 1982. Courtesy of an Adelaide Philosopher.



cultures of Australian indigenous communities.<sup>445</sup> And all these themes, I shall argue, can be also found in Mao's own writings<sup>446</sup>

Both PAM and Red Gum were built up from the informal network of a small yet highly dynamic group of intellectuals, artists, university students and factory workers,<sup>447</sup> all of whom had grown increasingly disgruntled with the rigid division of capitalist labour. The 'collective' and 'organic' characteristic of these two cultural projects, as well as many others which put a lot stress on mass work

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<sup>445</sup> See, e.g. Carrington Cabaret, *From If You Don't Fight You Lose*, composed by John Schumann in 1978.

“Are you proud white Australians wherever you are?  
Beer in your hand and your elbow on the bar  
All you people from Darwin to the south  
With your blue faded jeans and a joint in your mouth  
Young sophisticates making the scene  
At the Lion Hotel in your rolled up jeans  
Something going on, we're all employed  
Last night another pickininy died  
In the dirt filled gutters on the cold concrete  
At the nightclub end of Hindley Street  
Sit dusky young ladies learning the rules  
From drunks and traps and the hard knocks school  
Milky brown eyes from drinking all day  
Till it's time at the Carrington Cabaret  
Down at the port a sick black mum  
Rings for a taxi but the taxi won't come  
It's probably too painful for us to understand  
But two hundred years ago we overran their land  
Dreamtime's just a nightmare now, an alcoholic sleep  
Australia land of things to do have you got time to weep  
Oh our great free land of fire and rain  
White man's wealth and black man's pain  
You've got to be white if you want to get in  
It's the black man's country but the white man's in  
Too utter distasteful for civilized man  
Hide them away in Arnhem Land  
Shake your head and say "That's that"  
As you kick away the bottles on Pinky flat  
It's probably too painful for us to understand  
But two hundred years ago we overran their land  
Dreamtime's just a nightmare now, an alcohol sleep  
Australia land of things to do have you got time to weep”

<sup>446</sup> See, e.g. 《一切反动派都是纸老虎》，《批判大汉族主义》 in 毛澤東, *毛澤東選集 第五卷*. English Translation: see, e.g. *All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers, Criticize Han Chauvinism* in Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao*, Vol. 5.

<sup>447</sup> Bill Lensky, "Red Gum Fan Mail", *Meanjin* 38, no. 4 (1979); John Schumann, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 4/11/2014.

and serving the people, was also reflected in a large amount of underground literature, published by a few grass-root activists in the period from the middle of the 1970s to the early 1980s. To give just a few examples, there was a newspaper called the *Independence Voice* (which later changed its name to the *Australian Independence Voice*) published in Melbourne from 1974; in Adelaide and Sydney, the *People's Voice* and the *Southern Cross* appeared.<sup>448</sup> Also worth mentioning in the same regard, was a magazine called *Bowyang*, dedicated to promoting Australian culture, which appeared in press in 1979.<sup>449</sup> A snapshot of all the newspapers just listed reveals that they shared three major recurring themes: the first concerned the presence of U.S. military bases in Australia; the second related to the militant workers' strikes; and finally there were the campaigns against uranium mining.

Apparently, as I have tried to show by drawing this sketchy overview, the Maoists in Australia did not become disengaged in the first half of the 1970s in what historian Francis. K. Crowley described as the tough times.<sup>450</sup> Obviously, the Maoists were, indeed affected by the turn of the political tide. But they had nonetheless tried to keep the movement alive, by channelling their passion towards new issues centred on achieving national independence in Australia.

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<sup>448</sup> Australian Independence Movement, "Independence Voice," (Melbourne: Independence Voice Committee, 1974); Movement Australian Independence, "Australian Independence Voice," (Collingwood [Vic.]: Independence Voice, 1979); "Australian Independence Movement Newsletter, Victoria"; Australian Independence Movement, "Newsletter/Australian Independence Movement," (Waramanga, A.C.T.: Australian Independence Movement, 1976); "Independence Newsletter," (Clarence Gardens, S. Aust.: Australian Independence Movement, 1981); "Southern Cross/Australian Independence Movement," (Sydney: Australian Independence Movement, 1982); "Australian Independence Newsletter"; "People's Voice : For a Free and Independent Australia".

<sup>449</sup> "Bowyang : Work on Changing Australia", (1979).

<sup>450</sup> F. K. Crowley, *Tough Times : Australia in the Seventies* (Richmond, Vic.: W. Heinemann Australia, 1986), 14.

The inevitable next question, however, is whether, or to what extent, we can say that this ‘nationalist’ push of the Australian Maoists was successful? I think the answer to this question naturally depends on who is was asked. As far as I can see, the narratives and symbols linked to the Eureka Flag and Ned Kelly, which were frequently invoked in the publications of the CPA (ML) and its affiliated groups during the concerned period, would not have appealed much to the feminist movement (and I will come back to this point shortly), nor to the community of Australian aboriginal peoples, nor to the recent immigrants from other countries. That said, however, I do wish to note that many (ex) student Maoist activists were highly sympathetic towards the sufferings and being very supportive to the struggles of these disadvantaged groups in Australia. What also must be noted is the fact that by the time of the early 1970s, when the so called Maoists was losing its prestige at Monash University,<sup>451</sup> some of the ideas they were promoting then, such as national independence and self-determination, aroused a growing interest among Aboriginal activists like Bruce McGuinness and Gary Foley.<sup>452</sup>

Finally, I wish to highlight the prominence of the idea of self-determination together with economic independence, as it was articulated by the rising Aboriginal movement in 1960s/1970s Australia by quoting from an article written in 2011 by Gary Foley, who was one of its leading figures.<sup>453</sup> He wrote, “I want

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<sup>451</sup> By the time, the two other left wing forces on campus at the time, namely the Trotskyites and the CPA affiliated groups was on the rise.

<sup>452</sup> Also worth mentioning is that both McGuinness and Foley were invited to visit China as members of an Australian Aboriginal delegation in the early 1970s. Gary Foley and Angelo Grando, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 31/11/2013. See also the photos and media coverage of the first (1972) and second (1974) Aboriginal delegations to China posed by Foley in his website: <http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/images/history/1970s/china/chinadx.html>

<sup>453</sup> Gary Foley, "Black Power, Land Rights and Academic History", *Griffith Law Review* 20, no. 3 (2011): 609.

to make the point that the leaders of the Aboriginal political resistance in Australia, ever since the beginning of the twentieth century, have been considerably more sophisticated in their adoption and adaptation of tactics and strategies from a whole range of situations from around the world than have been many of their counterpart white political leaders. This occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s, at a particular moment in the history of the world when many things were changing – the decolonisation of Africa and the Pacific and other colonised nations around the world; the upsurge of activity amongst other Indigenous peoples in other parts of the world, especially the American Indians, and especially the Maori people from Aotearoa, ‘The land of the long white cloud’ ...”

In my interview with him, Foley linked the adoption of this sort of strategy to the contact that the Aboriginal leaders of the time had with Maoist groups.

*But we still thought, it was to develop alliance with people within the broader Australian political left movement.....and we can see that, there were, you know, we had any empathy with, especially Maoists on campus, you know, we got involved in some big broad thing in Australian national student union at the time.....which aligned us with Maoist groups as well, in that context.<sup>454</sup>*

It seems to me to be also fair to say that the Maoists were not ignorant of the emerging women’s movement, though their way of approaching it was not always appropriate. Another point worthwhile making is that some of the Maoist activists in Adelaide also made an earnest attempt to reach the Greek immigrant

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<sup>454</sup> Foley and Grando.

community recently relocated in the city, and some of their publications were produced in both English and Greek.<sup>455</sup>

Secondly, while some like Ian Burn have described Medlin's analysis of contemporary art as "inadequate" and "mechanical",<sup>456</sup> I wonder whether all the issues brought up by Medlin in his critiques of 'bourgeoisie art' can or should be simply dismissed for their lack of sophistication. As Andrew Hill remarked in his 1989 article: "I believe it's absolutely crucial, if authentic art production from socially, politically, economically disadvantaged groups is to have the chance of a sympathetic environment for it's [sic] creation, that it receive support and endorsement, which may seem dogmatic and even blinkered in it's [sic] orientation."<sup>457</sup>

To sum up, what this section has tried to reconstruct is the perhaps less 'sensational' story of the Australian Maoism in the immediate post-Vietnam War era. Few of the activities outlined above were ever covered in the mass media nor have they been thoroughly documented in the scholarly literature, but they were by no means trivial. In fact, I would argue that despite their known limitations as

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<sup>455</sup> Australia Communist Party of, *The Road to Women's Emancipation* (Melbourne: Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), 1973); *Migrant Workers Are Part of the Australian Revolutionary Movement* ([Melbourne]: [Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)], 1972); *The Cause of the People of Papua New Guinea Is a Just Cause, It Enjoys Abundant Support* (Melbourne: Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), 1972).

<sup>456</sup> Ian Burn, *The Necessity of Australian Art : An Essay About Interpretation* ([Sydney]: Power Publications, 1988), 117. Medlin's view of artistic production, as well as his critique of the commodification of the latter may be summarised, in my view, into one sentence quoted from a letter sent by the Prospect Mural Group(of which Medlin is a member) to the Editor of *The Standard* : "We believe that art should be produced for the mass of ordinary people rather than for the pleasure of an over-sophisticated minority and the profit of dealers." Brian Medlin, 1927-2004, "Papers Relating to the Prospect Mural Group", 1986.

<sup>457</sup> Andrew Hill, "Community Arts and Printmaking," <http://www.printsandprintmaking.gov.au/references/635/>, last accessed 24/03/2015.

exposed in practice, some of the ideas advocated by the Maoists during this period, such as self-determination, socialist nationalisation, as well as various artistic works which aimed that serve the people rather than the capital, still have a strong appeal not only to the White working class community, but also to the emerging feminist and aboriginal movement in the country. On the other hand, it is certainly true that Australian universities, which had experienced a short-lived surge of left-wing political activism in the late 1960s, returned to 'peace and tranquillity', thus undercutting one of the strong bases, where radical ideas such as Maoism once flourished. Yet, there were other reasons, as the next section shows, why fewer in the 1970s, came to endorse socialism rather than capitalism because of the example set by Mao's China.

### **China, the Third World and Australia**

In this present section, several obstacles that hamstring the growth of Australian Maoism are discussed from two intersecting aspects. The first concerns the growing suspicion that those few in Australia who previously had been sympathetic to Chinese socialism began to feel towards the revolutionary credentials of Mao's China in the 1970s. The second is focused on the diverging opinions among the ranks of Australian Maoists towards the new policy of national independence adopted by the CPA (ML).

To begin with, I would like to mention an early article titled *Australian Maoists*, written by a visiting Dutch scholar to Australia, Justus M. van der Kroef, in

1970.<sup>458</sup> Kroef's treatment of the subject evoked a strident critique from Humphrey McQueen, a politically engaged intellectual, who was also known for his sympathy to Chinese socialism. In his review of Kroef's article, McQueen argued that the latter had not only committed a series of factual errors, but also failed to capture the "internal dynamics" of the CPA (ML).<sup>459</sup>

*The essential point about the CPA-ML is that when it split from the CPA in 1963-64 it saw itself as the mirror image of the old party. Moreover, the split was not over 'revisionism versus revolution' but was a fight between two essentially revisionist positions. The change in the CPA-ML came with the Cultural Revolution when what had been slogans began to take practical form. This is particularly true of the relations of the trade unions to a revolutionary party.*<sup>460</sup>

Whereas McQueen did not further elaborate on why he conceived the split of the CPA in 1963/64, and the radical transformation of the CPA (ML) at the instigation of the GPCR, he did make a crucial differentiation which I will return to:

*(Kroef's) failure to mention non-party Maoists is yet another weakness. Strangest of all is the absence of any mention of the centre of student Maoism since 1968, namely the Labor Club at Monash University in Melbourne. Professor van der Kroef's article has been rapidly dated by the course of events in Australia.*

As the discussion so presented in this section shown, it is my view that McQueen's engaging critique of Kroef is not only accurate but also insightful, by

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<sup>458</sup> van der Kroef, "Australia's Maoists."

<sup>459</sup> McQueen, "Some Comments on Australia's Maoists," 68.

<sup>460</sup> Ibid.

introducing this figure of “the non-party Maoists”, I think McQueen uncovered, perhaps subconsciously, the ‘secret’ of late Maoism’s appeal in the West. For there was, as far as I know, no ‘non-party’ Stalinists, Leninists and Trotskyites, but only ‘non-party’ Maoists, and the reason why Maoism had acquired this distinctively ‘anarchistic’ flavour in the West, was due, as I have tried to show in Chapter Four, mainly to the impression that the rigid Party-State structure had been temporally saturated during the early phase of the GPCR (i.e. from 1966 to mid-late 1968). Yet, by early 1969, if not even earlier, it appeared that the ‘normal’ state of affairs was restored in China, as indicated by both the demobilisation of the Red Guards, most of whom would later be sent to live and study in the countryside, and perhaps more importantly, the return of the state bureaucratic machine, which had been temporarily paralysed by ‘spiritual nuclear bombs’, i.e. the *Little Red Book*.<sup>461</sup>

The dissipation of the Red Guards and the re-installation of a Party-State structure was officially confirmed at the Ninth Congress of the CCP held in April 1969. The new political line announced by Lin Biao, the Deputy Marshall of the People’s Liberation Army, during this conference was known as: “struggle-criticism-transformation” (斗批改). So, there was to be a relative moderation of political struggles in China, though this was soon followed by a violent campaign, directed at ‘cleansing class ranks’, announced by Lin in his Political Report at the same Ninth Congress. But what perhaps truly shocked many, both in China and around the world, was the sudden demise of Lin Biao, then Chinese Defence Minister, who died mysteriously in an air crash in Mongolia in late 1971.

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<sup>461</sup> Alexander C. Cook, *Mao's Little Red Book : A Global History* (2013).



The exact details of the defection of the then ‘close’ comrade and the successor’ of Chairman Mao, which would later be named in the official CCP discourse as the Lin Biao incident, still remain to be known. However, it clearly cast an indisputably heavy shadow over the stated objectives of the GPCR.<sup>462</sup> While many in China were astonished when they first learnt about the event, others, particularly young people, became increasingly disillusioned and cynical about the whole project of the GPCR.<sup>463</sup> But the ripple effect of the fallout generated by Lin’s death, was not confined to the geographical borders of the PRC, as it soon reached those few Australians interested in Mao’s China. A number of them began to question whether China was actually marching on a correct path towards building up genuine socialism as they had thought it was supposed to be, when the GPCR first started.

Bill Kerr, who had been actively involved in the Maoist Monash Labor Club, joined a tour to China organized by the ACS early in 1972. Shortly after he landed in Guangzhou and met with the local Chinese guide, he recorded the following event in his travel diary:

*On [the] bus home, Mike asked about Lin Biao. Comrade Soon said that something had happened (he had not been mentioned in papers etc.) but he did not know why. I asked him if there was any way he could find out. He shrugged and said he did not know. Very worrying—as was [the] answer on Ceylon -the questions that worried me when I first came. Ceylon, Lin Biao, Chairman Mao*

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<sup>462</sup> See, e.g. Yiching Wu, *The Cultural Revolution at the Margins : Chinese Socialism in Crisis* (2014).

<sup>463</sup> *Ibid.*, 204.

*personality cult still worry me, will have to push these things harder.* (Emphasis Original) <sup>464</sup>

Apparently, as Kerr's reflections at the time show, he and some others who were sympathetic to China in Australia at the time, were not ignorant of, but in fact had their concerns over the Lin Biao incident, the cult of Mao, as well as Chinese foreign policy towards Sri Lanka, which I will turn to shortly, mainly because they all seemed to contradict what the Cultural Revolution was supposed to stand for when it first started.

Whereas the sudden fall of Lin Biao was strictly speaking, a domestic aspect of Chinese politics in the 1970s, what was perceived by some in Australia, and the West in general, as probably more damaging to China's revolutionary credentials, was the Chinese government's response to a militant insurrection led by a Marxist group in the then British colony of Ceylon, later known as the 1971 Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) Insurrection.<sup>465</sup> Shortly after his trip to China in early 1971, Jim Downing, who was then a member of the Maoist WSA, wrote an editorial for *Struggle*, the organ of the same organization, praising the JVP Insurrection, a position which, as Downing recalled, was initially approved by *The Vanguard*. Yet, much to his surprise, soon afterwards, China made its support for the then Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, known to the world, through a letter sent by Zhou Enlai to Bandaranaike. When it became

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<sup>464</sup> Bill Kerr, "Kerr's Travel Dairies", 1972.

<sup>465</sup> Michael Colin Cooke, *Rebellion, Repression, and the Struggle for Justice in Sri Lanka : The Lionel Bopage Story* (Colombo: Agahas Publishers, 2011)., Zhou's letter see, "Chou En-Lai's Letters to Yahya Khan and Mrs. Bandaranaike", *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 4, no. 1 (1974).

known that Zhou's letter condemned the JVP insurrection, the CPA (ML) reversed its policy on the same matter.<sup>466</sup>

Downing's confidence in the Chinese socialist regime evaporated after he learnt it had supported the existing government instead of the rebellion led by a Marxist-Leninist group. As he recollected in a later interview with Barry York:

*That was a final straw for me that was it, because, you know, I hoped that, with China, it would be different, but I could see, it wasn't different. I did not know at the time, but I had a sense of failure for the Cultural Revolution, at that point, you know, I remembered thinking what is the Cultural Revolution about if you gonna [going to] support reactionary regimes and behave, you know, like this the state versus (missing)..... this is the party's line. You know, and I still cannot reconcile that stuff.*<sup>467</sup>

Kerr's concern over the Lin Biao incident and Downing's discontent evoked by the 1971 JVP insurrection, were signs, as I hinted above, of serious blemishes in

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<sup>466</sup> "En-Lai Chou: Letter to Sirimavo Bandaranaike", *New Left Review* (1971): 91. In his letter, Zhou remarked: "Following Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teaching the Chinese people have all along opposed ultra 'left' and right opportunism in their protracted revolutionary struggles. We are glad to see that thanks to the efforts of Your Excellency and the Ceylon Government, the chaotic situation created by a handful of persons who style themselves 'Guevarists' and into whose ranks foreign spies have sneaked has been brought under control. We believe that as a result of Your Excellency's leadership and the co-operation and support of the Ceylonese people these acts of rebellion plotted by reactionaries at home and abroad for the purpose of undermining the interests of the Ceylonese people are bound to fail. We fully agree to the correct position of defending state sovereignty and guarding against foreign interference as referred to by Your Excellency. The Chinese Government and people admire this and firmly support Ceylon in her just struggle towards this end. As Your Excellency is deeply aware the Chinese Government has consistently abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, has never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, and is also firmly opposed to any country interfering in other countries' internal affairs, and particularly to foreign reactionaries taking advantage of the opportunity to carry out armed intervention. I would like once again to reaffirm this unshakable stand of the Chinese Government." Jim York Barry Downing, *Jim Downing Interviewed by Barry York in the China Maytime Festival Tour 1971 Oral History Project* (2014); "En-Lai Chou: Letter to Sirimavo Bandaranaike."

<sup>467</sup> *Jim Downing Interviewed by Barry York in the China Maytime Festival Tour 1971 Oral History Project*.

the revolutionary credentials of Mao's China, as perceived by many in the West since the beginning of the GPCR.<sup>468</sup> But the discrepancy between, on the one hand, the perception of China as the centre of world revolution, and on the other hand, the actual domestic and foreign policies of the PRC in the 1970s, as revealed in the Kerr and Downing examples recounted above, tells only part of the whole story. What also appeared to be increasingly problematic, as the rest of this section shows, was the application of a Maoist national independence line by the CPA (ML) and its affiliated student groups.

In his 2001 article *Preaching to the unconverted: memories of La Trobe's radical street theatre*, Robert Darby, then, a student activist at La Trobe University, noted that the so called Maoists in Australia suffered from the attacks unleashed by their opponents on the Left, who were keen on 'exploiting' the contradiction between a campaign for the genuine national independence of Australia and active support for the policies of Mao's China.<sup>469</sup> As Darby recalled, while the Australian

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<sup>468</sup> E.g. China's response to the independence of Bangladesh after the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971. CHINA'S DILEMMA IN CEYLON, <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/sri-lanka/china-ceylon.pdf>. Also see Zhou Enlai's letter to Yahya Khan "Chou En-Lai's Letters to Yahya Khan and Mrs. Bandaranaike", *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 4, no. 1 (1974). One may also like to compare Zhou's letter to the below words quoted from Mao's statement on the death of Martin Luther King published on *People's Daily* and *Peking Review* in April 1968: "Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the U.S. imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance towards him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the Black people in the United States a profound lesson..... Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and the U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the Black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The Black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States have common interests and common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of the white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class." PK Review, April 19, 1968

<sup>469</sup> Darby, "Preaching to the Unconverted: Memories of La Trobe's Radical Street Theatre " 53.

Maoists vigorously opposed the monopolisation of the U.S. and USSR over nuclear weapons, they also “warmly hailed the people’s bomb……” which rendered themselves vulnerable to criticisms from the Trotskyites.<sup>470</sup>

A similar point, but relating particularly to the ‘excessive’ language of the CPA (ML)’s publications, which were filled with jargon shipped from the Chinese context, was picked up by Fergus Robinson, another Sixties student activist at La Trobe University.

*I was also uneasy and critical of the overtly polemical language used in the Maoist new sheet Red Moat which reflected the rhetoric of Chinese communist publications. I always sought a ‘more sensible’ content.*<sup>471</sup>

A further problem regarding the application of a national independence line to Australia emerged once the CPA (ML) projected the USSR as a more ominous threat than the U.S. to the Australian people. In his interview, Ken White, then a member of the CPA (ML) recalled:

*For a time, it (AIM) was fairly successful. What was not successful, was when we started to equate the Soviet Union with U.S., and then when some people started to see the Soviet Union as the main enemy, [but] the Soviet Union did not have bases in Australia, Soviet Union did not have multinational companies in Australia. Just because that was the position of Chinese did not mean it was necessarily the right position for Australia.*<sup>472</sup>

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<sup>470</sup> Ibid., 60; Australia Communist Party of, *Uranium : Between the Superpowers* ([Sydney, N.S.W.]: Communist Party of Australia, 1976).

<sup>471</sup> Fergus Robinson, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 08/05/2014. The text presented above was slightly revised by Robinson in his later correspondence with the author.

<sup>472</sup> Ken White (b), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 15/07/2014.

Commenting on the same issue brought up by White, Barry York said that the experience of “meeting with people who represented the national bourgeoisie” was really the tipping point in his association with the CPA (ML):

*While I remembered thinking, there is something wrong here, what I am doing is wrong, why did I not tell him upfront (that I am a communist) because he would not want to be cooperating with me, so what I am doing, I am sort of living a lie, or am I just a nationalist now, and like I said in the beginning of our session, (this event reflected that) we were confused and bewildered, unable to explain what was happening, and just stopped thinking and went along with whatever the party line was.*<sup>473</sup>

One may query, however, given the contemporary nature of the evidence presented above, whether these remarks reflected what actually happened in the past. In other words, the reflections quoted above could have been another example of re-writing history according to one’s present political views. To allay this legitimate suspicion, I feel obliged to mention a report produced by ASIO in 1973. Apparently compiled after attending a WSA meeting held sometime in 1973, the ASIO agent recorded that several motions had been put forward, among which there was one proposing the organs of WSA be “made free of Maoist jargon” in the future, and another two requesting that “the books sold would not be Chinese but Australian” and that “no Chinese Communist line would be (made) evident”.<sup>474</sup>

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<sup>473</sup> Barry York (a), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 06/01/2014.

<sup>474</sup> NAA, "A6119, 5640," 115.

Finally, and apart from all the problems so far mentioned, the Maoists in Australia also faced a growing challenge from activists involved in the women's movement, at the point when its influence was just about to surge in the 1970s. To begin with, it may be useful to first present the view of the Maoists, probably not uncommon though by no means universal, on the Women's question. In one internal document circulated within the SAI in late 1970s, it was argued that the issue of women "fits into the struggle against imperialist domination of Australia, and the class struggle against it. Attempts are made to divert the correct struggle against imperialism into other channels, i.e. feminism is promoted, causing divisions amongst the people – women against men."<sup>475</sup> As one could well expect, the view just quoted, did not appeal to some feminist activists, who might otherwise have liked to support the cause of socialism, because of its negative attitude towards the feminist movement. For instance, in an article which appeared in the *Theoretical Bulletin* of the WSA for AI, the author unleashed a harsh critique of "the idea that the struggle against sexism or mass struggle for womens [sic] rights were unimportant, distracting to the struggle for Australian Independence and could be left until Independence was first won."<sup>476</sup>

Another article published in the same journal made the point even more blatant: "while Socialist aims are fine, the methods of achieving these aims are corrupt. They are male culture methods – educate, organize, protest. The only way I can see socialist demands being achieved and for a truly socialist country, or world, to evolve and remain, is through a powerful radical feminist movement."<sup>477</sup> The

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<sup>475</sup> "A6122, 2567," 128.

<sup>476</sup> Independence, "Pine Gap Contradictions."

<sup>477</sup> Worker Student Alliance(Adelaide), "Contradictions in the Women's Liberation Movement", *Worker Student Alliance Theoretical Bulletin* 5 (?): 1.

later movement, continued the author of the same article, would direct itself towards conducting, “a human, personal inquiry into the problem of human relationships and an investigation of human nature”.<sup>478</sup>

I would like to end this section with three concluding remarks. First, it seems to me that, from the early 1970s until the death of Mao, the appeal of Chinese socialism to the Left in Australia, and probably in the West generally, declined, mainly because of the detrimental effects generated by significant domestic events, such as the fall of Lin Biao, as well as the seemingly more ‘pragmatic’ foreign policies adopted by the Chinese government.<sup>479</sup>

As the examples provided in this section have shown, even among those few who had been sympathetic to Mao’s China back in the late 1960s, suspicions about its revolutionary credentials were aroused. Secondly, and in relation to what was happening in Australia at the same time, divisions had emerged among those who wished to carry out their political work in accordance with the general framework of Chinese socialism.

To those who preferred a nationalist path towards socialism, the Party’s closer association with the CCP was viewed with increasing uneasiness, whereas to others, the main problem with the Australian party was the rather more conciliatory approach it was adopting towards the ALP. Finally, the policies of the CPA (ML) towards the question of women had become a third area of internal

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<sup>478</sup> Ibid., 2,4.

<sup>479</sup> See, e.g. Barbara Barnouin and Changgen Yu, *Chinese Foreign Policy During the Cultural Revolution* (London; New York; New York, NY, USA: Kegan Paul International ; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1998).



disputes. My final remark is of a more general and somewhat speculative character. It is my view that regardless of whether a political group carried (or was crowned with) a Maoist title or not, there was always the possibility of it becoming enmeshed with conflicting views on all sorts of issues. Hence, what is more important, is to understand how and why contradictions existing within a particular organization became antagonistic. With that in mind, the next section will try to elucidate the conflicts that transformed the contradictions within the CPA (ML) from the non-antagonistic to the antagonistic ones.

### **The Arrest of the ‘Gang of Four’ and the Split of the CPA (ML)**

Revolutions rarely begin and end without human blood being shed. But there are exceptions to this bloody rule of revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for example, ended rather bloodlessly, as it has so often been claimed.

On October, the 6<sup>th</sup> 1976, in other words, less than a month after Mao died, four members of the Politburo of the CCP, Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing, Yao Wenyan were arrested by guards, following the orders given by then Vice-Chairman, Hua Guofeng, backed up by Generals Ye Jianying and Li Xiannian. News of the fall of ‘Gang of Four’, seen by many Western observers later as a coup, did not reach the Chinese masses until 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1976. It took at least another week or so for people in Australia to know of the defeat of the

“anti-Party clique” formed by Wang, Zhang, Jiang and Yao, who, as proclaimed by *Peking Review*, attempted to “usurp Party and state power”.<sup>480</sup>

On November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1976, the chairman of the CPA (ML), E.F. Hill issued a statement in response to the termination of the political life of the ‘Four’:

*Every Communist Party must solve its own problems and only the people of a given country can make socialist revolution in that country... .Hence we hail the recent decisions of the Chinese Communist Party which affirm Chairman Mao’s proletarian line, reject the splitting activities of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yun and appoint Comrade Hua Kuo-feng Chairman of the Chinese Party Central Committee.*<sup>481</sup>

A few days after the above statement was printed in *The Vanguard*, Hill visited China upon the invitation of the CCP, and in a letter he sent to Charlie O’Shea, the Vice Chairman of the CPA (ML) during his stay in Beijing, Hill remarked that despite being “knocked a bit” by the Communist Party of New Zealand and Albania (both parties were known for their protest against the arrest of the Four), he was “standing up” to the pressure, because: “Mao had several times taken action” against the ‘Four’.<sup>482</sup>

Hill reaffirmed his stance in a small pamphlet published in January 1977: *Class struggle within the communist parties: defeat of Gang of Four great victory for world proletariat: some experiences*, in which he admitted that his previous

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<sup>480</sup> *Peking Review*, the official English organ of the CCP reported on 29<sup>th</sup> October 1976, 7 reprinted the same news.

<sup>481</sup> E.F. Hill, *The Vanguard* 1976. November 4, 1976, 1

<sup>482</sup> Clarence, "Clarence Lyell O'shea Collection", 1988.

assessment of the 'Four' was wrong. Jiang Qing, said Hill, was both "immature and weak" in terms of politics, while Zhang Chunqiao was an "enemy" and Wang Hongwen a "degenerate".<sup>483</sup> Neither the earlier 'non-interference' argument that the 'Four' was an issue to be solved only by the Chinese Party itself, nor the claim that the 'Gang of Four' were "capitalist roaders", who were supposed to have been exposed by Mao himself when he was still alive, however, succeeded in persuading all members of the CPA (ML).

According to ASIO's surveillance records, on 5<sup>th</sup> November 1976, Langer phoned Duncan Clarke, the chief editor of *Vanguard*, and suggested that they have a meeting, which was then scheduled for 13<sup>th</sup> November.<sup>484</sup> A few weeks later on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1976, Langer again rang up Clarke asking for another meeting.<sup>485</sup>

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<sup>483</sup> That may seem to 'contradict' his earlier break with the 'revisionist' CPA leaders. The first explanation is suggested by some who used to be very close with Hill. According to this account, Hill and other leaders of CPA (ML) did not believe that the CCP would totally abandon all the legacies of Mao's era, as they were repeatedly assured by their Chinese comrades on this point. York (b); White (b). So, there was, in a sense, a 'naïve followers' hypothesis. The second alternative explanation was proposed by John Herouvim, whose thesis argues that the fact that CPA (ML) would renew its loyalty to the CCP even after event of the "Gang of Four", was another indication of how the Australian communists lacked both the intention and capacity to think independently, and in the case of CPA (ML), the only difference is that before it was founded, the communists in Australia worshiped the Soviet Party, and after the establishment of the CPA(ML), some of them decided to follow the Chinese Party. Herouvim, "An Alien Association: Australian Maoism and the Communist Party of China , 1971-1977."The last and probably most authoritative one is based on a letter sent by Hill to O'Shea on 3 January 1977, which provided a rare window into what he was actually thinking at the time. Hill believed that there were two reasons why the CPA (ML) should support the Chinese Party by defending its position on the question of "Gang of Four", the first is because, as others have already suggested, Hill was persuaded by the "good evidence" provided by the CCP which revealed that the Four were really "enemies" of the people. Secondly, Hill believed that although "the Australian struggle is the important thing for us", he also thought "the Chinese is tremendously important", and while "all the imperialist, social imperialists and revisionists are all out to try to undermine the Chinese Party and China", it was all the more necessary for the CPA (ML) "to go all out the other way." Clarence, "Clarence Lyell O'shea Collection", 1988.

<sup>484</sup> NAA, "A6119, 4307," 31.

<sup>485</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

Although it is unclear to me whether Langer raised the issue of the 'Four' at his two meetings with Clarke, according to the piece of evidence presented below, I suspect that it would most likely have been the case.

In his diary, Philip Court, who was then still a member of the CPA (ML), penned the following words under the headline of Events in China, dated 21<sup>st</sup> December 1976:

*The arrest of the so-called "Gang of Four" and subsequent events certainly raise a question mark (to say the least) about the political line of Hua Kuofeng and his followers..... But the main impression I get from this effort is that the author is setting up false charges in order to refute them and using this as a smokescreen for pushing a revisionist line.....It would appear that this is a public call to all people removed and criticised during the GCRP to support Hua in the showdown with the radicals.* <sup>486</sup>

As Court's reflection makes clear, it appeared that very soon after the purging of the 'Four' was made known, at least one member of the CPA (ML) found the reasons provided by the CCP for this action unjustifiable. In another entry titled: A Revisionist Line?, composed sometime between 1<sup>st</sup> January 1977 and 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1977, it is revealed that Court was not the only one who questioned the official 'truth' over the demise of the 'Gang of Four'.

*Hill has come out in open support of Hua and has condemned the 'gang of 4'. So have many other parties. Many comrades are confused. Who isn't. Some think Hua is a revisionist. Many are undecided. A few give him their 100% backing. Significantly, many of these latter are associated with the 'pie and sauce*

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<sup>486</sup> Philip Court, "Philip Court's Dairies", 1974-late 1978?

*patriotism' of ANLM.....Blind faith is a dangerous disease which was rampant in the old C.P. and still has a hold on sections of the new C.P.* <sup>487</sup>

Hence, based on Court's reflection, we can say that as early as 1977, a clear schism had surfaced among ranks of the Maoists in Australia, with some yet to make up their mind, and others supporting the purge of the 'Four'. But what is more important, is Court's observation that "many comrades are confused", because that indicates the breaking down of a strict security protocol. If it had still existed, then Court could not possibly have known that many other comrades were also confused, as he claimed. That in turn implies that 'horizontal', and not the 'vertical' type of discussions preferred by Hill, had taken place.<sup>488</sup> Finally, and this shall be a rather straightforward point, to some members of the CPA (ML), by siding with the post-Mao CCP on the question of the 'Four', the Australian party had taken a wrong political position, which had to be questioned.

According to one entry of Court's diary, dated 13<sup>th</sup> February 1977, three questions had been raised with the Australian leadership of the CPA (ML):

1. *How could Hua be made Chairman without a C.C. (Central Committee of the CCP) Plenum?*
2. *Why was Chang Chun-Chiao's quote about satellites<sup>489</sup> and red flags distorted?*

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<sup>487</sup> Ibid., 270.

<sup>488</sup> As I had already briefly mentioned in Chapter Two, ordinary members of the CPA (ML) had been often told not to disclose their Party association, for the reasons of security. Kerr (a), "Xiaoxiao." Donald Ward, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao.

<sup>489</sup> The satellites, which Court referred to in his dairies, came from *On exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie*: "Sure Enough, new bourgeois elements have been engendered batch after batch, and it is precisely the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique that is their representative. These people generally have a good class background; almost all of them were brought up under the red flag; they have joined the Communist Party organizationally, received college training and become so-called red experts. However, they are new poisonous

3. Why do they refer to Hua winning a victory for the proletariat with one blow?<sup>490</sup>

I shall not bother to relay the answers offered by the Party leadership as recorded by Court; suffice to note here that they did not satisfy him, nor many others. I know little about what happened after this initial meeting between the dissenters and the CPA (ML) leaders, but apparently, two 'lines' had emerged within the Australian Party, and the disputes between them eventually led to a 'showdown' on 8<sup>th</sup> June, 1977. Then, as a representative of the recently formed Red Eureka Movement (REM), Court had a meeting with Hill and Duncan Clarke, during which he handed over a letter to Hill.<sup>491</sup> As one might expect, the Chairman of the CPA (ML) after receiving it, rejected all the positions listed in the same letter, among which there was one stating that: "the catalyst in forming our views has been the denunciation of China's 'Gang of four', the arbitrary way that this was imposed on the Party, the enthusiastic support given to what appear to be bad developments in China and the publication of the revisionist pamphlet 'Class Struggle in the Communist Parties'". Hill swiftly terminated the meeting by asking Court to leave.<sup>492</sup>

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weeds engendered by the old soil of capitalism. They have betrayed their own class, usurped Party and state power, restored capitalism, become chieftains of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, and accomplished what Hitler had tried to do but failed. Never should we forget this experience of history in which 'the satellites went up to the sky while the red flag fell to the ground,' especially not at this time when we are determined to build a powerful country." Chunqiao Zhang, *On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship over the Bourgeoisie* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975), 3.

<sup>490</sup> Court, "Philip Court's Dairies", 1974-late 1978?

<sup>491</sup> For the text itself, see, *Floating with the Tide is a Revisionist Principle*, (A criticism of E.F. Hill's pamphlet "Class Struggle Within the Communist Parties), Feb, 1977, in <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/australia/tide.htm>. Last access date: 15<sup>th</sup>, Feb, 2016. It must be also noted that the name of the REM and the insistence on using the Red Eureka Flag rather than the blue ones were also indication of the difference between two groups in dispute.

<sup>492</sup> Contemporaneous personal diary notes. For the letter itself, see Red Eureka Movement, "Letter the Central Committee, Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)," <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/australia/rem-to-cc.htm>, last accessed 30/03. And for

Hence, by mid-1977, the CPA (ML) was formally split over the question concerning the ‘truth’ about the “Gang of Four”.<sup>493</sup> The REM, or the “Super Revolutionaries”, as *The Vanguard* called it, however, was formed not only upon a rejection of the official CCP explanation of the ‘Four’, according to which the condemned were ‘bourgeois gangsters’. As the summary below shows, what the REM also found repugnant were certain aspects of the policies of the CPA (ML).

First, there was the question of national independence. In an article entitled: *Revolution and Revisionism* published in *Rebel*, the REM’s organ, Alan Wald argued that was politically wrong to pursue a lopsided policy of “‘kick(ing) out’ the multinationals’ and establishing a Government no longer “subservient” to a foreign country. A genuine communist party, continued the same author, would rather aim “to take over [sic] from the multinationals and have the ordinary people re-organize the whole of society in their own interests”.<sup>494</sup> Moreover, Wald lambasted the “dogmatic” application of a “two-superpower contention” framework in analysing the Australian situation. Though, it is true, as Wald sees it, that the Soviet Union was becoming a dangerous superpower “(h)ow could the contention between the superpowers determine [sic] everything that happens in Australia, any more than it did in China?”<sup>495</sup> The same line argument against the CPA(ML)’s framing of the two superpower line, can be also found in an article appeared in *Rebel* which questioned the validity of an explanation which

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cross-reference, see the document: Draft Resolution on tactics, Ron, 7/9/77 in REM – Internal 1977-1979, from box z457 B29

<sup>493</sup> It is otherwise difficult to say exactly when, the split took place

<sup>494</sup> Alan Wald, "Revolution and Revisionism", *Rebel* 1, no. 1 (1977): 1. It must be noted that the original document is not paged, the page number presented here is based on my count. Also see Martin Connell, "Unite on the Basis of the Party Program", *ibid.*, no. 2.

<sup>495</sup> Alan Wald, "Revolution and Revisionism", *ibid.*, no. 1: 5.

attributed Whitlam's dismissal solely to his 'pro-Soviet' inclination.<sup>496</sup> Last but not least, Wald challenged the so-called 'make the rich pay campaign' of the CPA (ML). "The rich cannot be made to pay", said the author of the *Revolution and Revisionism*, for "they do not produce anything so they have nothing to pay with except the products of our labour. The rich must be overthrown."<sup>497</sup>

Secondly, the CPA (ML)'s policies were also being challenged from a feminist perspective. According to a paper titled: *How the CPA (ML) has restricted the growth of Marxist Leninist amongst women*, published in the *Discussion Bulletin* (another publication of the REM), the CPA (ML)'s policy on the struggles of women had been formulated on a passive, mechanical and paternalistic understanding of the question of gender inequality, while some of its "known members and supporters displayed an openly male chauvinist attitude to women."<sup>498</sup> Furthermore, the author of the same article also opposed the "pure and narrow" concept of national independence, which s/he contended, had been interposed in the struggle of the women.<sup>499</sup>

Interestingly, as the summary above has shown, most of the shells fired by the REM then, had been directed at the CPA (ML)'s 'nationalistic' appropriation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, and REM did not talk 'openly' about the fall of the 'Four'.<sup>500</sup> This silence on the part of the REM will not be dealt

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<sup>496</sup> Super revolutionary, "Remember Czechoslovakia!", *ibid.*, no. 4: 4.

<sup>497</sup> Alan Wald, "Wages and Unemployment", *ibid.*, no. 2.

<sup>498</sup> Anonymous, "How the Cpa (Ml) Has Restricted the Growth of Marxist Leninist Amongst Women", *Discussion Bulletin*, no. 4 (1979): 1.

<sup>499</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>500</sup> A r-r-revolutionary, "Communism, Fascism and Nationalism", *Rebel* 1, no. 2 (1977).



now, for I wish first to present the response of the CPA (ML) to the challenges it faced.

A quick look at the articles published in *Vanguard* in 1977/8, shows that the CPA (ML) repeatedly warned its readers about the ‘vicious’ discourses of the “agents” of the Soviet Union and “r-r-revolutionaries”, and apparently, these two titles were attributed to REM. By refuse to see Soviet Union as a major threat to Australia, and opposing the struggle against monopoly capitalism, stated *The Vanguard*, the REM group had exposed their true “colours”.<sup>501</sup> What these true “colours” meant was explicated in an internal document circulated within the CPA (ML) at the time. In this document, the followers of the ‘Gang of Four’ were branded as “Ultra-Leftist”, “Revisionist”, “Bourgeois”, for they “distorted independence and socialism in China, causing great damage”.<sup>502</sup>

Furthermore, the text also stated that, first, the accusation of the ‘Gang of Four’ liners that the AIM had abjured its commitment to socialism was simply wrong. Secondly, the Australian supporters of the ‘Four’ committed a serious political error by rejecting the correct policy of uniting with “small Australian business”, and opting for the monopolisation of the latter.<sup>503</sup> Finally, the REM’s

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<sup>501</sup> "Super Revolutionaries Can't Hide Their Pro-Soviet Stand," *Vanguard*, Thursday, September 1 1977, 1; "Super Revolutionaries Oppose Struggle," *Vanguard*, Thursday, September 8th 1977, 11; "Communist Party of Austraila(M-L) Strives to Give Correct Revolutionary Leadership to People's Struggle for Independence, Socialism," *Vanguard*, Thursday, December 1st, 1977 1977, 2.

<sup>502</sup> I discovered this anonymous and untitled text from the personal archive of John Herouvim, who was a member of the CPA (ML) before his resignation in 1980. John Herouvim, "Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29," (SLVC196?-1998?).

<sup>503</sup> The programme for Australia’s revolution, said the author of the same article, would proceed in accordance with the two stages theory, and which also implied that “the fundamental struggle at present was for national independence, achieved through a revolutionary armed struggle to overthrow imperialist state power and replace it with people’s state power under the leadership of the working class.” Ibid.

endorsement of the position of Enver Hoxha (the leader of the Party of Labour in Albania) was also singled out for attack. Hoxha, in CPA (ML)'s view, failed to see the Soviet Union as a more dangerous imperialist power than the U.S., and had wrongly placed them both on an equal footing.<sup>504</sup>

What I have managed to unveil is how some of the otherwise submerged (in the sense that they had not been hitherto openly said), contradictions running underneath Australian 'Maoism' in the early 1970s emerged after the purge of the 'Gang of Four'. The important, though seemingly redundant question we must ask then, is why the 'Four' mattered so much to the Maoists not just in Australia but also elsewhere.<sup>505</sup> Secondly, and given that the true nature of the demise of the 'Four' was vital and thus must be ascertained, why did the REM rebels nonetheless remain paradoxically silent on it, at least in the early stage of its existence?

To the first question raised above, I think the answer must be rather clear at this point, but perhaps still worth a bit of rephrasing. As the above quoted remarks of Court, which contained descriptions such as "smokescreen" and "revisionist line"

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<sup>504</sup> Ibid.

<sup>505</sup> For the debates took place among the Maoists globally, see, e.g. Charles Bettelheim letter of resignation (May 11, 1977) as president of the Franco-Chinese Friendship Association, which attracted Neil Burton's "Defence of the New Regime" (October 1, 1977, hereafter as defence), followed by Bettelheim's response "The Great Leap Backward" (March 3, 1978), all published in *China Since Mao* by Monthly Review in late 1978. Neil G. Burton and Charles Bettelheim, *China since Mao* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978). To summarise Burton's defence in a few words, first, Bettelheim as well as himself in the past has been misled by the Chinese propaganda, though the new leadership, says Burton could not be the sole bearer of the fault. (p.21-22) Second, Burton claims that since Bettelheim had not gotten a chance to visit China again after the fall of the 'Four', he missed an opportunity to appreciate that the latter event occurred mostly because of the will of the mass (p.25). And finally, the new post-Mao Chinese leadership, contends Burton, was playing no more than a "pedagogical" one. (p.33) Bettelheim's reply to Burton's letter raises a number of crucial points, which, could not be explicated in any details here. Suffice to say is that the analysis presented in it, has rightfully foreseen, in my view, the trajectory of the political economy of China in the 1980s and beyond.

suggest, for many who had been long involved in the same game of truth of Maoism, it was quite *natural* for them to be able to *read* the pivotal political messages enveloped within the official account provided by the post-Mao CCP over the arrest of the ‘Four’.<sup>506</sup> Or, to make it even more blatant, for those who were associated with REM, the political line of the ‘Four’ could not be categorically separated from Mao’s during the GPCR.<sup>507</sup> Therefore, if the ‘Four’ were to be denounced, then Mao could not stay aloof from it, and this would also imply that Maoism itself, which had been once held as true, became untrue.<sup>508</sup>

Yet, if the ‘Four’ could not be politically wrong, why did REM chose not say this openly? I think, apart from the lack of reliable information on the matter, which was not unusual back in the late 1970s, and arguably still today, this silence can perhaps also be explained by the very discourse mobilized by the post-Mao CCP to condemn the ‘Four’. According to the articles published in *Peking Review* in late October and early November 1976: “(t)he Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-

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<sup>506</sup> Court, "Philip Court's Dairies", 1974-late 1978?

<sup>507</sup> It must also be noted that a similar argument that Mao actively supported the political line of the ‘Four’, appeared as early as September, 1978, as indicated by the name of a book edited by Raymond Lotta entitled *And Mao Makes 5: Mao Tsetung's last great battle*. Raymond Lotta, *And Mao Makes 5 : Mao Tsetung's Last Great Battle* (Chicago: Banner Press, 1978). In his introduction to the same book, Lotta claims that: “Mao’s role in the great struggles during the years 1973-76 boils down to this: he initiated the major political campaigns in this period and gave strong backing to forces of the Left whose leadership core was the Four.” *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>508</sup> In a 1980 article entitled: *Notes on Mao Tsetung*, Langer argues that “But attempting to separate the ‘four’ from Mao misses the point that they were never in power separate from Mao (as Stalin held power separate from Lenin for decades).” Albert Langer, "Mao Notes," in *China in Transition : Where to Next? : Papers Delivered to a Forum on China* (Cowandilla, S. Aust: Adelaide Anti-imperialist Study-action Group, 1979), 68. Another article published in the same journal *Marxism or Anarcho-Stalinism*, Bill Kerr and Steve Gardiner, came up with a similar argument though with some further restrictions: “It is true that the Four held the same political line as Mao (although it is not true that they “never had much chances to make their own mistakes”) Bill Kerr and Gardiner Steve, "Marxism or Anarcho-Stalinism? A Reply to 'Notes on Mao Tsetung,'" *ibid.* (Cowandilla, South Australia), 71.

Party clique” had been branded as the “disguised Left” who were actually “counter-revolutionary revisionists” and covert “bourgeoisie inside the Party”.<sup>509</sup>

The politicalised language used to denounce the ‘Four’, coupled with the fact that Deng Xiaoping who had succeeded Liu Shaoqi as the No.1 ‘capitalist roader’ had not yet been restored, indicated that the CCP’s discourse still operated within the broader Maoist framework. The ambiguous re-affirmation of the positive legacies of the GPCR, as exemplified by Hua’s “Two Whatever’s” doctrine (i.e. We will resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave), might not only have succeeded in inducing the CPA (ML) leadership into maintain its support for the Chinese party, but also have contributed to REM’s initial reluctance to comment directly upon the state of affairs of the PRC under the new chairmanship of Hua Guofeng.<sup>510</sup>

To sum up, while as Michel Dutton has astutely observed, the Chinese Cultural Revolution began with sheer intensity and excessive passion,<sup>511</sup> it had an atypical,

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<sup>509</sup> Peking Foreign Languages Press, vol. No.44 (1976), 10. See Also No. 45(1976): 7-8

<sup>510</sup> Letter to China study group in U.S., December 13, 1977. Box z457 b29. “On our part we have published some 5 issues of *The Rebel!* Which concentrate on the line struggle as it applies in Australia and only contain some passing references and historical material on China to make it clear where we stand, without direct comment. We have also reprinted without comment some relevant Chinese material in four issues of *Study Notes* (which unfortunately are crudely produced, being aimed at a small audience). Another issue reprinted the Albanian July 7 editorial and similar material from other parties, also without comment and an issue reprinting Chang Chunqiao’s and Yao Wen-yuan’s important articles is in the press.” Also worthwhile mention is the assessment of the Chinese politics in the same period by the Western academics, which as Bill Brugger observed, was highly divided. As Brugger wrote in 1980: “Events in China, since the demise of the ‘Gang of Four’ in October 1976, have given rise to a debate amongst scholars as intense as that which accompanied the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966.” Bill Brugger, *China since the "Gang of Four"* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 13.

<sup>511</sup> Michael Robert Dutton, "From Culture Industry to Mao Industry: A Greek Tragedy", *BOUNDARY 2* 32, no. 2 (2005).

and perhaps even ‘glorious’ end.<sup>512</sup> Yet, to some, though certainly not all who were known as Maoists in Australia at the time, the exuberant chant over the defeat of the ‘Four’ actually carried a worrying revisionist smell, and so they rebelled once again, though this time, the leadership of the Australian Party was not on their side. And once the new battle line was drawn, a fierce propaganda war was waged among former comrades turned enemies but, as the next chapter will show, despite leaving some unresolvable wounds, all the hacks and charges that went back and forth during the course of these quarrels saved neither REM nor the CPA (ML) from a common fate of decline.

## **Conclusion**

What is true cannot be questioned, because if questions are raised about something that has been regarded as true, then that something has literally become untrue. And if this is the case, then this chapter has tried to show that questions had indeed been raised in the 1970s about Maoism as a genuinely anti-capitalist ‘regime of truth’, but more so in relation to its concrete manifestation in the Australian context. Most of the questions that were asked by some of those who bore the title of Australian Maoists were, however, not new. They were ones that had long existed since the October Revolution. How are the masses in a country supposed to be governed, once the communist revolution has succeeded? Should they be governed by themselves, or by the Party-State, or even by capital,

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<sup>512</sup> “The ‘glorious Revolution’ brought into power, along with William of Orange, the landlord and capitalist profit-grubbers. They inaugurated the new era by practising on a colossal scale the thefts of state lands which had hitherto been managed more modestly. These estates were given away, sold at ridiculous prices, or even annexed to private estates by direct seizure.” Marx, *Capital : A Critique of Political Economy*, 884.

regardless of whether it was of a national or imperialist nature? Moreover, how in the end, do those who live in a capitalist country, but nonetheless committed themselves to a communist ideal, interact with the masses, the communist party, and the state government of a socialist country? All these questions were once regarded as being creatively resolved by the GPCR in the eyes of the members of the CPA (ML), but from the early 1970s onwards, they became moot points again. In the eighties to come, *History* would – to parody Fidel Castro’s famous dictum – ‘condemn’ the crimes committed in the name of the GPCR, while in the meantime, paradoxically erasing the remaining political vestiges of Mao’s last revolution, along with all the questions listed above.

## Chapter Six: Continuous Revolution in the Name of Mango Mao<sup>513</sup> and the ‘Death’ of the *Last Australian* Maoist

### Introduction

In this chapter, Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’ begins to permanent (ing), so, this *author* must die, for as it has often been claimed, when a courageous speaking of the Western metaphysical tradition speaks, he speaks nothing but truth.<sup>514</sup> However, if no knowledge can be truly established without first extracting what is true from what is false, as stipulated by this ancient yet still potent tradition, then this thesis has failed to increase our knowledge of something called Australian Maoism, for the latter cannot have been truly known, as long as the truth of *China* itself was ‘silenced’.<sup>515</sup> It is certainly true that this awkward silence might still be absolved by a peremptory reference to the seemingly irreversible disciplinary boundaries of academic knowledge,<sup>516</sup> though only at the price that there would be very little to say about the death of Maoism in Australia, apart from an evasive, and thus untruthful, whisper that it happened *naturally*. But, that is not what I intend to speak about, in the last chapter of this thesis.

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<sup>513</sup> Dutton, "Mango Mao: Infections of the Sacred."

<sup>514</sup> See, e.g. Michel Foucault et al., *The Hermeneutics of the Subject : Lectures at the Collège De France, 1981-1982* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2005).

<sup>515</sup> As I have hinted many times in this thesis, I am not entirely comfortable with phrases like Mao’s China, which often seems to me to have carried an ambiguous scent of reductionism.

<sup>516</sup> I can perhaps excuse myself on being silent on China, on the ground that this thesis concerned itself mainly with Australian instead of Chinese ‘Maoism’. Moreover, by shelving ‘China’, I abided the rule of what Weber called it specialisation, which stipulates that academics cannot or must not speak without having first acquired a specialized area of knowledge. Yet, provided that this specialisation shall be the norm of academia, then it seems to me that an academic simply cannot speak, since there will always be certain non-specialized fragments of knowledge that straddle across the line of ‘specialized area’, and without which, the latter cannot be established in the first place.

Indeed, as the first section shows, my silence but more so, the so far silenced past of the echo of Chinese model of socialism in Australia, cannot be spoken of without first breaking the silence on the (de) politicisation of the knowledge of Mao's China.<sup>517</sup>

## **Driving a Final Nail into the Coffin of the GPCR and Commanding Chinese Socialism through Economics**

In last chapter, the initial silence of the REM group on the question of the 'Gang of Four' had been unveiled and explicated to certain degree. However, such a silence on the part of the REM cannot be made known in its entirety, if a knowledge of the legacies of the GPCR in the post-Mao China was silenced, and hence the need to first stretch out the 'evil deeds and thoughts' of the 'Four', as they manifested themselves in the period between 1973 and the death of Mao, before the Gang itself being purged.

First to noted was a campaign known as Criticize Lin, Criticize Confucius,<sup>518</sup> launched with a purpose of combating, as Lotta observes, the rising right-wing force within the CCP, since the death of Marshal Lin.<sup>519</sup> Then came a second major campaign launched in early 1975, again targeting the right faction of the CCP, and built up on a seminal political text of the late GPCR, written by Zhang

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<sup>517</sup> On the politics of (de) politicisation, see, e.g. Hui), *去政治化的政治：短20世纪的终结与90年代*. English Translation: Wang Hui, *Depoliticised Politics: The Endo Short 20<sup>th</sup> century and 1990s*.

<sup>518</sup> See, e.g. Dutton, *Policing Chinese Politics : A History*; Michael Dutton, "Passionately Governmental: Maoism and the Structured Intensities of Revolutionary Governmentality", *Postcolonial Studies* 11, no. 1 (2008).

<sup>519</sup> Lotta, *And Mao Makes 5 : Mao Tsetung's Last Great Battle*.



Chunqiao, named *Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie*.

<sup>520</sup>Arguably the last major political analysis that presented the views of the ‘ultra-leftists’, as they were so branded later, of the CCP, Zhang’s article was constructed upon Mao’s instruction: “Our country (China) at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted,”<sup>521</sup> which unveils the structuralized inequality existed in China between towns and cities, between peasants and workers and between mental and manual labour.<sup>522</sup>

Then, almost immediately after the news of the arrest of ‘Gang’ had gone to public, a massive propaganda campaign against them began. As Michael Sullivan observed: “For about eight months, the press piled accusation upon accusation to the point where it is possible to identify more than fifty policy areas in which the ‘Gang’s’ ‘pernicious influence’ was said to have caused problems.”<sup>523</sup> Although it is true, as Sullivan suggested that “amid all this behavioural criticism, there was not much discussion of theory,” it must be pointed out that regardless of the lack of theoretical depth, the attacks aimed at destroying the ‘Four’, were still couched in a Marxist terms of reference, although the same could not be said of the

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<sup>520</sup> Zhang, *On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship over the Bourgeoisie*.

<sup>521</sup> See, e.g. 中国共产党中央委员会, *红旗* V.6 (1975): 2. English Translation, The Central Committee of the CCP, *Red Flag*, Vol. 6, 1975: 2

<sup>522</sup>Michael Sullivan, "The Politics of Conflict and Compromise," in *China since the "Gang of Four"*, ed. Bill Brugger (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 24.

<sup>523</sup> *Ibid.*, 32. On what has come to be called the wounded literature, see, e.g. Hsin-hua Lu, Geremie Barmé, and Bennett Lee, *The Wounded : New Stories of the Cultural Revolution*, 77-78 (Hongkong: Joint Pub. Co., 1979).

bourgeoning literary works, which later became known as the ‘wounded literature’.<sup>524</sup>

Yet, while it was indeed Hua who ‘smashed the sinister plot’ of the Four with ‘one blow’, he did not remain as the designated successor of Chairman Mao for long. Hua’s ‘middle-of-the-road’ policy did not last long either, it was soon buried after Deng Xiaoping returned to power at the 3rd Plenary Session of the 10th Central Committee of the CCP held in mid-July 1977. Once again back into the game, Deng quickly managed to have Hua’s Two Whatever policy openly repudiated and his power base within the CCP undermined, both of which paved the road for the decisive document *Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People’s Republic of China* (Hereafter the 1981 Resolution), approved on the 6<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the CCP held in July 1981. What the 1981 Resolution was supposed to achieve was, as an old Chinese proverb says, the hammering of the ‘final nail’ into the coffin of the Maoism, i.e. the GPCR. To explicate how this hammering job was done, we need to take a closer look at what was actually said in the a1981 Resolution.

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<sup>524</sup> It can be seen that both the speeches of the ‘Four’s and their political opponents within the post-Mao CCP was full of references to the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. See, e.g. 《红旗》杂志社大批判组, “捣乱、失败、灭亡的纪录——揭批姚文元利用《红旗》制造反革命舆论的罪行,” *人民日报* 1977. English Translation: Big Criticism Group of *Red Flag Magazine, Records of Sabotage, Failure and Death – unveiling Yao Wenyuan’s crime in propagating anti-revolution materials using Red Flag*, 1977 中共武汉大学委员会, “是脑力劳动者, 还是“臭老九”?”, *ibid.*; 俞明仁, “谈谈平等和不平等问题,” *ibid.* English Translation, the CCP’s committee at Wuhan University, *Is Mental Worker or “Stinking Old Ninth” ?* *ibid.*; Yu Mingren, *On the Question of Equality and Inequality and so on*, *ibid.*

In the first place, the 1981 Resolution stated that the GPCR was a serious mistake which had its roots in an “ultra-leftist” political line, and must be thoroughly repudiated. By whatever standard, the political significance of this statement on the GPCR cannot be underestimated. Only four years ago, the same event was hailed by Hua “as a momentous innovation which will shine with increasing splendour with the passage of time.”<sup>525</sup> Curiously, however, the GPCR was repudiated, in the 1981 Resolution, on the grounds that it ran against Mao Zedong Thought itself. I will return to this ingenious reconstruction of Mao Zedong Thought later. For the moment, we must note another crucial distinction established by the 1981 Resolution, between Mao who was held responsible for launching the CRPR, and the serious crimes committed by Lin Biao and the ‘Gang of Four’ behind the back of the Chairman himself. Finally, and in relation to the above two claims, the Resolution claimed that what actually had motivated Lin Biao and the ‘Four was nothing but an otherwise concealed lust for power.

There are many more qualified scholars than I do to provide an extensive analysis of the 1981 Resolution from various perspectives. For my part, I shall restrain my remarks to two points. First, I venture to say the 1981 Resolution marked the lifting of the final ‘block’ to a full-scale erasure of the remaining political vestiges of Mao’s “last revolution”<sup>526</sup>. It was not a coincidence that the ‘wise leader’ Hua

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<sup>525</sup> “China’s Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution provides the international communist movement with fresh experience in combating and guarding against revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration. It makes the world proletariat much more confident of victory in their struggle for socialism and communism. Beyond any doubt, it will go down in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a momentous innovation which will shine with increasing splendour with the passage of time.” Hua Kuofeng, “Political Report to the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China,” *Peking Review*, August 26 1977, 38.

<sup>526</sup> R. MacFarquhar and M. Schoenhals, *Mao’s Last Revolution* (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006).

Guofeng, who never openly denigrated the GPCR, formally stepped down as the Chairman of the CCP at same 6<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Committee.<sup>527</sup> Secondly, it shall be also noted that whereas the ‘Four’ had hitherto been denounced as the “disguised Left” and covert “bourgeoisie inside the Party”, in the 1981 Resolution, this politicized framing had now been substituted by a quasi-legal discourse of crime. Apparently, with the GPCR itself being negated, previous accusations against Lin Biao and the ‘Four’ which used the same political language of the Cultural Revolution must also be renounced.

The formal renunciation of the GPCR and the criminalization of Lin and the ‘Four’ as highlighted above, were just two among many delicate discursive manoeuvres, essential for erasing an old governmentality constructed upon the motto of ‘politics in command’. Another domain, which also witnessed the end of what Dutton called a commitment politics of Mao’s era is History.<sup>528</sup> How, exactly, did that happen, in terms of the appearance of (non-) official Chinese literature (‘true stories’, ‘memoirs’, ‘histories’ of Lin Biao, Kang Sheng, etc.) on the Cultural Revolution in the 1980s had been documented and analysed by Michael Schoenhals.<sup>529</sup> As Schoenhals saw it, whereas individual writers not associated with the Party tended to depict the late ten years of Mao’s regime as an unredeemable catastrophe, perpetuated by figures like Lin, Kang Shen and few

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<sup>527</sup> Also worth mentioning is that with Hua himself gone, so did the incumbent Mao’s *selected works*, vol. 6 and 7, which never appear. The last volume was published in 1977 when Hua was still in power.

<sup>528</sup> See, e.g. Michael Dutton, "Cultural Revolution as Method", *The China Quarterly* (2016); Michael Robert Dutton, "Lead Us Not into Translation: Notes toward a Theoretical Foundation for Asian Studies", *Nepantla: Views from South* 3, no. 3 (2002); Dutton, "Passionately Governmental: Maoism and the Structured Intensities of Revolutionary Governmentality."; Dutton, "Mango Mao: Infections of the Sacred."; *Policing Chinese Politics : A History*; "From Culture Industry to Mao Industry: A Greek Tragedy."

<sup>529</sup> See, e.g. Michael Schoenhals, "Unofficial and Official Histories of the Cultural Revolution : A Review Article", *The journal of Asian studies* (1989).

other evil ‘baddies’, the official CCP historian simply put quotation marks upon the Cultural Revolution, as an indication that it did not really qualify itself as a revolution.<sup>530</sup>

The History of the modern Man is, of course, not foreign to violence, cruelty and silence<sup>531</sup>, all of which were reportedly to have also happened during the period of the GPCR, as we have been told by numerous sensational or grave stories, which have appeared since the 1980s. That said, however, one shall also take into account of the fact that the Chinese State was not blind to the power of the knowledge of the past, as unveiled by Dutton who had personally witnessed the massive destruction of Mao’s busts.<sup>532</sup>

Yet, since the de-politicalising political effects engendered by a vulgarized fictional discourse of the GPCR, the ‘Gang of Four’ and Mao himself, has been already well documented by scholars such as Gao Mobo, Lin Chu and many others, I shall restrain from saying anything more than I did above on the same topic.<sup>533</sup> Rather, the question I have in mind, and which the last part of this section addresses, is twofold. First, given that what had been once held as true was

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<sup>530</sup> Ibid., 569-79.

<sup>531</sup> Taken, for example, what happened after the failed Tupac Amaru Rebellion as an example here. As noted by Charles Walker, rebel leader Tupac Amaru II who had been captured earlier, was first tortured before being publicly executed by the Spanish masters. Then, a ‘cultural revolution’, as Walker called it, was launched by the local colonial government, and it did temporarily succeed in “silence the discussion, cover up what had happened, and to impede collective memory.” Walker, *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*, 267-68.

<sup>532</sup> Dutton, *Policing Chinese Politics : A History*.

<sup>533</sup> One of the seminal truth effects engendered by the Resolution, I argue, is that it opened up a discursive space indispensable for the tabloidization and commodification, and thus delegitimation of Maoism itself as a revolutionary discourse, which has been thoroughly criticised by Mobo Gao and Lin Chun, see, e.g. Mobo C. F. Gao, "The Battle for China's Past Mao and the Cultural Revolution," Pluto Press. Gregor Benton and Chun Lin, *Was Mao Really a Monster? : The Academic Response to Chang and Halliday's Mao, the Unknown Story* (London; New York: Routledge, 2010).

declared untrue, that is to say, whereas in the post-Mao China, the Chinese people no longer conducted themselves by continuously raising the question: “Who are our enemies and who are our friends?”,<sup>534</sup> but instead channelled most of their energy towards chasing a cat that was able to catch the mouse, regardless of where it was black or white. We may wish to know how could they know which cat was best at hunting down the shrewd mouse? Apparently, without having some knowledge of both cat and mouse, the new general line (总路线) of Four Modernizations (四个现代化) could not be achieved.

The answer given by the new leaders of the post-Mao (or in fact, Hua) CCP to this first question, and I shall be rather brief on this point, is that the Chinese people must master economy. Or to put the matter in a more blatant way, despite the well-known policies such as Reform and Opening Up, socialist market economy, etc., what was perhaps more fundamental, from a governmentality perspective, was the drastic ascendancy of an economic knowledge of an indisputably strong positivist character, in the centre stage of the government of the subjects of the Chinese Party-State.

As students of contemporary China would know, the realm of economy was one of the pivotal areas, within which serious disputes first emerged, between Mao and other senior members of the CCP, such as Deng Xiaoping, Bo Yibo, Chen Yun, Deng Zihui, Liu Shaoqi, etc.<sup>535</sup> I shall not go into the details of Mao’s

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<sup>534</sup> Dutton, *Policing Chinese Politics : A History*.

<sup>535</sup> It is too late, to provide ample evidence, but one can read: 毛澤東, *毛澤東選集 第五卷*, 80,82,93. English Translation: Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao*, Vol. 5, 1977, 80, 82, 93.

criticisms against what those whom he later called ‘capitalist roaders’ inside the Party. Suffice to note that while Mao, as Dutton noted<sup>536</sup>, also emphasized the importance of economic knowledge in building up socialism, he never allowed the latter to be a substitute for politics (or to say, in Mao’s own word that one must be a ‘Red’ and not a ‘White’ expert).<sup>537</sup> Nor did he approve a policy which sought nothing but the ‘development’ of capitalist economy at the expense of the life quality of workers and working people.<sup>538</sup> But, with the fall of Mao’s ‘designated successor’ Hua Guofeng, it can be observed that, economy quickly started to submerge the domain of politics and eventually became a dominant rationality of government of the subjects of the Chinese state. This was exemplified by a remark of Deng Xiaoping in October 1979: “by politics, we are referring to the four modernizations.”<sup>539</sup>

One does not necessarily have to be a Marxist to know where Man first became ‘modern’, and how capitalism helped Hobbes’s King of England of the 17<sup>th</sup> century to later become the Queen of Empire. However, one does need to know the secret of economy, or at least that is what I am trying to argue here, so as to govern a country which the passion that had previously sustained a commitment politics for nearly three centuries was discharged. Therefore, it is no surprise that shortly after the death of Mao, Tsinghua university, the undisputable headquarter of the most radical phase the GPCR had quickly become a cradle which hatched

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<sup>536</sup> Dutton, "Passionately Governmental: Maoism and the Structured Intensities of Revolutionary Governmentality."

<sup>537</sup> See, e.g. 毛澤東, *毛澤東選集 第五卷*, 145. English Translation: Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao*, Vol. 5, 145.

<sup>538</sup> See, e.g. *Ibid.*, 92, 208.

<sup>539</sup> 邓小平, *邓小平文选 第二卷* (北京: 人民出版社, 1994), 194. English Translation: Deng Xiaoping, *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol.2, 194.

what Joel Andreas called it “a new dominant class of Red experts”<sup>540</sup>, and that foreign experts with superior (by which, I mean non-analytical, non-critical and non-reflective) economic knowledge was invited to visit China, while Chinese diplomats, scholars and students once again went abroad to learn from the West, just as the first group of the Chinese Education Mission went to America a hundred years ago.<sup>541</sup> Moreover, various specific research institutes, like the economics division of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Institute of Economic Research within the State Planning Commission of the PRC were quickly established in the late 1970s, and began publishing journals and books on the topics of economics. A quick survey of this vast literature thus produced, revealed a curious feature, which is related to the second and last question to be dealt with in this section, that is whether there were any commonalities, which underpinned China’s drastic turn towards market economy and the equally expeditious plunge of Maoism in Australia.

What seems to me to be extraordinary was the extent to which, the vocabulary utilized by, and the rationale underscored in the numerous speeches given by Deng in the late 1970s and early 1980s resembled the discourse of economics as manifested by the articles published in journals like *Economic Management* (经济管理). Both the de facto top leader of the Chinese state and the economic experts talked of the same specialisations, institutionalisation, rationalisation of

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<sup>540</sup> Joel Andreas, *Rise of the Red Engineers : The Cultural Revolution and the Origins of China's New Class* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford university press, 2009), 5.

<sup>541</sup> See, e.g. a forthcoming book from Julian B. Gewirtz. Julian B. Gewirtz, *Unlikely Partners : Chinese Reformers, Western Economists, and the Making of Global China* (2017); Edward J. M. Rhoads, "Stepping Forth into the World the Chinese Educational Mission to the United States, 1872-81," <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=863887>.



the workforce as vital factor for raising productivity,<sup>542</sup> the same importance of managing, via the means of financial accounting and mega data-base<sup>543</sup>, of workers and affairs under socialism more “extensively, scientifically, strictly and flexibly” than was possible under capitalism.<sup>544</sup> The same urges for “respecting of the law of economics,” which when being translated into practical policies, meant corporatization, qualified control, forced early retirement and the introduction of economic incentives (bonus system).<sup>545</sup>

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<sup>542</sup> 吴家骏, "组织专业公司和联合公司要讲究经济效果", *经济管理*, no. 3 (1979). English Translation: Wu Jiajun, *Organising Professional Company and United Company must consider economic efficiency*, *Economic Management*, no.3 (1979). 韩岫岚, "关于组织专业化与协作的几个认识问题", *ibid.* English Translation: Han Xiulan, *On Several Cognitive Questions Regarding professionalism of organization and cooperation*, *ibid.* 邓小平, *邓小平文选. 第二卷*, 129-31. English Translation: Deng Xiaoping, *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol.2, 129-31.

<sup>543</sup> 李贤沛, "企业管理的基本职能", *经济管理*, no. 4 (1979). English Translation: Li Xianpei, *the Basic Function of Enterprise Management*, *Economic Management*, no.4 (1979). 周民, "企业管理中的管理信息系统(Mis)", *ibid.*, no. 5. English Translation: Zhou Min, *The Managing Information System (Mis) in Enterprise Management*, *ibid*, no.5. 邓小平, *邓小平文选. 第二卷*, 136. English Translation: Deng Xiaoping, *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol.2, 136.

<sup>544</sup> 韩岫岚, "加强经营管理 实现扭亏为盈", *经济管理*, no. 6 (1980). English Translation: Han Xiulan, *Enhance the Management, Turning the Losses into Gains*, *Economic Management*, no.6 (1980) 罗精奋, "计划经济可以采用弹性计划", *ibid.*, no. 2 (1979). English Translation: Luo Jingfen, *Planned Economy can employ Flexible Plan*, *ibid*, no.2 (1979). 牛中黄, "经济管理是一门科学", *ibid.*, no. 1. English Translation: Niu Zhonghuang, *Economic Management Is A Science*, *ibid*, no.1. 邓小平, *邓小平文选. 第二卷*, 231. English Translation: Deng Xiaoping, *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol.2, 136.

<sup>545</sup> 廖季立, "尊重客观经济规律,用经济手段管理经济", *经济管理*, no. 2 (1979). English Translation: Liao Jili, *Respect Objective Economic Rules, Using Economic Measures to Manage Economy*, *Economic Management*, no.2 (1979).本刊评论员, "再论正确地学习和推广全面质量管理的经验——答新浩同志的"商榷"", *ibid.*, no. 1 (1980). English Translation: Commentator of the Journal, *A Reconsideration On The Corrective Study and Propagating of the Lessons of Comprehensive Quality Management*, *ibid*, no.1 (1980). 罗元铮;薛永应, "经济管理必须贯彻物质利益原则", *ibid.* (1980). English Translation: Luo Yuanzhen and Xue Yongying, *Economic Management Must Fulfil the Principles of Material Interest*, *ibid* (1980). 仲文, "几种奖励办法简介,奖励办法可以“五花八门”", *ibid.*, no. 2 (1979). English Translation: Zhong Wen, *A Brief Introduction on Several Rewarding Measures, Rewarding Measures Can Be Manifold*, *ibid*, no.2 (1979). 晓亮, "社会主义为什么也要组织托拉斯?", *ibid.*, no. 3. English Translation: Xiao Liang, *Why Socialism Also Needs to Establish Business Trust*, *ibid*, no.3. 邓小平, *邓小平文选. 第二卷*, 102, 50-52. 56-57, 396-401. English Translation: Deng Xiaoping, *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol.2, 102, 50-52. 56-57, 396-401.

It is beyond my capacity to say what had happened after Mao's "passionately governmental" went astray and was taken over by a socialist market economy,<sup>546</sup> partly because I myself was, as Eric Hobsbawm said somewhat metaphorically in his *tour de force*, also "marked" by that History,<sup>547</sup> the History in which the political was codified into the new language of economics.<sup>548</sup> But before I end this otherwise imprudent intrusion into China's Maoist past, I wish to quote, in lieu of a prelude to my return to the Australian scenery, another curious passage from a speech given by Deng in 1979:

*According to statistics from Australia, the per capita GNP in the United States was more than US \$8,700 in 1977, ranking fifth place in the world. That of Kuwait was more than \$11,000, ranking first place; that of Switzerland was \$10,000, ranking second place; that of Sweden was more than \$9,400, ranking third place; and that of Norway was more than \$8,800, ranking fourth place. Will China's per capita GNP reach \$1,000 by the end of the century?*<sup>549</sup>

As the above quote suggests, by the time of the late 1970s, the leaders of the post-Mao CCP, like Deng Xiaoping, for some 'mysterious' reasons, 'rediscovered' not

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<sup>546</sup> Dutton, "Passionately Governmental: Maoism and the Structured Intensities of Revolutionary Governmentality."

<sup>547</sup> "The world that went to pieces at the end of the 198-s was the world shaped by the Russian Revolution of 1917. We have all been marked by it, for instance, inasmuch as we got used to thinking of the modern industrial economy in terms of binary opposites, 'capitalism' and 'socialism' as alternatives mutually excluding each another, the one being identified with economies organized on the model of the USSR, the other with all the rest." Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes : The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991* (London: Joseph, 1994), 4.

<sup>548</sup> "Of course, I am not saying that political work is no longer necessary. Some people think that closure of the political department means that political work is not necessary. What are the Party, the trade unions, the Communist Youth League, and the women's federations doing? They are doing political work. We need to do this work earnestly. However, political work should be carried out through economic work and a political problem should be settled from an economic angle" 邓小平, *邓小平文选. 第二卷*, 194. English Translation: Deng Xiaoping, *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol.2, 194.

<sup>549</sup> Ibid.

only Australia (and the ‘West’) but also statistics and economic concepts like GNP, while, at the same time, their Australian comrades had fallen into a state of speedy decline. The sky had indeed not fallen, after some close associates of Chairman Mao quickly vanished after his death, nor did Maoism in Australia breath its last gasp, at least not until the Eighties, which is be the subject of the next section.<sup>550</sup>

### **Things Fall Apart in a Flattened World: The Death Throes of Australian Maoism**

As I have stressed repeatedly throughout this thesis, the CPA (ML) cannot be equated with Australian Maoism, or vice versa. That said, it seems to me to be harder to argue against the party being the most well-known institutional manifestation of Maoism in Australia in the 1960s. Yet, precisely because of its ‘official’ status, the CPA (ML) was also most vulnerable to the changing foreign and domestic policies of the Chinese party, as has been revealed by the discussion so far presented. In that sense, the ‘Gang of Four’ event, as John Herouvim suggested, acted more like the last straw, broke the camel’s back. Many left the Party, once they sensed that the leadership of the CPA(ML) had turned ‘revisionist’ by condemning the ‘Four’, while some who initially stayed, would do the same eventually.<sup>551</sup>

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<sup>550</sup> Australia had been ‘rediscovered’, because Mao obviously knew about the country through various means, including having talks with leaders of the CPA (ML). Ted Hill, who frequented China back in the 1960s/70s. See, e.g. Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and E. F. Hill, "Conversations between Mao Zedong and E. F. Hill."

<sup>551</sup> Robinson; Ken White (a), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 10/07/2014; Robert Darby, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 12/05/2014; York (a).

As Barry York recalled: “in 1973 or 1974, my heart was no longer there (in the CPA (ML)). But I chose to stay, for the social reasons basically, I had lost my critical thinking, (I was) getting caught up in the cult, (trying to) prove, my loyalty to the party.”<sup>552</sup> York remained a member of the CPA (ML) until early 1981, and in his letter for resignation to Hill dated 22 February, the same year, York explained his reason of dissociation: “as an Australian, I cannot honestly support an Australian Party that is subservient to a foreign Party (regardless of my admiration for the foreign Party in question). Australian will never achieve complete independence so long as Australians continue to look abroad for answers to Australia’s problems.”<sup>553</sup>

York’s letter quoted above is a characteristic example of the disintegrating effect engendered by the violent departure of the CPA (ML) policies from those it used to defend. We need to recall the passionate speech given by Hill to the university students back in the 1967, in which he said:

*You must as the Chinese say of their cultural revolution, be touched to your own soul – not someone else's soul – yours. You can serve the people - easy to say – just three words, but it is another matter to win the victory in your mind really to serve the working people. That is one of the supreme targets of the Chinese proletarian Cultural Revolution.*<sup>554</sup>

In the early 1980s, however, the GPCR was no longer being endorsed, if not publicly deplored by the CPA (ML). An internal document circulated in the CPA

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<sup>552</sup> York (b).

<sup>553</sup> Herouvim, "Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29."

<sup>554</sup> E. F. Hill, *E.F. Hill's Speech to University Students on China's Proletarian Cultural Revolution, March 22, 1967* (Melbourne?: Communist Party of Australia?, 1967).

(ML)'s SA branch at the time, said that: "(t)he S.P.A.'s [Socialist Party of Australia- a pro-Soviet party] fawning to the Soviet Union is no more or less repugnant than our own history of sycophantic behaviour towards the Chinese."

<sup>555</sup> From another document, which appeared in the same period, this past mistake, as identified by the CPA (ML) leadership, was made even more blatant:

*Actually, there was very much leftism and adventurism in a number of ways and a sort of identification of student upheavals with socialist revolution. This was quite wrong. Probably it was connected with the leftism of the Cultural Revolution (sic).*<sup>556</sup>

Finally, we found that Hill himself said something about the tradition of "slavishly following the CCP":

*The new Party (CPA (ML)) tended mechanically to try to follow Chinese Communist Party decisions and statements. Australian Marxist-Leninist Communists tended to demand of members and supporters as a condition of membership and support, acceptance of every position taken and move made by the Chinese Communists and Mao Zedong (or rather Australian Communist interpretation of these positions and moves)*<sup>557</sup>

Many Sixties student activists, as McQueen's article mentioned above hinted, joined the CPA (ML) because its ardent defence of the GPCR. Therefore, once the Australian Party accepted, instead of challenging the official post-Mao CCP's

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<sup>555</sup> "Internal Discussion Bulletin", 1982?

<sup>556</sup> Herouvim, "Box Titled: John Herouvim, Documents on History of Cpa (M-L), Pa 98/29."

<sup>557</sup> Hill, *Communism and Australia : Reflections and Reminiscences*, 137. An early version of this book was published in 1983, see, E. F. Hill and Australia Communist Party of, *Reflections on Communism in Australia* ([Melbourne]: [Communist Party of Australia], 1983).

account of the same event, it naturally followed that many of them found hard to maintain their party membership.

As a matter of fact, in this period, the CPA (ML) not only lost a significant number of its members recruited in the late 1960s, but even, some of its founding members found it increasingly hard to follow the Party line. These included Florence Russell and O'Shea, who was its vice chairman, before his resignation in early 1980s. In an article written in 1984, O'Shea unleashed a harsh critique of Hill, the latter of whom was attacked by O'Shea for not only being following the Post-Mao leadership of the CCP, but also for his manoeuvre to unite with the "revisionist" CPA and U.S. imperialism, and imposing a 'lie low' strategy on the party.<sup>558</sup>

As O'Shea's criticism made plain, there were other reasons – apart from a perceived breach escalated by a contradictory attitude towards the GPCR – for one to leave the CPA (ML). Bill Dowling, for example, named the attacks launched against the secretary (1968-1975) of the NSW BLF, Jack Munday, who was known as a central figure in the Green bans movement.<sup>559</sup> Munday once visited South Australia in 1975 and the CPA (ML) stood behind Norm Gallagher

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<sup>558</sup> O'Shea Clarrie, "Rebuild a Genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Party", *Reconstruct The Communist Party of Australia* 1, no. 1 (1984): 1.

<sup>559</sup> For the dispute between Jack Munday and Norm Gallagher, as well as the eventual intervention of the Federal BLF into its NSW branch, see, e.g. Brian Boyd, *Inside the Blf* (Melbourne: Ocean, 1991). It seems to me fair to say that the fractional conflicts between CPA and CPA (ML) certainly played a part in the battle occurred inside the BLF. For Green bans movement, one may like to consult. Richard J. Roddewig, *Green Bans : The Birth of Australian Environmental Politics : A Study in Public Opinion and Participation* (Sydney, Australia; Montclair, N.J.; New York: Hale & Iremonger ; Allanheld, Osmun ; Distribution, Universe Books, 1978); Jack Munday, *Green Bans & Beyond* (London: Angus & Robertson, 1981); Meredith Burgmann and Verity Burgmann, *Green Bans, Red Union : Environmental Activism and the New South Wales Builders Labourers' Federation* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1998).

in his dispute with the former in relation to the conflicts brewing between the federal BLF and its NSW branch.

Dowling maintained that the hostility towards Munday: “it was a general awakening up, which revealed just how small and ideological driven and unquestioning and undemocratic, if you like, this organization was.”<sup>560</sup> After the event mentioned above, Dowling distanced himself from the CPA (ML).

When a former member of the CPA(ML), Donald Ward, was asked about for the reason of his resignation in 1980, he said that: “there was enormous focus on security, and examples were given of what happened in Indonesia.....it was always security, security, security, I don’t think there was something wrong with that, but what you got to do, if you have so much security, or need for so much security, then you have not got a damn hope of changing a situation, you have stifled yourself.”<sup>561</sup>

The issues brought up by Dowling and Ward were not new. They existed in the CPA (ML) since its inception, as suggested by Chapter Three, and could probably be found in many other similar organizations that committed itself to revolutionary changes.<sup>562</sup> What is important is that once the global environment became increasingly unfavourable to the Left, all the existing problems became intensified. That matter aside, all the available evidence suggested that with a declining membership, the influence of the CPA (ML) waned considerably in the

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<sup>560</sup> Dowling, "Xiaoxiao."

<sup>561</sup> Ward.

<sup>562</sup> Francesca Polletta, *Freedom Is an Endless Meeting* (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

1980s. Not unexpectedly, the decline of the CPA (ML) was also noted by ASIO, and its records not only revealed the petering out of the CPA (ML)'s affiliated student clubs on campus out in the late 1970s and earlier 1980s, but also the end of the AIM, which eventually petered out during the same period.<sup>563</sup> Moreover, when the second and last attempt to deregister the BLF finally succeeded in 1986, the CPA (ML) lost its last major stronghold in the trade unions.<sup>564</sup>

The story of the REM was rather different, although it also suffered a sea change in its broad political climate. From the very beginning of its existence, the REM was entangled in internal divisions, which led to two splits, before its members decided to dissolve the organization itself in 1982.<sup>565</sup> Among the issues contested, was a pivotal one concerning the Maoist theory of 'Third World'. As the polemics exchanged on both sides of the dispute kept boiling, even Mao's status as a genuine Marxist-Leninist was called into question. Soon after the death of Mao, the leader of the Party of Labour of Albania, Enver Hoxha, began to mobilize a campaign against the division of the world into three blocks, and China's united front policy against Soviet Union.<sup>566</sup> Some associated with the REM adopted this Albanian line, as indicated in the articles that appeared on the *Discussion Bulletin* during this period.<sup>567</sup> On the other side of the battle, Langer and others attacked

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<sup>563</sup> NAA, "A6122, 2567."; "A6122, 2368."; "A6122, 2569," 119.

<sup>564</sup> For two different accounts of BLF's deregistration, see Boyd, *Inside the Blf*; Liz Ross, Employees Australian Building Construction, and Federation Builders' Labourers, *Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win! : Builders Labourers Fight Deregistration, 1981-94* (Carlton North, Vic.: Vulgar Press, 2004).

<sup>565</sup> Arthur Dent (b), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao.

<sup>566</sup> *The Theory and Practice of the Revolution : Editorial of the "Zeri I Popullit," Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, July 7, 1977*, (Tirana: "8 Nentori" Pub. House, 1977).

<sup>567</sup> "Opinions on Some International Questions - a Statment from the Red Eureka Movement", *Discussion Bulletin* 2 (1978); George, "Three Worlds and the International Communist Movement", *ibid.*, no. 2; "Are Mao's Criticis M-L's", *ibid.*, no. 3 (1979); "Was Mao a Great M-L", *Discussion Bulletin*, no. 3 (1979).



the views held by the so called “Albanian liners”. The debate for and against Mao’s theory of Three World went on for months in the REM organs, increasingly bitter. At the end of the whole affair, the arguments presented by both sides, were so full of quotations drawn from Marx and Lenin that they must have confused those who were familiar with a Marxist tradition.<sup>568</sup>

Not long, after the clash over the Third World theory died down, the REM endured another split. Whereas the REM was initially a Melbourne based organization, it was later joined by another group in Melbourne, known as the Adelaide anti-imperialist study group (AAISG), formed immediately after the fall of the ‘Gang of Four’<sup>569</sup> Though it only had a very small number of followers, the AAISG, nonetheless succeeded in organizing a conference held at the University of Adelaide, where articles on the topic of Chinese politics were presented by both activists and academics.<sup>570</sup> Yet, due to organizational problems and ideological difference, the AASIG severed its association with the REM in 1980, and subsequently formed an alliance with the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP, USA), which did not last long.<sup>571</sup> But like the REM, the ASSIG was short-lived. As Bill Kerr reflected on his decision to wrap up the AAISG in 1984, “(we) realized that we were not going anywhere.”<sup>572</sup>

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<sup>568</sup> Butler (a); Philip Court (a), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 27/10/2014.

<sup>569</sup> Kerr (a), "Xiaoxiao."; Patrick Muldoney, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 29/10/2014.

<sup>570</sup> Group Adelaide Anti-Imperialist Study-Action, *China in Transition : Where to Next? : Papers Delivered to a Forum on China, Adelaide, April 1979* (Cowandilla, S. Aust.: Adelaide Anti-imperialist Study-action Group, 1979).

<sup>571</sup> Kerr (a), "Xiaoxiao." For a succinct historical account of the RCP, see the relevant chapter in Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao and Che* (London; New York: Verso, 2002); Robert J. Alexander, *Maoism in the Developed World* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001), 25-38.

<sup>572</sup> Bill Kerr (b), interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 12/06/2014.

Overall, both the CPA (ML) and the breakaway Maoist groups were on a clear descending pathway as they moved to the 'Eighties'. Moreover, disagreements and conflicts amongst former comrades clearly had taken a toll on many who, devoted much of their time and energy to political works. Barry York, for example, recalled that after he opposed "people who were violent towards Langer", he was ostracised by some of his close comrades in the CPA(ML), and that "was very difficult and a painful few years" for him, because the party occupied a very important part of his social life.<sup>573</sup> Similarly, Bill Kerr remarked that "the split was a traumatic moment for me, and I was disallowed to attend the WSA meetings anymore."<sup>574</sup> Others, such as Leslie Robinson, who decided to stay with the CPA (ML) described a sense of confusion regarding the Party's attitude towards the 'Gang of Four': "we were just left floundering, really, I was, you know, what the hell is going on, and it was a principle issue in my disillusionment with the party, the fact that that was never resolved, and has not been resolved to this day."<sup>575</sup> It appeared to me that, when the student wing of the CPA (ML) more or less collapsed in the early 1980s, also gone was the intimate network of activists. This played a part in weakening the organizational strength of the CPA (ML), particularly after the deaths of some of its leaders like Ted Hill, Duncan Clark, and Ted Bull.

All the above-mentioned factors helped to explain why the CPA (ML) and different splinter Maoist groups failed to maintain their force in the 1980s. I would argue that this development was a manifestation of the crisis of Maoism,

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<sup>573</sup> York (a).

<sup>574</sup> Kerr (b).

<sup>575</sup> Bowling (b).

as an alternative ‘regime of truth’ against Western capitalist liberal democracy, which began with the public renouncement of late Maoism by the CCP. What appears to me to be very obvious, yet easily underestimated is the extent to which, the official denunciation of the Four and the (non)official campaign against the violent excesses of the GPCR, acted as a verification of what the mainstream media had been saying about Chinese socialism, as well as its application in other third world countries for decades. This campaign was so successful, that by the middle of the 1980s, even *The Vanguard*, the organ of the CPA (ML), began to avoid making any direct reference to Mao Zedong thought. Whereas Mao seemed to have had some appeal, although only briefly, in the West back in the 1960s, it subsequently became a name associated with pure evil and disaster. Once such an image was installed, Maoism remained no more; who, if anyone, wanted defend an ideology which was considered as politically bankrupt and morally, let’s say human and perhaps ‘all too human’?<sup>576</sup> But that, as the remaining part of this chapter shows, is only one side of the story.

## **Philosophy, Politics and the University: The Last Maoist in**

### **Australia**

Early I suggested that almost immediately after the last remanent of China’s past Maoist past was dismantled, and politics in command subsequently became

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<sup>576</sup> See, e.g. a vast amount of English literature surfaced shortly after the death of Mao. Ross Terrill, *Mao : A Biography* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980); Robert Jay Lifton, *Revolutionary Immortality : Mao Tse-Tung and the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (New York: Norton, 1976); Dennis Bloodworth, *The Messiah and the Mandarins : Mao Tsetung and the Ironies of Power* (New York: Atheneum, 1982); Dick Wilson, *The People's Emperor, Mao : A Biography of Mao Tse-Tung* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1980).

economy in command, Deng Xiaoping suddenly rediscovered Australia, which appeared on the scene along with all kinds of statistical information. As a matter of fact, there was something more than just the statistical method that interested both the post-Mao Chinese communists and the political leaders in Australia, after the abolition of Whitlam's aborted period reform.

The social welfare reform initiated by Whitlam government, was brought to an abrupt end by the 1975 constitutional crisis. This unprecedented event in the history of Australian politics happened in a difficult economic situation, marked by both high inflation and high employment, partly inflamed by the 1973 Oil Crisis, which embroiled most of the Western countries at the time. The legal aspect of the dismissal of Whitlam notwithstanding, his defeat was sealed in the 1977 election, when his political rival, Malcom Fraser, emerged as the new prime minister of Australia with a so called 'New Federalism' agenda.<sup>577</sup> Fraser stay in power for another eight years, before being replaced by Hawke. A full picture of the Fraser years, which some, like historian Francis Keble Crowley, have described as the "tough times",<sup>578</sup> cannot be presented here. That type of inquiry, which is doubtless necessary, can only be done with more extensive research and expertise than I am able to provide here. That said, however, I would like to abstract from the 'murky realities', a particular domain of social activities, which, as Chapter Four made clear, had been attributed an ever-increasing importance in elevating the prosperity of the nation since the end of WWII. Perhaps for the same reason, it had been attracted 'wicked' thoughts such as 'Maoism'. This particular

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<sup>577</sup> Brian Head and Allan Patience, *From Fraser to Hawke* (Melbourne, Australia: Longman Cheshire, 1989), 489.

<sup>578</sup> Crowley, *Tough Times : Australia in the Seventies*, 14.

domain was University, and I will outline some of the major interventions that led to the restructuring of the tertiary education sector, began during Fraser's tenure. The rise of a new form of governmentality was being manifest in the realm of management of Australian universities in this period. I would argue, not only that this foreshadowed what was going to be more formally established in the late 1980s, in policies driven by what Michael Pusey recognised as "economic rationalism,"<sup>579</sup> but also that in many crucial aspects, it resembled and paralleled Deng Xiaoping's economic reform that radically altered post-Maoist Chinese socialism.

To begin with, it is perhaps worthwhile to recalling the concerns that the senior administrators of Australian universities had with regards to the cause of student movements, a cognisance which was also reflected in the Fourth and Fifth reports of the Australian Universities Commission published in 1969 and 1972 respectively.<sup>580</sup> In the Fifth Report, for example, there is a clause stating that:

*Quite apart from the obvious threat constituted by the acceptance, by a small minority of extreme students, of the legitimacy of violent action, there are some attitudes prevailing among the more radical sectors of student activism that the Commission believes could prejudice the long-term health of universities. There is some evidence that a small but increasing proportion of students and even of staff is ceasing to attach value to academic excellence, the maintenance of academic standards and the use of rational methods of enquiry and*

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<sup>579</sup> Michael Pusey, *Economic Rationalism in Canberra : A Nation-Building State Changes Its Mind* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). It must be noted that this term seems to have a much longer history in the U.S.

<sup>580</sup> In the Fourth Report, it was recorded that the Commission was informed by the National Union of Australian University Students that the "lack of junior academic staff, insufficient teaching and learning in the university and inadequate student welfare services" were the main reasons for student unrest. *Fourth Report of the Australian Universities Commission, May 1969 : Presented Pursuant to Statute 21, August 1969*, (Canberra: Commonwealth G.P.O., 1969), 21.

*investigation.....Indeed, there is here an element of retreat from the rigours of intellectual standards into fantasy.* <sup>581</sup>

The criticism levelled against the violence and the fantasy of a small minority of ‘extreme’ students and faculty members, was constructed upon a popular discourse about Australian Universities, which as Chapter Four unveiled, revolved around the ideal, that the pursuit for truth was the sole purpose of university. As J.B Thornton, the then Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University New South Wales summarized succinctly in a speech he gave in 1971: “the university serves the larger society and is at the same time the guardian of all the truths that matter most, and comes to have a special *interest* in the pursuit of truth.” <sup>582</sup>

The fact that this ‘pursuit of truth’ discourse of the University, had been called into question by the Sixties student radicalism, however, does not prevent us from seeing another, perhaps more fundamental, rationale underpinning the government of the Australian universities. One of the key problematics through which we can glimpse this new rationale of government was wastage. In a report published by the Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee in 1968, the question of wastage was formulated in relation to how to maximise the return of investment into university of education:

*Essentially, this paper is concerned with the problem of getting full value out of the great investment in effort, brains, and money that a university represents..... The time, skill, scholarship and energy of university teachers and of*

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<sup>581</sup> Commission Australian Universities, *Fifth Report of the Australian Universities Commission* (Canberra: Australian Government Pub. Service, 1972), 38.

<sup>582</sup> J. B. Thornton, "The Government of the University in 1970s," in *Third Australian Universities Conference*, ed. FAUSA AVCC, AUS (1971), 78. Italics is mine.

*administrators go along with the students' contribution of brains, ambitions, drives, hopes, and the stimulating self-renewal that a university experiences with the entry of each new generation of students. It is taken as axiomatic that any attempt to increase the return on the investment must explore the whole of the educational functioning of a university, and that it is educational simple-mindedness to rest on the fond hope that the return will be significantly increased by tinkering with one part of the admission machine.*<sup>583</sup>

As we can see from the above quote, the conceptualization of the University from a perspective of investment and revenue relation, is naturally supported by the knowledge of various components: teachers, administrators, and students, that had been further broken into several essential characteristics: “(T)he time, skill, scholarship and energy.....and the stimulating self-renewal”<sup>584</sup>. When the University is understood as an incessant revenue generating stream, or simply a machine, then its operator must be someone who knows not only the cause of unnecessary wastage but also how to reduce it.

Interestingly, while the question of wastage in terms of high dropout rates among students was raised, the same report nonetheless suggested that: “a significant wastage rate may be tolerated if there are benefits from a university education even for students who do not graduate Perhaps it may be tolerated, at a time when selection procedures are only moderately effective, to ensure meeting a real community need for a supply of people to the professions.”<sup>585</sup> So, it appeared that though ‘wastage’, is conceived as undesirable, it may still have to be tolerate

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<sup>583</sup> Australian Vice-Chancellors, Mitchell, and Cohen, *The Australian University Student; Admission, Selection and Progress*, 2-3.

<sup>584</sup> Ibid.

<sup>585</sup> Ibid., 3.I said, this is ‘interesting’, because it shall remind us the tone set by earlier by Martin Report.

because of the demand of the community, which is itself an analogue to the Nation-State, as I have revealed in Chapter Four.

Yet, as long as the problematic of ‘wastage’ persisted, there was always a risk that it could become intolerable to the society. In an article published in *The Australian Journal of Education* in 1972, this was exactly the inerrant premise against which, a solution, be succinctly condensed into two words: qualified measurement, was provided.<sup>586</sup> Entitled *Measurement of Schools, Colleges and Universities—Progress, Problems, Prospects*, its author, J.M. Genn began his treaty with a simple statement that the government (both at Federal and State level), the general public, and the university itself had become increasingly anxious to know “how to achieve maximum benefits for a given cost (society wants ‘value for money’).”<sup>587</sup> Hence, there was naturally a growing demand for more sophisticated and reliable measurement, Genn continued, and the fact that many were fearful of being measured was due to the improvisation of the method of measurement.<sup>588</sup> In other words, and I think this is an ingenious argument, there is nothing wrong with measurement *per se* but only the problem of its lack of accuracy. Fortunately, however, as Genn observed, with the advance recent research done in the U.S., the method of measurement of educational institutions, has shown to have been greatly improved.<sup>589</sup> The importance attributed to, and the demand for a more reliable method of measurement were not new, as both had been repeatedly stressed by a daunting number of reports, produced in the

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<sup>586</sup> J. M. Genn, "Measurement of Schools, Colleges and Universities—Progress, Problems, Prospects", *Australian Journal of Education* 16, no. 3 (1972): 301.

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>588</sup> *Ibid.*, 303.

<sup>589</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.



period between the Murry and the Martin Reports. Nor did the achievements made by Americans, imply that there would be no room for further improvement, or in Genn's words, more hitherto unknown "components of educational institutions", would be "delineated" with the aid of the economic theory of "accountability and cost-benefit analysis."<sup>590</sup> For example, the same author suggested that a more thorough "search" concerning three particular aspects: "inputs", i.e. the characteristics of students, that is to say "psychological needs", the teaching "process", which "needs to be described in terms of proximal variables"; and finally both the anticipated and unanticipated "outputs", that also must be quantified.<sup>591</sup>

But, what I think is truly remarkable, is the idea that the university was conceived as "a system, a dynamic mass of interacting and often interdependent component variables."<sup>592</sup> It had been argued that one of the fatal pitfalls of previous methods of measurement was that it had failed to conceive of the university as this "dynamic system", which in turn contributed to a further failure of measuring what Genn called the "environment press", i.e. the atmosphere, the character, the ethos, the climate and the tone of the university. This "environment press" needed to be measured, because it was crucial in determining the behaviour of individual students who were themselves active constituent components of the same environment, and it could be measured by employing new statistical tools, such as "multiple correlation and regression analysis".<sup>593</sup> Moreover, though it had been recognized that there was a gap between correlation and causation, Genn

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<sup>590</sup> Ibid., 304.

<sup>591</sup> Ibid., 304-05.

<sup>592</sup> Ibid., 302.

<sup>593</sup> Ibid., 307.

was optimistic that further research would “let us be more confident, in special cases, in translating correlation measures into causation measures.”<sup>594</sup> Finally, what is also worth noting is the suggestion that the knowledge of the dynamics of the university thus obtained through measurement, can help the same institution to “reduce its reliance on artistry and judgement in the choice of strategies for change.”<sup>595</sup>

In hindsight, and as I said earlier, the article just analysed, was a truly remarkable one, because the central idea it had proposed then – that the university is a dynamic system, though this dynamics can be measured (hence managed) in quantifiable terms – would later emerge, in slightly different language, in two seminal reports in Australia: i.e. Karmel Report (1976) composed by the Australian Universities Commission and Williams Report (1979) by the National Committee of Inquiry into Educating and Training.

It is perhaps not a coincidence that before stating its main objectives and making recommendations, Karmel Report felt obliged to first state the sources from which the statistics presented in it were drawn, as well as the standard against which the cost level was calculated. Indeed, ever since their importance had been formally acknowledged in the Martin Report, statistics have become a central, in fact, indispensable feature of the subsequent triennial reports produced by Australian Universities Commission. But, it seems to me that statistics did more

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<sup>594</sup> Ibid., 308.

<sup>595</sup> Ibid., 309.

than just help in providing reliable information for predicting the future of Australian university. It actually became the dominant style of reasoning.

Whereas in the Martin Report published roughly a decade earlier, one can find the idealistic (if not excessively 'romantic' and 'elitist', as many would possibly say today) notion of the University, there was no such expression in the Karmel Report. What had been shelved was not only an ostensible optimism about the future made available by scientific revolution, but also concerns about "the human values,"<sup>596</sup> "morality,"<sup>597</sup> and "mankind", perhaps because their 'excess'.<sup>598</sup> Instead advocating, in a somewhat buoyant and self-assuring fashion, a technological humanistic version of the university as a beacon of the "free world", the language used by Karmel and his colleagues was highly technical, precise and even dry, and the key words that framed their report were flexibility, rationalisation and utilisation. In the case of flexibility, it can be seen that that was partly a response to the Frasers' government's decision to restructure the triennial programming system according to a new "rolling basis", which literally meant that: "as each year is completed, plans for the remaining years of the triennium are reviewed and up-dated and initial proposals made for a new

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<sup>596</sup> "The human values associated with education are so well recognized as to need little elaboration, but the Committee emphasized that they were the very stuff of a free, democratic and cultured society" Australia and Commission, *Tertiary Education in Australia: Report of the Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia to the Australian Universities Commission*, 1, 1.

<sup>597</sup> "One of the considerable moral achievements of the 20th century is the growth of the simple conviction that every individual ought to have as much schooling as his talents permit". Nowhere is this conviction more deeply rooted' than in Australia." Ibid., 2.

<sup>598</sup> "By sharpening the analytical powers of the mind, education enables the individual to make choices and decisions at personal and political levels which are well-informed and objectively assessed; by stirring the imagination and developing a sense of values, education widens his horizons for the enjoyment and pursuit of the arts and the sciences; by teaching the language of letters and numbers, education permits him to take his place among those who are striving for the betterment of mankind." Ibid., 4.

year.”<sup>599</sup> This demand for the university to become more flexible in planning for its future was conjoined with a call for greater rationalisation and utilisation, which in more practical terms, was translated into a policy of encouraging amalgamation and increasing teaching load.<sup>600</sup>

In the Williams Report (i.e. Education, Training and Employment: Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training) released in 1979, more extensive recommendations for the rationalisation were provided. It urged, amongst others, the acceleration of the amalgamation of the universities and the colleges, through the “introduction of diploma courses on a contract basis”,<sup>601</sup> as well as a joint effort between two adjacent institutions to “deal with the problems of staff reductions from retirements and resignations of teachers”.<sup>602</sup> Moreover, the Williams Report also called for greater “flexibility” in the way the universities dealt “problems of change and innovation” in the future. In other words, the security provided by university tenure was ‘problematic’ (because of the high level of specialisation of the appointment, said the same report), particularly in a situation where fewer and fewer new staff members were recruited, due to a restricted budget. To grapple with this problematic, that is to say, to increase the flexibility of the university, so as to make it more innovative, the Williams Report

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<sup>599</sup> Commission Australian Universities, *Report for 1977-79 Triennium, July 1976* (Canberra, A.C.T: AGPS, 1976), 137.

<sup>600</sup> Referring to one specific situation, the Commission believed “that a firm decision not amalgamate would be unfortunate. Both institutions are small and are unlikely to grow significantly in the foreseeable future especially given the general restraint on education enrolments.” *ibid.*83. On the other hand, whereas the proposal of year round teaching had been negated, the Commission recommended “the scheduling of teaching over more hours in the week.” *Ibid.*34

<sup>601</sup> Australia, Education Committee of Inquiry into, and Training, *Education, Training, and Employment : Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training* (Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1979), 203.

<sup>602</sup> *Ibid.*

offered four specific recommendations: a. introduce schemes for “early retirements, retraining, secondments of staff”; increase cooperation between university and civil service, CSIRO and industry; hold reviews of the efficiency of the faculties; and ensure that departments are organised not by themselves but by the governing bodies.<sup>603</sup>

It could be that the older projection of the university as a beacon of the “free world”, was losing its validity because of the joint effect produced by the dissipation of a political imperative of the Cold War and a gloomy economic situation that followed. But, I think there is something more than a structuralist explanation, which, is located in the growing prominence of terms like rationalisation, flexibility and efficiency, in the context of changing political economy. It seems to me that the Karmel Report, as well as Williams, subscribed to the same grid of intelligibility, as exemplified by Genn’s 1972 article. All three texts are ‘free’ of the ‘excessive’ language in the Martin and Murray Reports, which portrayed the University as an institution dedicated to a ‘freely conducted pursuit for truth’, which was not only crucial for the wealth of the nation but also for humanity in general. Perhaps, this jettisoning of the technological humanistic projection of the University was discharged or at least no longer loudly stated as it used to be, because of a sober realization that it was too grand, too vague and too controversial to be scientifically measured. The underlying rationale here is that if something cannot be made known in a precise quantified term, then it is possible that arbitrary, emotional and political decisions, like the ones expressed

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<sup>603</sup> Ibid., 210-12.

by Murray and Martin Reports, with disastrous economic consequences could be made.

Then the important question then becomes how can we know with any certainty of what is happening now and what is likely to happen in the future? One of the possible answers, which had already been proposed by the Martin Report, suggested that the development of Australian universities should be planned in accordance with statistical knowledge. We should also note that although the Williams Report made an implicit criticism of the Martin Report's recommendation that the university be open to "all talents", it nevertheless re-emphasised this central role of planning. The problem is not, stated the Williams Report, that the 'manpower' planning practised and advocated by the Martin Report was by itself undesirable, but that its forecast was not only flawed but also 'conditioned' by the 'national policy' at the time.

Therefore, as Williams and his colleagues repeatedly emphasised throughout their report, what was rather needed was actually more 'forward' planning with a greater degree of sensitivity and accuracy to the realities of a flexible "labour market": "(u)nless provision is made to collect more comprehensive information for occupations and regions than exists now and to monitor changes, the basis for significant advances in forecasting and planning will not exist."<sup>604</sup>

So, what was hitherto unknown to us must be made known, and what had not yet existed must be made exist, through and only through statistics, which would

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<sup>604</sup> Ibid., 703-04.

enable us to better manage the university vis-à-vis the laws of the market. True enough, but, statistics, like any other human knowledge, does not come to us from a void; it can only speak to us about the past, present and future through those who have mastered the language of statistics, and no one is, of course, more capable than an economist in deciphering for us the ‘secret’ of better managing a nation, a society, a university, or in fact literally every living thing, hidden in a large sum of otherwise arcane numbers, modules and graphs.

It is useful, and in lieu of supporting evidence, to recall that I suggested earlier that it is perhaps not an ‘accident’ that the Karmel Report began with a brief statement on matters related to statistics. And that is not only because Professor Peter Karmel, the Chairman of the Committee charged with the task of composing the very report, was himself a renowned economist, but also because two other members of the Committee, Claudio Alcorso and Sir Ernest Coates, also had a training background in economics and commerce.<sup>605</sup> In comparison, none of the original members of the Martin Committee, held a degree in economics.

Based on what has so far been discussed in relation to the emergence of a new market rationality of government of Australian university, I would like to say two more things. First regarding the full-blown reform, or as some have argued, the revolution of the Australian universities, was initiated by the Federal Minister of Education, John Dawkins, in the late 1980s.<sup>606</sup> Secondly, I would like to briefly outline the political implications of the Dawkins reform, through the reflections

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<sup>605</sup> Also, worth noting in the same regard is that the professor B.R. Williams, the principal of author of the Williams Report, was a graduate with an honours economic degree from Melbourne University back in 1939.

<sup>606</sup> Gwilym Croucher et al., *The Dawkins Revolution : 25 Years On* (2013).

of Brian Medlin, who served as the foundation professor of philosophy at Flinders University from 1967 to 1988.

In the first place, the Dawkins reform was, I think, a more radical articulation of the economic liberalisation of the Australian universities, the direction which the Williams Report had first pointed to. The ‘old’ emphases upon rationalisation, flexibility and efficiency aside,<sup>607</sup> what had also been added to the agenda were the corporatization, privatisation and globalisation of the university, along with a drastic cut of government funding, which provided the 85 percent of the total budget of the university in 1987, but only 65 percent in 1992, and 40 percent decade later.<sup>608</sup> The underlining rationale that ran through all these arrangements is to make the Australian university more competitive, more efficient, and more self-reliant, all of which was constructed upon a new vision of the university as a business enterprise. In the words of Macintyre, who reflected upon the same reform more than twenty years after its introduction, the university had henceforth become: “part of a large, complex enterprise that has adopted the tools of the trading corporation: branding and promotion, business planning and program

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<sup>607</sup> In more practical terms, these three words meant the abolishment of those regulatory bodies and institutional structures, such as the Australian Research Grants Committee, the Vice Chancellors’ Committee as well as the College of Advance Education and University binary system, the reintroduction of university fees, and the allocation for future government fund for research according to ‘performance’, *inter alia*.

<sup>608</sup> Simon Marginson and Mark Considine, *The Enterprise University : Power, Governance, and Reinvention in Australia* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).<sup>608</sup> Also worth noting in the same regard is that the professor B.R. Williams, the principal of author of the Williams Report, was a graduate with an honours economic degree from Melbourne University back in 1939.

<sup>608</sup> Croucher et al., *The Dawkins Revolution : 25 Years On*.

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budgeting, line management and performance appraisal, benchmarking and review, in a continual quest for improvement.”<sup>609</sup>

The political implications of the reform of Australian universities initiated by Dawkins, the origins of which can be traced back to the late 1970s as outlined above, cannot be underestimated, though it is nevertheless hard to quantify. What is otherwise clear, however, is that this visible trend of the economic liberalisation of the Australian university, affected those who wished to conduct themselves as either students or scholars, according to an alternative philosophy, such as Marxism or Maoism. A radical philosopher himself who had become politically engaged during the anti-Vietnam War era, Brian Medlin was aware of the change of the tide. Immediately after his retirement at a relative young age from Flinders University in the late 1980s, Medlin composed a short reflection paper titled *A time of revolt, an account of the late sixties and early seventies*, as a summary of his career.

In one particular section of the above-mentioned document, Medlin noted that the students he encountered in the later years of his teaching were very different from the earlier ones: “(g)enerally, there is a lack of intellectual fire, of excited curiosity. The world is no longer an interesting place to these people.”<sup>610</sup> Moreover, continued Medlin, “(a)s the years have passed, it has become somewhat harder to recruit people to a systematic left position. The hard core of radicalism seems to me to be aging.”<sup>611</sup> As a Marxist scholar, however, Medlin

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<sup>609</sup> Stuart Macintyre, *The Poor Relation : A History of Social Sciences in Australia* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Publishing, 2010), 7.

<sup>610</sup> Brian Medlin, "Med/001-026", *Medlin Collection*: 4.

<sup>611</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

understood that this declining political and intellectual enthusiasm did not occur in isolation, as it: “could well be that we are looking at the educational manifestations of quite deep social problems, problems that can’t be solved by purely educational methods.”<sup>612</sup> Finally, and writing shortly after the Dawkins Reform was announced, Medlin argued that this enterprise of the then Education Minister, was undermining the capacity of the university to foster critical thinking and promote social justice: “(w)e can’t afford to tie our universities, as Mr. Dawkins would tie them, to the perceived needs of capitalists and their political servants. That would render universities incapable of prompting the kind of thinking that is going to be required hereafter. For such thinking is bound to be hostile to capital and its inevitably expanding economies.”<sup>613</sup>

Perhaps the members of the review committee established after Medlin’s retirement to review the Philosophy Discipline under his stewardship, would agree with most of the points raised by Medlin as outlined above, but the report they eventually came up with, certainly did not please the former chair of the discipline. Medlin was infuriated by the report, which painted the Philosophy Discipline as being an “anomaly” within the Flinders University.<sup>614</sup> All the evidence given to justify this characterization of ‘anomaly’, seems to me to be pointing at one thing, and that is that the Philosophy Discipline was not ‘professional’ enough. As the report said, the Philosophy Department tended to pay more attention to the needs of the students and knowledge outside the

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<sup>612</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>613</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>614</sup> The Committee of Review of the Discipline of Philosophy School of Humanities, "Report of the Committee of Review of the Discipline of Philosophy School of Humanities in Box: Med/001-026", 1991.

disciplinary boundaries of philosophy, while not being able to develop a teaching curriculum that had “a clearly defined centre”, to familiarize students with the recent intellectual trends in the field of philosophy, or, perhaps most importantly, to generate enough research output.

In a later memorandum sent to the same committee and dated February 24 1992, Medlin reacted strongly to the report’s description of the staff of the Philosophy Discipline. He remarked that the people associated with the Philosophy Discipline had been portrayed as initially being a “bunch of raving rat-bags, since fortunately somewhat reformed, and hence to be charitably readmitted to the fellowship”.<sup>615</sup> More specially, Medlin called into the question the conclusion that research in the Philosophy Discipline lacked “a clearly defined centre”<sup>616</sup>, and that it had failed to foster research during the period of the early 1970s to early 1980s.<sup>617</sup>

To summarise the arguments presented in Medlin’s 1992 memorandum, it seems to me that what the retired professor of philosophy at Flinders was challenging was precisely the positivistic philosophical premise underpinning the ‘report’ he received. According to this positivistic philosophy, the boundaries of the professional philosophy were well set, and the primary task of a philosophy don was to keep making contributions to a particular area of specialised philosophical knowledge, mainly, if not solely, through scholarly publications. And everything that stood out as an obstacle – such as teaching a broad range of presumably

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<sup>615</sup> Ibid.; Medlin, "Med/001-026."

<sup>616</sup> Humanities, "Report of the Committee of Review of the Discipline of Philosophy School of Humanities in Box: Med/001-026", 1991; Medlin, "Med/001-026."

<sup>617</sup> "Med/001-026."

‘theoretically light’ and ‘service-orientated’ subjects with a negative attitude towards professional philosophy needed to be cleared to ensure improvement in research performance, as measured by the number of an individual’s publications.

I have not been able to uncover any written responses to these questions raised by Medlin. What I do know from my interviews is that most of the ‘experimental’ courses (with the notable exception of Women’s Studies) that Medlin and his colleagues first set up back in the late 1960s and early 1970s, lapsed in the 1990s, as did group assessment as an alternative to the conventional model of examination.<sup>618</sup>

Medlin’s response to the ‘review’ of the philosophy discipline at Flinders University, as outlined above, has been presented as particular example showing how difficult it had become for a Maoist to conduct himself/herself in an environment that was putting so much stress upon acting rationally and pragmatically in accordance with the same logic that structured the market. While it was once possible to spend days and nights talking about how to overthrow the system, and better serve the people, topics like these had become very much ‘untimely’<sup>619</sup>, because they were declared as ‘useless’, as shown by this section, after economic rationality began to submerge various areas of social and educational practice in the ‘Eighties’ Australia.

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<sup>618</sup> Rodney Allen, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 14/11/2014; Ian Hunt, interviewed by Xie XiaoXiao, 07/11/2013.

<sup>619</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, Daniel Breazeale, and Reginald J. Hollingdale, *Untimely Meditations* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2014).

## Conclusion

When Mao first delivered a speech, latter known as the *On Contradiction* at the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College in Yan'an, he was mainly concerned with the latent tendency of dogmatic thinking in the CCP. In reminding his audience of the dangers of doctrinairism, Mao emphasised at the same time, the universality as well as the complexity of contradiction in all social relationships.<sup>620</sup> Yet, what is perhaps of more relevance for the conclusion I am about to deliver here, is Mao's contention that the revolutionary movement is in an incessant process of antagonism, an antagonism that is aroused from an opposition not just between "friends" and "enemies" but also among "friends" under certain conditions. Despite the obvious differences between the purpose and expectation of Mao when he first gave this speech in 1937, and my objective in this chapter, it seems to me that this Maoist idea of contradiction is particularly useful in organizing my answers to the decline of Maoism in Australia.

As the first section of this chapter has hinted, it might be said that there used to be a contradiction in Australia between the Maoists activists, on the one side, and the political authorities, on the other. With the defeat of American/Australian military force in Vietnam and the electoral victory of the ALP, the power balance of this first opposition, which had previously favoured the revolutionaries in the 1960s was leaning towards their opponents. However, just as Mao himself

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<sup>620</sup> "The universality or absoluteness of contradiction has a twofold meaning. One is that contradiction exists in the process of development of all things, and the other is that in the process of development of each thing a movement of opposites exists from beginning to end." 毛泽东, *毛泽东选集. 第一卷*, 280. English Translation: Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao*, Vol. 1, 280.

reminded us in *On Contradiction*, the “external cause” by itself cannot explain the “social development”, the decline of Maoism in Australia, I suggest, also had an intrinsic dimension, which was manifested through the breaking up of a latent contradiction within the CPA (ML), instigated by the arrest of “Gang of Four”.

This second set of contradictions consisted of two temporarily unified oppositions between, on the one hand, a dominant group represented by the CPA (ML) Old Guards, and on the other, the Sixties student Maoists. What used to be a non-antagonistic pair in the 1960s, turned into an antagonistic relationship after the failure of the CPA (ML) to completely reject the policies of the CCP issued by the post-Mao leadership.

The last two sections returned to the first and external contradictions, which explored the decline of Australian Maoism against the background of delegitimisation of Maoism as a revolutionary discourse and the rise of neoliberalism<sup>621</sup>. Based on archival works and my interviews with (ex) Maoist activists, I have been able to reveal the devastating impact of these two singular developments, one in the discursive realm and the other, on the governmental dimension upon the remaining legacy of the Sixties Australian Maoism.

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<sup>621</sup> On this highly-charged term, see, e.g. David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

## Conclusion

This thesis on the rise and fall of Maoism in Australia, began with the notion of ‘swimming’ against the image of ‘Rivers of Blood’, first coined by a British Parliamentarian, John Enoch Powell in 1968. On the surface of it, Powell’s Rivers seemed to be referring to an issue pertinent to mass immigration, and hence irrelevant to the question of the spread, and subsequently the decline of the Chinese model of socialism in Australia. Yet, as the discussion presented above shows, there was indeed an opaque correlation between the form of a dominant governing rationality, which had first emerged in Western Europe (but which its roots can be traced back to an Aristotelian Philosophy) in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and had perpetuated a centuries long exploitation and repression of the subjects under its reign. This was exemplified, I argue, by Powell’s anxious warnings over the imminent invasions of the ‘barbarians’. The response has been the emergence of various counter-movements against this hegemonic governmentality in different localities and temporalities. Maoism was one of these.

Chapter Three narrowed the scope of this investigation, from the global level to Australian scene, and examined the establishment of the CPA (ML), by situating it in the tortuous history of the CPA up until the late 1950s, when a furious battle over the truth of Marxism-Leninism was being waged between Soviet and Chinese communist parties. Then, through following the footsteps previously walked by Ted Hill in his march towards becoming the founding Chairman of the CPA (ML), the seemingly peculiar features of the policies and

organizational structures of the CPA (ML) were explained, by taking into account the *habitus* that Hill and his supporters had formed when they were still members of the CPA.

Chapter Four carried the momentum of the previous chapters, but swam into a different water zone, namely the Maoist student uprising in Sixties Australia. The discussion presented in this chapter, unveiled a liberal governmentality tainted by a post-colonial anxiety, which had underpinned the establishment of the modern University in post-WWII Australia. What stood behind the prosperity of the tertiary education in that period, was the ambition of Sir Robert Menzies and his advisors to maintain the dominant position of a White Australia in the Asia-Pacific Region. This same ambition led to the war commitment in Vietnam, which in turn radicalised a small group of Left-wing student activists, some of whom were known for their support of the CCP. These young supporters of Red China, the latter of which had been projected as an enemy of the State, were subjected, as revealed in Chapter Four, to different forms of governing technologies, including ‘double-exclusion’, normalisation, and submission.

Despite being severely punished for their rebellious activities, the student Maoists in Australia nonetheless kept high their struggle against a whole range of injustices, sustained by a liberal capitalist governmentality, until the end of Vietnam War, when the tide turned against them. As documented in Chapter Five, the neutralization of the Left-wing movement in Whitlam’s Australia and the West in general, coupled with the ‘normalisation’ of Chinese foreign



policies, significantly weakened, the force of Maoist uprising in the Seventies. The confusions and conflicts among the ranks of the Maoists in Australia reached boiling point after the unexpected purge of the 'Gang of Four' in China. Irreconcilably divided, as were many other so called Maoist groups around the world, by their opposing assessments of this crucial event in the history of the Chinese socialism. The hitherto unified CPA (ML) split into two; on the one hand, Hill and the old guards of the Party supported the new post-Mao Chinese leadership, while on the other, the REM group backed the 'ultra-leftist' approach propagated by the 'Four'.

Chapter Six returned to the global context, and traced the fall of Australian Maoism in a dialectical movement between China and Australia as part of the West. In this final chapter of the thesis, the organic link which existed between the on-going process of the de-politicisation of China's Maoist past, which had taken place ever since the Reform and Opening up period, and the drastic decline of a fragmented Sixties Maoist movement under the economic constraints of Australian universities in the Eighties were analysed. Through a case study of the fate of an 'unorthodox' Philosophy Department established and maintained by Professor Brain Medlin and his colleagues at Flinders University, in the subsequent era of Dawkins University Reform (or Revolution, as suggested by some), Chapter Six finished with the 'death' of the one last (ing) Australian Maoist, who was 'pounced' on by the rising economic rationalism in the country.

Ludwig Wittgenstein once said: “(W)hat we cannot speak about we must pass over in silence.”<sup>622</sup> Applying this Wittgensteinian principle to the investigation, embarked on, this *author* shall rather frankly admit that this thesis had spoken perhaps very little, about something, which is called Australian ‘Maoism’. Due to various reasons, there was, for instance, an ostensible silence on my part, when it came to the question of the application of the Maoist guerrilla tactics by the BLF in the industrial field.<sup>623</sup> Nor was this thesis able to demonstrate how the rationale behind the warnings of the danger of Australia in becoming a banana republic, led to the signing up of the Prices and Incomes Accord, which in turn contributed, at least partly, to the deregistration of the BLF.<sup>624</sup> Also less explored in this thesis, were the global characteristics of Australian Maoism. It must be frankly admitted that the transnational aspect, namely the communications and cooperation which certainly existed between the CPA (ML), the late REM group, and the AAISG with other Maoist groups in New Zealand, the U.S., and elsewhere, but also the exchange of ideas that had certainly taken place among the governing bodies of the universities around the world, was only briefly touched on in this thesis.<sup>625</sup>

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<sup>622</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein, David Pears, and Brian McGuinness, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (London; New York: Routledge, 2001), 89.

<sup>623</sup> In his interview with Stewart Harris, Gallagher stated that his travel to China in 1950 had introduced him to Mao’s writings on the use of guerrilla tactics, which later became the trademark of the BLF in its many disputes with the construction companies. Gallagher also remarked, in the same interview, that his preference for a Maoist guerrilla tactics was the difference between himself and another central figure of the BLF, Jack Munday. Gallagher, *Norm Gallagher Interviewed by Stewart Harris [Sound Recording]*.

<sup>624</sup> Paul Keating speaking to John Laws on Radio 2GB, May 14, 1986. For a sympathetic account on the deregistration of the BLF, see, e.g. Ross, Australian Building Construction, and Builders' Labourers, *Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win! : Builders Labourers Fight Deregistration, 1981-94*.

<sup>625</sup> “In July 1969, Louis Matheson, the Vice-Chancellor at Monash University, entertained Clark Kerr, President of the University of California, adjourning to the staff club for lunch. Before they could finish, hundreds of students invaded their lunch party, outraged about disciplinary action against students who had conducted a sit-in at a recent University council meeting.” Hannah University of Sydney Department of History Forsyth, "The Ownership of Knowledge in Higher Education in Australia 1939-1996" (2012), 138.

My hope is that these three underexplored facets of Maoism in Australia and the West in general, can be made known in the rising tide of new long marches against Powell's still<sup>626</sup> flowing 'Rivers of Blood' in a future soon to come ~

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<sup>626</sup> SARFRAZ MANZOOR, "Donald Trump and the 'Rivers of Blood'," *The New York Times* 2016.

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