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COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA
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BETRAYED BY BUREAUCRACY

by **John Tomlinson**

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My main debt however is to the stupidity of the conservative governments whose refusal to introduce anything approaching a just social welfare system has made this book necessary.

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INTRODUCTION: BETRAYED BY BUREAUCRACY

The first part of this book is an examination of ideology. As terrorists are the lepers of the twentieth century, it is by looking at how we respond to them that the raw spots in our ideological make-up will be most clearly evident. The argument suggests that these activists of the politics of desperation deserve far more attention than the scant sensationalist press accounts they now receive. We need to understand the social oppression which can drive a small group to endanger their own lives for a cause. It is the height of ignorance to dismiss terrorists as ratbags, madmen, extremists or whatever epithet is in vogue. This chapter also reviews the possibility of revolution in this so lucky country.

There is in Chapter II a brief look at some East Timorese and Aboriginal issues. Then in Chapter III some aspects of unemployment are considered. Chapter IV investigates the need for a guaranteed adequate income.

Chapter V calls for a national social welfare policy to replace the current reliance on ad hoc programs each time there is a natural disaster. There is also a check list for community workers involved in natural disaster.

Chapter VI is a case study of the most conservative socio-therapeutic program I have been associated with in recent years. Despite the conservative nature of the program the paranoid, rigidity and bastardry of senior public servants shows through in the examination.

CHAPTER I

AUSTRALIA

CHORUS—

I once loved a country
where they said all men were free.
They'd fought five wars
to prove just that.
They spoke of peace and brotherhood
of freedom and democracy.

But I saw a black man starving.
His kids lay on the ground,
and I watched a copper punch him
while white people stood around.

And **I** saw a widow struggling.
Three kids and out of dough—
I was told she'd spent her pension
and there was nothing they could do.

But I saw the workers waiting
and felt fear in their eyes.
The **boss** had just laid them off
I heard childrens' hungry cries.

And I saw **a** prisoner standing
in a jail with walls **so** high.
His crime had been to shout abuse
at a politician passing by.

Then I saw a squatter laughing,
superphosphate all he wanted.
He'd tried to feed his sheep on it
but they were quite affronted.

But I saw uranium mining,
watched the mutants crawling round,
and saw a mining magnate
punch a worker to the ground.

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As I stood there watching
I saw a union man so fine.
He said, "If we pick the grape,
then we'll drink the wine."

But I saw the army coming,
they'd come to help the police
smash any opposition
and they treated men like lice.

So I no longer love that system
since I've come to realise
they fought five wars
not to make men free
but to cover up their lies;

MALCOLM FRASER RE-ELECTED FOR SIXTH TERM AS SHAH OF AUSTRALIA*

Malcolm Fraser celebrated both his 70th birthday and his re-election as Shah, Lord Malcolm as he is affectionately called by his second wife previously married to one Andrew Peacock after whom the throne has been diplomatically named. Fraser today supervised the ceremonial skinning alive of Andrew Peacock. His skin will adorn the throne.

Gough Whitlam, leader of the government in exile in the Democratic Socialist Republic of New Zealand, called on the leader of the Australian Armed Forces Sir Zelman Cohen (of "You should have stayed in the clothing factory" fame) to stick his head up his posterier orifice and shout help.

The electoral process in Australia takes an unusual form—only politicians of proven fascist persuasion are entitled to vote. All politicians are assembled in the great hall of the people, an equal number of armed soldiers are provided to help the politicians with their ballot papers. Then each politician in turn approaches the throne and hands his fully filled in ballot to Lord Malcolm who checks it for accuracy. If a politician has made any mistake he is given the choice of altering the ballot or summary execution.

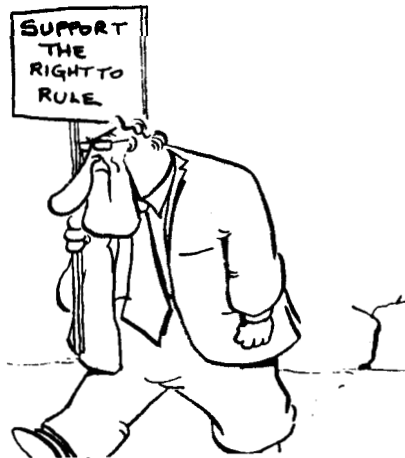
During the last twenty years Lord Malcolm has carried out a major restructuring of the economy. All rural land holdings have been transferred to the Back of Beyond Holding Company, a nomineee

* Originally published in *Farewell to Alms*, 1979.



company of the Fraser family. There has also been a transfer of all urban based Companies to the City Slicker Investments Ltd., also nominee company of the Fraser Family. Robert Hawke is Managing Director of City Slicker Investments.

Lord Malcolm has totally abolished inflation, unemployment, crime and all other social evils which once afflicted this most lucky country. He has also supervised the withering away of the public service. The last employed public servant, ex-secretary of the Public Service Board, is on exhibition at Taronga Park Zoo daily between 9.00 a.m. and 5.00 p.m.. It was originally intended that a typist would be supplied to the secretary, but as typing was recently included under the list of subversive activities this has not proven possible.



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Universal military conscription for all persons aged between 5 and 75 years has been introduced to cope with the problem of unemployment. A Euthanasia Clinic has been provided for each regional centre where people who once had to apply for sickness benefit or invalid pensions can be helped.

Lord Malcolm has fostered new educational initiatives, namely the abolition of schools and universities. He has relied on scientific conferences as the major educational medium. Your correspondent was lucky enough to be invited to attend one such recently. **The** title of the conference was "The Technical Difficulty Involved in the Supply, Transmission, and Distribution of Poisoned Flour to Aborigines in the First Part of the Twenty-first Century".

PIE IN THE SKY WHEN YOU DIE.*

In the 1920's and thirties in England the Government and the coal mine owners combined together and using troops forced the wages of miners down. In the second half of the 1970's Malcolm Fraser was elected on a promise to reduce the buying power of everyone's wage packet, kick the dole bludger, increase unemployment and give everyone a tax cut.

Of course Fraser did not say "If elected I promise to ensure everyone has less in their wage packet than if a Labor Party was in power". What he said was he would return industry to a profitable basis to ensure that



* Originally published in *Farewell to Alms*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1979

industrialists would invest in Australia. This investment based recovery was promised after the consumer led recovery which he'd promised during the 1975 election had failed to eventuate.

Investment led recovery could according to Mr Fraser only be initiated if the Australian wage earner is prepared to accept less of a wage rise than the cost of living index has risen. That is the workers voted for a party which promised to reduce their real wage.

Fraser, the economist, bamboozled the Australian working class with lies. He won the 1975 election with one sentence "You can't spend more money than you're getting in each week—it's the same for a country as for the family home." Now the workers did not understand that every Government at times relies on deficit funding, so do workers in the short term, rely on spending more money than they are getting in. If the workers had thought about their hire purchase agreements and house loans then they would have realised that even in their family home people frequently spend more than they have coming in each week.



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WHAT ARE THE LEFT'S ALTERNATIVES.

THE ALP:

We could waltz down the path of Democratic Socialism with Hayden and the ALP (See Ralf Miliband's *State in Capitalist Society*). If we settle for ALP leadership in this country and settle for the limited democratic and limited socialist aims of the ALP bureaucrats then we'll have no problem until the capitalists (national or multinational) or the U.S. State Department feels threatened. If they feel threatened then we'll again see the ALP removed from power by a Governor General or a Chief of the General Staff as we saw in November 1975.

THE SOCIALISTLEFT:

The left Wing socialist alternative particularly the libertarian-anarchist version with its concentration on trying to resolve the issue of personal liberty in a totally socialist society has an appealing attraction to all who want to live according to the Communist Manifesto's dictum "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs."

It is the only alternative which would ensure liberty, justice, equality and fraternity. But it has not succeeded in getting its program translated into the Australian suburban dream. Failing John Singleton's forsaking the Progress Party and becoming a convert it is not likely that Australia will see such a society before the turn of the century.



THE COMMUNISTS:

The Communists' alternative is an even more remote possibility. Lenin and Trotsky's turning the guns on the workers and sailors at Kronstadt and their alienation of the Makhno Anarchist state in the Ukraine, Stalinism, the invasions of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the excesses of the Gang of Four, the reactionary bureaucrats' (who replaced Mao Tse Tung) equally repressive acts against dissenters, Vietnam's invasion of Campuchea, and China's invasion of Vietnam; have ensured there will not be a communist regime in Australia for at least until well into the twenty-first century.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM:

Unless the left in Australia starts to come to terms with working class aspirations, unless it is prepared to rid itself of its reliance on reactionary trade union hacks and present a viable alternative to the workers and the workless; then we'll see the rise of Fascism before the end of the twentieth century.

THE WORKING CLASS:

The Left has been incapacitated by the belief that revolution will not occur in Australia.

Revolution is possible in Australia if we can develop the momentum. It is not going to be the bloody revolution of **1917** Russia. We unfortunately aren't going to see the mouldering corpses of Fraser, Viner, Sinclair, Anthony and the like lying in the streets of Canberra. The revolution which will take place won't be bloodless either. The forces of reaction are too well entrenched. They will turn the soldiers on us.

The revolution is only possible when the workers, manual, technical, and professional, join with students and the workless to force the end of the parliamentary farce and begin a real people's democracy. It will be like Paris in **1968** and like the overthrow of the Shah of Iran. It will require the total mobilization of all who want to live in a fair society where wealth and the born-to-rule mentality are abolished.

The workers in this country are far more radical than the bulk of trade union officials or any of the elected politicians. The workers in this country could stop Fraser and Company tomorrow if they just stopped working. If the workers were prepared to liberate the food supplies and distribute them to the strikers we would see Fraser fall. He could no longer govern.

Instead what do we see? The Robert Hawkes keeping the workers in line, the ALP holding out the hope that they might some day get power,

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each of them condemning any revolutionary act as adventurism or the act of agent provocateurs.

There will only be a revolution when we stand squarely behind the adventurers and begin to build a revolution by revolutionary acts.

Soldiers and police will only shoot workers for a short time. As we saw in Iran, eventually soldiers can't stand the murder their officers order them to carry out. In Iran the military officers threatened to shoot a million workers if necessary but the death toll was in the end, well under 30,000.

In Australia a government would crumble if it forced its soldiers to shoot 300 unarmed Australian workers.



THE UNMAKING OF THE UN-AUSTRALIAN*

“In my country they jail miners and soldiers tell judges what to do, but if I were to be born a thousand times it is here I would be born, and if I were to die a thousand times it is here that I would die.”

(Pablo Neruda)

During the later period of the Menzies era students, trade unionists and other activists borne down by twenty years of Liberal-Country Party Governments had come to equate the government’s position with the *Australian position* on any political or social issue. There was developing for the first time since the early post second world war a critical appraisal of what Australia was doing and where Australia was going.

The racial views of the Menzies ministers and that section of the Labor party represented by Arthur Caldwell were questioned; the White Australian policy was no longer was an attractive policy to a growing body of Australians on the left and the right. “What did Willy do Wong?”—“Two Wongs don’t make a White” was perhaps the level of the debate. Aborigines had for so long been neglected and hidden from Australians’ concern by protectionist-assimilationist administrations, but they began at this time with the help of sympathetic white Australians a struggle for citizenship. The Korean war came and went without Australians really knowing or caring much about it, we did not even understand what had been accomplished by it.



* Originally published in *Farewell to Alms*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1978.

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The Vietnam war was beginning to attract the attention of the left, pacifists, churchies and peace niks.

It seemed to the left that whatever Australia was doing was bad, Donald Horne's *The Lucky Country* notwithstanding. *The Ugly American* we understood. There were the draft cards, the American flag, and Mary Jane all going up in smoke. Australia seemed to be sucked into all that was bad in the World and particularly America.

It was not long before we were burning our own flag, and draft cards, and marijuana in the streets. The picketing, the walk-ins, sit-ins and talk-ins were here and we sang about "wearing flowers in our hair". We asked "when will they ever learn?". We knew "its a hard rain gonna fall" on Vietnam. We heard "poor buggar me Gurinji" and read Kath Walker's poems. We knew we hated Australia for what it had done and was continuing to do.

Menzies had tried unsuccessfully to outlaw the Communist Party of Australia in **1950** but he managed to scare Mr and Mrs Average Australia into a fear of Communism which he was able to show meant anything which questioned his government's position. Songs written in the early 60's poked fun at the forces of the right and this fear of communism. *The flag* shows the alienation from Australia felt by the people who sang it.



THE FLAG

It waved above that swirling mass
A Commie **flag** for sure.
It bore a cross, a strange cross,
A cross I'd seen before.

Seven white stars upon its face
Shone in the failing light.
Those seven stars I'd know again.
A commie flag alright.

The blue **of** the flag surged high above
As that army stood like stone
A communist conspiracy it was I know
And there I was alone.

There was some red around that cross
(That's communist you can tell).
I asked a cop who these men were,
He said "The R.S.L.".

Eventually Menzies got tired of being Prime Minister and his place was Holtingly taken by Australia's most famous unsuccessful skin diver, who was replaced by John-lily-white-tits-and-golden-hair-Grey Gorton whose propensity for the bottle among other things led to his overthrow by two big ears and an arsehole, William McMahon.

By 1971-72 the unAustralian was marching against the Vietnam War, for increases in pension payments, and land rights for Aborigines. The Aboriginal Tent Embassy on the front lawns of parliament house spelt out the alienation from Australia that Aborigines experienced. It was a similar alienation that the unAustralians knew. The Embassy underlined the fact that we belonged to two different countries even if we shared the same territory.

HE DREAMS OF THE NEW SECURITY
ACT AND THE KNOCK ON THE DOOR.



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1971-72 was the 60,000 sitting down in Collins Street to listen to the author of *Silence Kills* point to the immorality of the Vietnam War. It was the time for police to baton white and Aboriginal protestors outside the Department of Aboriginal and Islanders Affairs (Brisbane) while 200 delegates of the World Council of Churches chanted “The Whole World’s Watching”. It was a time when the word “moratorium” meant opposition to involvement in Vietnam, and they *did* stop work to stop the war. It was a time when students marched from universities and colleges to meet up with unionists and church groups and the students shouted as they marched, “Worker Students power now” and builders labourers turned hoses on them. “Fucking Workers”, then the chant continued, “Workers — Students power now” and when they met with the unionists in town Jack Egerton* would not let Brian Laver** speak from the same platform.

By 1972 we had decided “it’s time” to vote Labor—it was the year of Whitlam. Men and women of Australia wanted a fair go for Aborigines, the immediate end of the Vietnam war, and a better deal for welfare beneficiaries. The mood of the Australian people had changed and the Liberal-Country Party had not seen it or were so pre-occupied with the problem of what to do with Big Ears’ wife’s legs that the only response they were capable of was to rip down the Aboriginal Tent Embassy a couple of times.

The end of 1972 saw the month long Whitlam-Barnard two man rule when men hurried home from work to see what wonders had been carried out that day: the end of conscription, the end of the war, the new Aboriginal initiatives, revised welfare policies.

By 1973 with Labor in office, the unAustralians became aware that they were not totally opposed to all the Government represented. There was even talk of doing away with “God Save The Queen” and replacing it with “Waltzing Matilda”. Now many of the unAustralians had spent time at Goanna Avenue, Kangaroo Court, London and they had always accepted that “Waltzing Matilda” was their anthem.

But it wasn’t possible for a group of people who had devoted a lifetime to knocking governments to suddenly turn round and embrace government. Many features of political administration in Australia such as over-bureaucratisation are a product of the system which does not change irrespective of which political party is in power.

There was talk about a Freedom of Information Act—but we still haven’t got any answers.

There was talk about a Bill of Rights being adopted.

There was talk about solving the Aboriginal housing and health problems and so on.

* Senior Trade Union Official.

** A Student Leader.



There was a hostile senate which rejected more bills in Labor's period in office than had been rejected by the senate in the preceding **70** years.

So we had to support the Labor party and we had to support Whitlam, but we were still wary of the Labor Government because it was still going along with Pine Gap and North West Cape's installations, it was still sucking up to multi-nationals. It was suspected that the Labor Party was prepared to rule in the people's name if not in the people's interest.

There was talk about Australian control of our energy resources.

There was talk of buying back the farm.

All they managed to buy was a share in a uranium mine.

But by **1974** many people who had during the **1960's** been unAustralians had had this orientation undermined by the existence of a moderately left government which was at least mouthing many of the things we wanted to hear. The Labor Party had in fact given birth to a new feeling of nationalism.

Australiana was now popular, old books, old poets like Lawson and Patterson, new painters, Patrick White, Edna Everage, and many other aspects of our existence and our heritage became respectable and we had matured enough to laugh at some of them. We rediscovered our rebel roots. The Eureka Flag began appearing in marches alongside the European Anarchist red and black flags and even alongside that flag with a union jack in the corner and seven white stars on a blue background.

And then the right attempted to reassert its *right* to hold office and forced us once more to the polls. They had struck too early and mateship demanded we give the ALP a fair go.

Back in office, yet never in power, this new Labor Government seemed to lack the will to try for the brave promises of **1972**. Their majority had been decreased in the **1974** election and they tried to win back the lost

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support by watering down their policies, by settling for half what was needed, and many of the old men of the party seemed more intent on the perks of office than the policies they were supposedly pursuing.

The author of *Silence Kills* went in search of an alternative to the basically marxist economic analysis which he had for years advocated. He found it and it was a cop out.

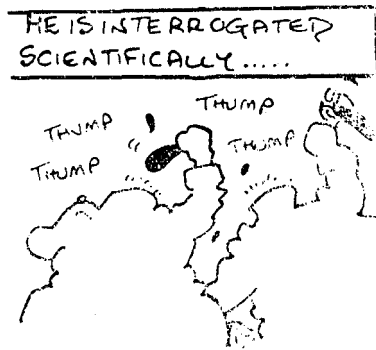
The farm was not bought back.

Mining and even uranium mining became respectable again.

In 1973 a supporting mothers' benefit had been introduced but this allegedly socialist humanitarian government could not find it in its heart to pay fathers who were looking after children.

The cost of solving the Aboriginal housing problem was in the order of 3,000 to 4,000 million dollars and Labor had been spending about 30 million a year on it. There was a growing disillusionment with Labor's solutions to issues by which Aborigines were confronted. Unemployment was rising and in response to press attacks on Labor's soft line on unemployed workers Hayden and Cameron joined the 'let's bash a dole bludger today' campaign.

Several back bench members commented that by the middle of 1975 there were very few major interest groups which the government had not alienated. Gone was the euphoria of the coalition of interest groups of 1972 which had carried Labor to power. In its place we had the well orchestrated media campaign which convinced many Australians that somehow Labor's intention to borrow enough money to buy back a bit of the farm was *evil*. Connors, Cameron, Kemlani, Lynch, Fraser, and Ellicott's more considered statements, and Cairns's son's private investments, and Whitlam's breakfasting or not breakfasting with Arabs, and on and on, were in all the papers.



Australia knew that Indonesia planned to invade Fretilin-controlled East Timor. Whitlam accepted the ASIO advice to acquiesce in the takeover. It fitted with the particular Whitlamesque politico-geography which holds that if you are big and powerful in the South East Asian region you are automatically right, particularly if you promise not to attack Australia.

It also fitted Australia's economic interests. Australia and Indonesia had jointly surveyed the sea bed from New Guinea to Ashmore Reef. They had agreed on a breakup of the oil-rich sea bed resources on terms quite favourable to Australia. There was to be an international conference on the sea which would be likely to place an international imprimatur on such bilateral arguments if there was no challenge. The best way to insure that there was no challenge was to obliterate East Timor as a political entity.

Kerr's cur, and the Chief Justice Sir Garfield Barwick, and Kerr, and the C.I.A., and old Bob Menzies, in fact the basic fascist establishment which had never relinquished power, decided to move. After all it had worked in Chile.

What happened to the unAustralians who had so recently come to accept the new nationalism, who in a way had become to identify as the other Australians? Some clasped candles and listened to one of Gough Whitlam's "We was robbed speeches" of the 11th of the 11th 1975.

Some thought the time when men might stand and fight for the Australia they believed in had come so they oiled their weapons and turned on the television to hear Gough tell us why it was important to die for *our* Australia. What we heard was Robert Hawke telling us that we must do nothing to upset the status quo. The fascists were back in charge now and all was well with the world. Hawke commanded no strikes, no street marches, no violence. He did allow that anyone on the left or even on the right who did not approve totally of the methods of the fascist coup might voice this opinion in a quiet and dignified fashion.

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The guns went back in the cupboards and many of the other Australians threw their weight behind the Labor machine. And forty-three percent of people voted socialist—there was no other reason to vote Labor.

What happened to the other Australians—they did not want to return to the totally alienating experiences of the **1960's**. They were totally opposed to the Australia of crazy graziers and corrupt legal rulers. They had found comfort in discovering that the country where they were born was in a way their country too—that there were many aspects of our history of which social humanists could be proud. The three years of Labor government made it possible for those Australian critics to find a place as Australians. Even the Fraser putsch has not been able to destroy that. The other Australians have gradually moved into positions from where they will be able to exert sufficient influence to ensure that the next time Labor's song comes round again on the guitar they will make the party perform. In the meantime they aren't going just to sit back. Information will be leaked, government policies subverted at every opportunity, the corruption of Liberal-Country Party Ministers will be exposed. The alternative Australians have joined current movements in search of the **1972** enthusiasm.

The environmental, social welfare, educational, migrant, Aboriginal, and unemployment movements will determine the future. The movements are very different now but they are as potentially powerful as they were in **1972** when they brought down Big Ears.

The unAustralian has been unmade, but the other Australian will not let right wing political parties control this country.

“For we must fly a rebel flag,
as others did before us
And we must sing a rebel song
and join in rebel chorus
We'll make the tyrants feel the sting,
our voices they would throttle
They can not lay the blame on us,
if blood should stain the wattle.”

(Henry Lawson)



**WRITTEN ON THE OCCASION BY INVASION OF SOUTH
LEBANON BY ISRAEL**

You took my country, Jew,
You herded me into camps.

We fought you then as men
We knew we'd have to fight
again.

You flooded out of Europe
pursued by Nazis.
You left six million
comrades dead.

We waste in camps like Gaza, ,
We train in camps like Huma.

You rule my country in the
name of Zionism,
You control my brothers with
your guns.

We carry out terrorist
atrocities,
We are criminal mad
monstrosities;

You have purification and
retaliation programs.
You maintain a necessary
preparedness to raze our
homes.

You and I kill civilians in
an unending war
5 Jewish eyes lost here
5 Arab lives lost there.
What have-you become, is
What you tried to escape from,
Zionism is the Nazism of the
of the Middle East.



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Jesus bids us shine
with a pure, clear light...
like a little candle
burning in the night



TERRORISM AND THE TERROR OF THE STATE DARWIN. 18/10/77 at 10.15 am*

In about 15 minutes the third deadline set by the skyjackers of the Lufthansa 737 expires. They have demanded the release of 11 Baader-Meinhoff prisoners held in German jails. An associated group have been holding for the last five weeks Dr Hanns-Martin Schleyer, the architect of much of modern German economic policy. The kidnapers will kill Dr Schleyer unless the 11 prisoners are released.

The Pope has offered to take the place of the 86 people on board the 737.

The German Government has announced it won't give in to the hijackers' or kidnapers' demands. Five weeks ago it decided not to release the prisoners after Dr Schleyer was taken. Now it has not got Dr Schleyer back and has a plane with 86 people on board at Mogadishu Airport, which is about to be blown up. The senior pilot has already been shot dead.

The world press and many world leaders have already congratulated the German Government on its firm stand.

WHAT IS IT THAT CAUSES THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT TO PREFER TO KEEP THE 11 PRISONERS AT THE COST OF JEOPARDIZING THE LIVES OF THOSE ON BOARD THE PLANE AND THAT OF THEIR FAMOUS ECONOMIC ADVISOR?

Admittedly the German Government had to go to a lot of trouble and expense in getting the Baader-Meinhoff prisoners to trial. It even had to build a special court house-cum-jail to hold them. It had to threaten several lawyers with jail when they tried to conduct the defence as the prisoners had instructed them. It forced several lawyers to flee Germany when it charged them with being accomplices *after the fact*, simply because they had addressed the prisoners as "comrades". It subjected the continuing lawyers to the most detailed scrutiny. It kept all the prisoners in solitary confinement 24 hours a day in lighted cells. The German Government finally either murdered Erica Meinhoff or, as in the official version, drove her to suicide in her cell.

* Originally published in *Farewell to Alms*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1977.



THE PRESS

As previously mentioned, there is a lot of support for the German Government's "strong stand". The usual rationalisation given for the support is that giving in to the terrorists' demands will lead to many similar situations in the future.

The current press debate totally misses the point of the skyjacking and the kidnapping. The whole process is inconceivable if there are not political prisoners.

No one is asking what led to the development of the Baader-Meinhoff group in the first place. Baader and Meinhoff did not sit down in a beer hall in Berlin and decide to carry out a stunt in order to get some press. They and people around them made a serious attempt to change the direction of the new German Fascism. It should be remembered that the group arose substantially to confront the German involvement with and support for the American mass murder in Vietnam. This group unlike so many others was not content with salving its conscience by token demonstrations against the war. They were morally committed to fight for a humane society—now many of them have been killed and 11 others are caged in their specially built court-house-prison, constantly harassed by stooges of the State.

WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVES TO GIVING IN?

Do an Entebbe? After all the Jews got away with it in Kampala. It was too bad they had to kill many of the Ugandan soldiers who were guarding the plane.

Some state ministers have suggested shooting one Baader-Meinhoff prisoner each time one of the hostages is shot. This last suggestion would

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at least draw attention to the equivalence of violence between State terror and individual terrorist activities. But it is too close to the bone to be acceptable.

The Entebbe method has some difficulties for the Germans, who would not like to be seen to be aping the Jews. It also has real dangers as the New York State Governor found at Attica. One of the prison guards describing the liberation of the prison by State troops said:

“They come in yelling curses like they were crossing the River Rhine. Shot down every god damn thing they saw. While I lay there wounded I took another one in my spine and the wounding pellets of another one in the jaw. They say we had our throats cut by a band of desperate men, say they saved as many of us as they could. Well the Governor he should know it but I think I’ll say it again, that the Governor cut my throat and he cut it good. Yet let them take the Governor and hold him for a couple of days, see who goes in shooting to set him free. They’d open every jail in the country and send them on their way, They’d never done to him what the Governor did to me.” (Tom Paxton)

THE CONNECTION AND AUSTRALIA

Attica, Entebbe, Baader-Meinhoff, South Moluccan and the successful skyjack by the Japanese Red Army Faction have all been somehow distant from Australia.

So far with few exceptions like the blowing up of the wood chip loading facility at Bunbury, Australia has not had much to worry about. Here the power of the State has been paramount. We have been prepared to despatch soldiers and conscripts 4000 miles to kill Vietnamese. No serious attempt was made to stop the recruitment of mercenaries for Rhodesia. We have aided and abetted the slaughter of 60,000 to 100,000 Timorese by crack Indonesian forces. We were frequently a party to forcing Irianese back across the border to almost certain death yet we have remained remarkably free of terrorists.



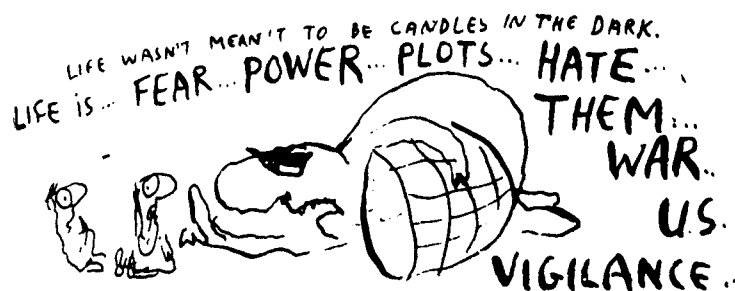
We have managed to keep the political debate at a very low level. "Bash a Commie today" has been the pinnacle of our rhetoric.

But things are changing. We were prepared to tolerate a lying, thieving leader in Bananaland. We knew he used his ministerial position to force Comalco to give him and the other ministers shares provided they handed over the Aboriginal Settlements of Weipa and Mapoon for bauxite mining. After all he was only robbing Blacks of land they'd only hunt kangaroos on. Maybe he only needed 23% of the vote to stay in power but that was the system.

THESE ARE THE ISSUES:

The sacking of Labor won't *directly* cause any violence particularly after the way our own little union maverick Bob Hawke defused the issue in 1975. What it has done is to call into serious question the whole system of government in Australia. There are now many people who no longer accept the Fraser Government has any legitimacy. Trotsky, Lenin, in fact all main stream communists, argue that individual terrorism is no answer because it interferes with the development of working class movements capable of getting effective working class members into positions of political control. Yet when we got our representatives into the parliament the enemy sacked them. No longer can any Australian right wing government hope that these fringe groups which the Australian working class has held in check for so long (through the working class belief in the system), will continue to stay their hand. There are now a number of seasoned activists who have spent years going up the right channels only to find they were sewer drains. One of the things which is necessary before individual terrorism is possible is that the level of violence which the State inflicts has to be high. Timor, Land Rights, unemployment and uranium are all issues where the Government's actions have caused, and will continue to cause, deaths and injuries.

I would imagine that the individual terrorist acts in Australia will commence with attacks on buildings, machinery and bridges. These



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actions will be followed by repression and further restrictions of civil liberties. A few trade unionists will be jailed over some industrial issue or other. Troops will be called in. Probably more by accident than design some people will be killed. The number of political prisoners will increase, skyjacking, kidnapping and the shooting of political figures or mining executives will follow.

PRESERVE DEMOCRACY — USE FORMALIN

A further area which could lead to terrorist activity involves the Timor situation. Whether Gough Whitlam was knowingly involved in the lead up to the Indonesian invasion will not be known for some years. But we do know that Malcolm Fraser and his cabinet have actively aided and abetted the past and present killing of Timorese. They have done this to ensure that nothing threatens their bi-lateral arrangement with Indonesia on oil concessions in the Timor Sea.

Fraser, not satisfied with this amount of blood on his hands, has decided that the world must have **as** much Australian uranium **as** he can get out of the country. Nuclear weapons proliferation and waste disposal need not concern us we are told—that's their problem. Unfortunately for us radiation does not only affect slant eyed little yellow bastards, wogs, wops, and other foreigners. Scientific tests have shown it can also affect third generation, anglo-saxon, protestant, whiter than white Australians as well. And what is more disturbing is that it has an uncanny knack of distributing itself all around the world. It would seem this is one problem which we can't ignore by exporting it.

There are also some other problems with uranium, like damage to the environment and the fact that we are going to have to rip off still more land from the Blacks. Funny thing is that just at the point where Australians had begun to take the issue of Aboriginal Land Rights seriously we're going to have to take another **1000** square miles off them. Oh well, I suppose that life was not meant to be all that easy, especially



for Blacks. They'd probably only want to hunt kangaroos on the land anyway.

In 1975, having seen the C.I.A., I.T.T. and the U.S. State Department murder President Allende of Chile, take over the country, and instal a reign of terror; we had our own coup. Gough Whitlam was sacked by the Governor General. A reason given at the time was that Gough had been negotiating to get a loan of \$4000 million dollars of Arab money to buy back the farm. The multinationalists did not want to be bought out. Recently the Fraser Junta has had to admit that it has borrowed \$2000 million dollars of Arab money and a further \$2000 million dollars in Europe and Japan. However this money was not to buy back the farm. It was used to support the Australian dollar so that the multinational firms would not suffer unnecessary losses in their Australian sector. Happy little Australians will be able to pay off this debt as they earn it.

Another factor used to rationalise the sacking of Labor was that it was not handling the economy well and there was high unemployment. With a predicted figure of 500,000 unemployed staring us in the face in 1978 compared with half that unemployment at the time of the coup we have the potential for substantial unrest.

Just to make sure the Australian worker knows his place the Fraser Government is in the process of cracking down on unions and bashing the odd dole bludger. At the moment the unemployed are suiciding in considerable numbers. Soon some of them are going to ask why they are directing the violence inwards towards themselves and not at the Ministers who make cabinet decisions which keep them from working.

(THE AUSTRALIAN)

PERHAPS the Lullitama cabin will not have died in vain in Somalia - which is, maybe, taking cold-blooded comfort from an act of brutality. But if, as a result, the nations of the world stop their waffling and tuckering and unite to stamp out hijacking, then it will have achieved a great deal for humanity.

If Algeria had not given in to the last gang of terrorists and allowed them facilities to collect their blackmail and their hostages from a Japanese Government terrified by that action into a fearful decision, this present hawk might never have occurred.

If all the nations of the world - and that means all - just all except for one or two - make it clear that they will not be buyers for hijackers, then the handsome practice will have to cease. Until all nations agree, nobody flying the world's airways will be safe.

This is a matter transcending all ideological and political considerations. It concerns the safety of mankind and the preservation of civilization from the swamping of mindless murderers.

pure act—uncomplicated—it is there. The effects of the act may be quibbled over. But the act is a fact. It is not the mealy-mouthed watered down version of a good idea which has been put through the bureaucratic machinery of the union movement or through the parliamentary fiasco.

Freidrich Adler commissioned Trotsky in 1911 to set out the Marxist position on individual terror as a response to the growing terrorist activity in Germany at that time. Five years later Adler, himself, shot an Austrian Minister. (Trotsky, L., *Against Individual Terrorism*. Pathfinder, New York, 1974.)

WORKING CLASS

What is to be accomplished by working to develop a real working class consciousness in the Australian people?

If it were possible to get a working class government firmly installed then you would get one of two situations—a Stalinist regime or a morally bankrupted stagnation such as existed during the last 10 of the 28 year Labor Government in Queensland. For the potential terrorist there is no escape in class salvation.

The terrorist has to be content with the deed—he knows that no matter how dramatic the action is it will soon fade from people's memory. But he will, if only briefly, draw attention to the problem. He can only hope that others will replicate or expand on it.



Grief caused suicide: Cuba

HAVANA.— The daughter of President Salvador Allende of Chile shot herself dead here out of grief over the 1973 military coup in which her father died, Cuba announced.

Mrs Beatriz Allende was 32.

The Cuban Government said she died at her Havana home last week. It added the psychological wounds suffered in the 1973 coup and "the tragedy of her people from that date were the causes which led to her suicide."

For long a close political collaborator of her Marxist father, she fought alongside him in the President's Palace when troops stormed it in the Chilean coup. She said later she begged to stay at his side but he ordered her to leave arguing that she was pregnant. Soon afterwards, he was shot dead.

"Her sadness at not having also fallen" had been among matters troubling her, Cuba's communique said. Friends said she had been married to a Cuban diplomat who had been named in Chile, but that they had divorced. She kept the Allende family name.

Nicknamed "Tatti," brown-haired Beatriz was the oldest of Mr Allende's three daughters and was said to have been his favourite.

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Australian activists now have a choice to make lawful and inadequate protests about the mining and export of uranium or to *stop* it for a day, a week, a year. If there are enough people prepared to engage in terrorist activity then we will stop it. We might even be able to stop the continuing rip off of Aboriginal land, make the Fraser junta do something about ensuring work for all those who want it, and perhaps through attacks on embassies and consulates force the Indonesians to stop killing in Timor.

POST SCRIPT

One O'clock News 18/10/77

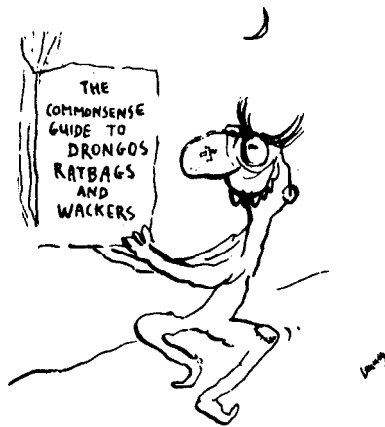
The Germans sent in 60 troops who fired percussion grenades at the doors of the plane. These grenades cause temporary deafness and blindness. The troops got all the 86 hostages off the plane but shot the 4 terrorists. Unlike Entebbe the Germans did not have to shoot any of the locals. It seemed they'd asked permission of the Somali Government to attack the plane.

Rest in peace Dr Schleyer.
Rest with your conscience Herr Chancellor Schmidt.
Rest assured the terror of the State is more violent.

Six O'clock News 18/10/77

The German Government announced the "suicide" of three Baader-Meinhoff prisoners—two shot, one hanged. I hope the German people thank their Government for murdering the prisoners—it's been a long time since they've had so much blood on their hands.

BETTER A TERRORIST THAN A FASCIST.



German prison chief sacked

STUTTGART, WEST GERMANY. — The director of Stammheim Prison here has been dismissed and replaced following the suicides of three members of the Baader-Meinhof group.

The announcement, from the Stuttgart Prosecutors Office, said autopsies and a search of the cells of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe had revealed nothing which might invalidate the suicide theory.

The West German Government yesterday denied as "infamous" reports that Baader and his two associates had been murdered in prison and said a preliminary investigation showed their deaths were suicides.

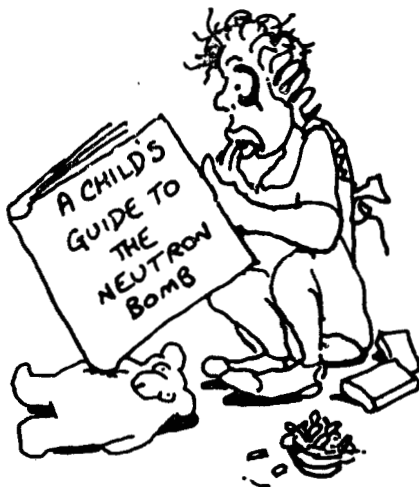
Herr Traugott Bender, Justice Minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg State, said the convicted members of the Baader-Meinhof guerrilla gang knew beforehand of the commando raid in Somalia despite security so strict they were cut off from the outside world.

THE COMING VIOLENCE

Ever since early man joined with his fellows in hunter gathering groups he has had to design methods for dividing the spoils. The need for cooperative effort by all the members is daily reinforced in small scale societies. Anyone who has been privileged to observe tribal Aboriginal groups has been struck by the elaborate conflict avoidance mechanisms and the importance given to sharing processes. But we know that in these small scale societies, even with such procedures designed to ensure harmony, there was intra- and inter-clan rivalry and violence.

Western man too has developed complex procedures in an attempt to limit the level of violence within his communities and between nations. The last two World Wars bear witness to our lack of success. The many declared and undeclared wars in the developing world, where Western nations have had vested and competing interests and finally the massive stockpiles of fissionable material are at the same time a record of our failure to avoid conflict and a grim reminder of our need to. We know there are enough weapons, conventional, nuclear, chemical and biological available to exterminate *all* human life twenty or a hundred times over. That is the shadow which hangs over modern society as we struggle to make some sense of our existence. We need to do much more than get ourselves registered with the World Wildlife Commission as an endangered species.

We know full well that if we laid down our swords and shields and beat them into ploughs we could provide every human being with a more than adequate diet, water, sanitation, housing and health care. That is the abolition of military expenditure *alone*, would without any other redistribution of wealth, make it possible to guarantee a dignified life for every human being. If we took the further step of organising frontal





lobotomies for any religious or political leader who encouraged people to reject any effective method of birth control then we could convert the world's population problem into one of manageable proportions. We are aware of what is needed to make the world tolerably comfortable for all mankind and yet we refuse to act. Our impotence leaves 800 million people starving or on the brink of starvation. Even within our own communities we are totally incapable of coming to anything like an equitable distribution of wealth.

We're here because, we're here because, we're here because we're here.
In much the same way as the hydroelectricity commissions of Tasmania and New Zealand spread their tentacles over the Lake Pedders and the Franklin Rivers, the military proliferates. Does it make anyone feel secure to know that if some fool in the USSR, China, or perhaps Israel, France, South Africa, Pakistan or Libya leans too heavily on the button that we in the West through our mighty brother the US of A can inflict a retaliatory raid which would ensure that everybody on their side got killed **too**? Both sides live with the knowledge that either side can obliterate the whole of mankind many times over. In 1980 we were told that the computer warning system in Washington indicated on a number of occasions that there was a massive Russia Nuclear arsenal heading for the land of the Ku Klux Klan.

Now it is possible that the leadership of either side in this global nightmare might fall into the hands of men who decided they could totally wipe out the enemy with a massive preemptive strike. When I was growing up, my father (obviously influenced by the Second World War)



assured me that the Army, Navy, and Airforce ensured our security. Well I don't feel very secure knowing that the USSR, China, and the US of A each have the capacity to completely wipe human life from the face of the planet. "The Hydro" continues to expand in Tasmania not because there is any economic, environmental or other rational reason: the Tasmanian people pay through the nose for their "cheap white coal" so that the Hydro can offer cheap power to multinational companies who are prepared to pollute totally beautiful estuaries like the Derwent. The military exists to protect us from the nuclear holocaust, but the only protection it can offer us is that it can destroy us. Tasmanians were sold the lie that hydroelectricity was cheap and environmentally desirable. The military has set out to convince us that it can protect us: in order to believe such a tale one would need to discard rational argument and merely accept the concept because it felt nice to believe it. The longer people believe in military solutions the greater the likelihood that we shall see that *all men are cremated equal*.

Deterrent is the latest publicity slant of the defence forces. It is argued the consequences of some fool pushing the button are so terrible that no one will push it. That is, the greater the capacity to destroy the world maintained by the military the **less** likely it is that anyone will fire the first missile. Now such an argument might find considerable currency amongst

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peace loving people and cowards but the military is not composed of such people. It promotes heroes and those who've shown a capacity to wage war.

WITHIN THE NATION STATE

Northern Ireland and Lebanon are two societies which are currently experiencing class wars, they are the forerunners of a wave of intra-national violence which is going to sweep through the developed world during the next twenty years.

Whenever anyone raises the possibility of the ensuing violence in the Australian context, the cry goes up "be reasonable". There is a popular and comfortable, for the comfortable, myth that revolution is impossible in the land of the Southern Cross. So far the unholy alliance of governments and the press has succeeded in convincing the overwhelming majority of Australians that we do live in a reasonable country, run by reasonable men, where we all get a reasonable share of the cake. Where was the reason (from a working class perspective) in sending conscripts to kill and be killed in Vietnam or to defoliate that country? Not many of the victims of Agent Orange as they sit there holding their deformed children on their laps see the reasonableness of it all. What is reasonable about having "national security services" that are not totally controlled by the nation's parliament but answer directly to American intelligence services? What is reasonable about the top two thousand Australians owning as much wealth as the bottom 2¼ million? What was reasonable about the way the Whitlam Government was dismissed? The High Court has become a haven for tax dodgers, so much so that Professor Mathews recently commented that the problem was not now to get the rich to pay an equitable tax, but in fact to get them to pay *any tax*.³ Australians' equity in the development of this country has reached an all time **low**. Is there anything reasonable about the track record of broken promises of the Fraser Government? Even the most ardent fascist must at times

GOOD LUCK...
mummy has found
you a four leaf clover.

good luck my bum...
it's a radio active
mutation .



question the reasonableness of keeping half a million Australians out of work by deliberate government policy. There has been nothing reasonable about the way Aborigines have been treated in this country for **200** years. At the moment they have a health profile in keeping with poor third world countries and until their health status is equivalent to whites then it is arrant nonsense to argue that our policies in this regard are reasonable.

At this point of the argument we are usually told that unless people have respect for law and order then anarchy will result. And by anarchy they do not mean a libertarian society where the state has withered away but violent mayhem. If you make the laws and give the orders you have much more to fear from such a frenzy than if you are one of the many, constantly constrained by the law and forced by unrelenting economic necessity to obey the orders. The appeal to respect law and order and to be reasonable somehow assumes that the forces of law and order are reasonable. Only when many more Australians begin to question the basis of this assumption will they find it has no foundation and then the propertied classes will no longer be able to sleep easy in their beds. As yet there are too few Australians asking why it is that "the hunger of the many (should) fill the bellies of the few".



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The Karen Green case, perhaps more clearly than any other, exposed the present rulers' misuse of the law. Each time a judge indicated that the Director General of Social Security should reconsider his rejection of Karen's unemployment benefit claim they changed the rules just so they would not have to pay school leavers the pittance of 36 dollars a week.⁴ In any case how could anyone have any respect for a system of law where half the judges are running round the world selling uranium, administering security services or acting as some other arm of executive government?

The concept of "the reasonable man" is one which has grown out of English law. It has a particular meaning, it should not be confused with the average man and the propertied classes in this country might be well advised to stop asking us to behave like reasonable men. A reasonable man for instance confronted in his own home by a robber is entitled to use the minimum necessary force to remove the offender. The reasonable Australian confronted by a multinational company ripping off our heritage should be likewise entitled to use the minimum necessary force to remove the offender. This analysis can be extended to those in Australia



who are wealthier than the rest. There are many people in Australia who no longer accept, if they ever did, that one man has a right to greater income than any other Australian. We have never entered into any agreement to this effect. It is not reasonable to expect us to be bound by preexisting perquisites just because they happen to suit the propertied classes.

THE EVIDENCE OF VIOLENCE

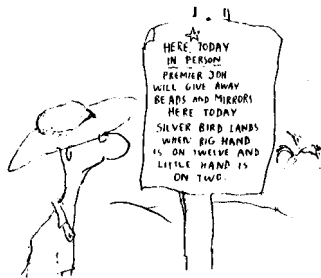
If the appeal to be reasonable does not silence the critics of the present system then a demand is made to trot out the ten most famous prerevolutionary incidents to establish the reality of the threat from the lower orders.* This is not an easy thing to do for two reasons—firstly, the very effective way the press and the politico-legal system combine to denigrate, personalise, deny and mystify the political nature of many

*For a sensationalised account see Teichmann, M., "Terror Australis." *Australian Penthouse*, May, 1981.

actions; secondly, the occasional outbursts of discontent have often been misdirected, easily defused or cathartic.

Up to this point much of the violence which has taken place has been self directed. Suicide has been the most viable lifestyle selected by many unemployed people who have been unable to live adequately on the dole and have at the same time been constantly reminded **of** their social leper role by the government and the press.

During the recent elections an unemployed man, who had chalked up 180 unsuccessful job interviews, became annoyed by Minister Viner's refusal to talk with Unemployed Workers' Union members and tipped the contents of a waste paper basket over Viner and pushed him. The Magistrate sentenced him to **28** days and justified his decision by saying that it was not reasonable for our rulers to be threatened in such a way. He did not seem impressed by the argument that it was totally unreasonable for Viner and Co., to prolong massive unemployment. Now the magistrate is not silly, he was doing what we would expect him to do as an agent of the owning classes, and he is aware of the threat that an

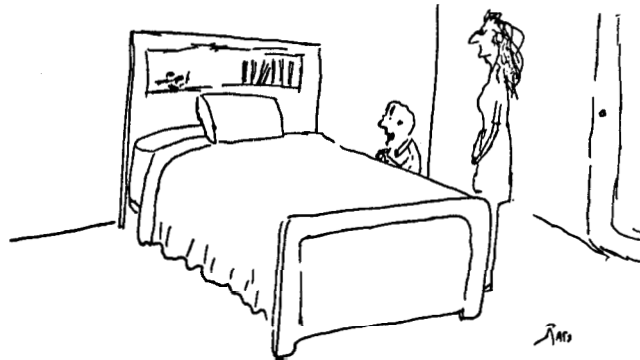


organised unemployed could present, "Tolerance is the face of the propertied classes when they are not threatened, Fascism when they are."³

Peter Dwyer in the 1979 Australia Day Guest of Honour program, pointed to the death of the public man in Australia. He pointed out how we are rewarded each time we adequately fulfil the role of moronic suburban house owner and how difficult it is for those who want to take their social responsibility seriously. Fragmented discontent in the suburbs is a lot easier for the system to handle than the coalesced discontent of the streets.

WHAT SORT OF VIOLENCE

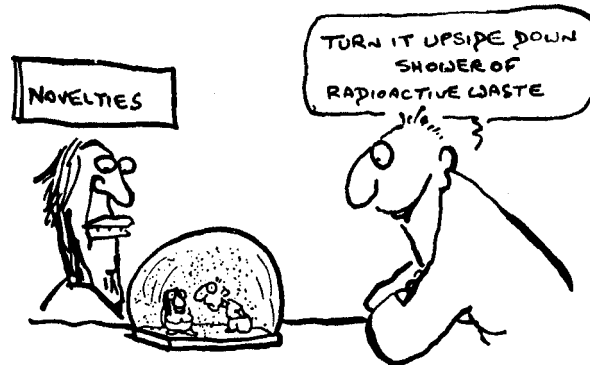
The two most likely forms of violence within the Australian context are the adventurist-desperation violence most commonly associated with the Baader-Meinhoff or the more massed based violence of the Basque region. The other alternative is that of ad hoc, poorly directed violence.



GOD BLESS MOMMY, GOD BLESS DADDY AND GOD BLESS ALL THE OTHER FANATICAL LUNATICS WHO ARE SUBVERTING MY POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM WITH THEIR ARCHAIC BELIEFS AND LAWS

It has been largely this last form which we have seen most of in Australia—the punching of Social Security counter staff, the police spectator rumpus when the Star hotel closed in Newcastle, the annual people fighting the police at Coolangatta on New Year's Eve. The targets are poorly defined, ill chosen and everybody becomes a victim. Each of these three sorts of violence has to be clearly divorced from the violence of the State—the bashing of demonstrators during the Vietnam War Springbok Demonstrations, the NSW police attack on Gay Right activists in 1979, the continual attacks on street marchers in Queensland and the 'get in there and beat up union pickets' so popular in Western Australia. This style of publicly displayed State violence is of a different order to the privatised state violence exemplified by the reign of terror in NSW prisons and the violence which Police in rural Australia direct daily at Aboriginal communities; or the vigilante mentality of police harassing activists in Townsville; or the Darwin Police's persecution of Radical Feminist Squatters. The homeless and the poor don't need to be reminded of this privatised violence. They see it every day. At the moment they respond to it as individuals, and as individuals they're incapable of resisting it. Socialists have tended to neglect these people and sought to build their mass support from amongst the working people. Marx would agree with their tactics. He certainly saw little possibility of building a revolutionary movement from the ranks of the workless. Franz Fanon particularly in his best known book *The Wretched of the Earth*, was not oblivious to the significant contribution which the workless and criminalised sections of the society could make towards the revolution. What is needed is a coalition of the politicised sections of both those in work and those out of work.

The ultimate form of violence will be dependent not on anything to do with the Australian character but on how many and how quickly revolutionary parties and other groups can attract support. If there are only a few people dedicated to the overthrow of the state by any means necessary then we'll see the isolated extreme violence we associate with the Red Brigade.



However, if a thousand Australians decide to resurrect the public man and are determined to create by whatever means necessary a truly socialist society here, then we will see disciplined violence. The violence of the state will be matched. The reign of terror in NSW prisons was not interfered with by the Nagle Royal Commission, the Wran Labor Government or the burning of Bathurst Jail. But it could be stopped overnight if people outside the walls of prisons settled the scores of those on the inside. The removal of offending prison guards can be handled more efficiently by a people's army than a public service disciplinary committee. Likewise police who shoot Blacks in the back from thirty feet and then fabricate a story that they were wielding nulla nullas over their heads might be just a little more frightened of a knock on their door at night than they are of internal police investigations of their actions.

The police are such cowards that even such limp wristed reformist efforts as pig patrols and the Aboriginal Legal Aid Services have been able, to ensure that the police can no longer pick up at will any Aborigine they feel like punching the piss out of. Police, where such services exist, can no longer pick up young Aboriginal girls and rape them without fearing that someone will kick up a stink. If there was an effective people's army operating the police just would not be able to maintain their harassment of **poor** people.

A people's army would have the capacity to ensure a growing justice rather than just dispense summary justice; Governments would no longer be able to create unemployment to suit the economic policies of the owning classes either here or overseas. If we did not get a government interested in serving the people, the people's army could ensure there were immediate vacancies in the cabinet.

There has been, up to this point, an extraordinarily restrained response by the extraparliamentary forces in this country. The blowing up of the Bunbury **wood** chip loading terminal and the recent attempt to demolish the first completed blocks of flats at the Iwasaki complex at Yeppoon are the two best known exceptions. We cannot claim any responsibility for

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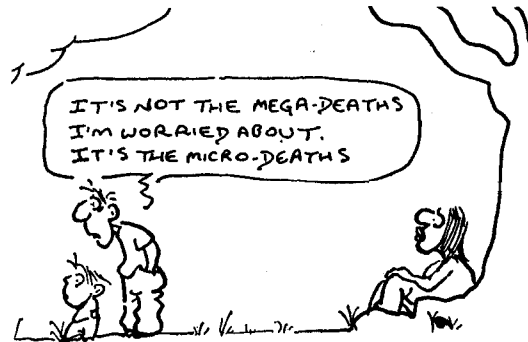
the Hilton Hotel bombing. That was an accident. ASIO had planted explosives in the dustbin outside the Hilton with the intention of discovering them and thereby justifying their continued existence in the eyes of the frightened middle class. Unfortunately for a couple of garbage men and state police the garbage van came too early and the garbage gobbler spewed slivers of steel all over the front of the Hilton. ASIO has tried to convince an unwary public that the attack was the work of the Ananda Marga.

Why had the Australian response been as lethargic as this when there are so many examples of brutality by the state?

The answer to this lies in the fact that the public violence of the state has been spasmodic. The privatised violence of the state has the appearance of being random. The job confronting the extra-parliamentary forces is to show the people that the privatised violence is not random, but that it is a consistent pattern.

There is a need to establish that those at the highest levels are aware of this privatised state violence: the degree of effort to which they are prepared to go to cover up the death of prisoners or police assaults on members of the public underlines their collaboration in this level of put-down of the people. The reason that the public violence is spasmodic is that the state has not needed to do anything other than put on the occasional show of force to keep the people in their place. If the extra-parliamentary forces can link this analysis of state violence to the declining ownership of Australia by Australians and the growing inequalities within Australia then the people might come to see that they have more to gain than fear from a people's army.

- 1 Bromby, R., "NZ faces an end to the cheap-power myth." *National Times* June 29-July 5, p. 54. says:
"A foreign observer could be forgiven for thinking that most enterprises in New Zealand receive government handouts. Bayliss calls it the producer welfare state, which he says is far more of a problem than the much abused social welfare system."
"The farmers receive a massive array of financial assistance and subsidies, major companies receive electricity price concessions, forests are turned over to timber companies at far less than the real cost, tax concessions to exporters are easily available (\$165 million in 1976-77) and low interest loans abound. Furthermore, major New Zealand companies often pay minimal (considering their size) company taxation."
- 2 Rascal, P., "Who's got what in Australia: the distribution of wealth." *Journal of Australian Political Economy*. No. 2, June, 1978.
- 3 Mathews, R., "The Structure of Taxation" in Wilkes, J., *The Politics of Taxation*, Hodder and Stoughton, Sydney, 1980, p. 106.
- 4 Hanks, P., "School leavers, government policy, and the High Court." *Legal Service Bulletin*. Vol. 2, No. 7, June 1977.
- 5 Leunig Cartoon.



A.S.I.O.

CHORUS:

I made sure that Harold drowned
and keep Menzies in the ground
When it was the turn of Gough
I replaced him with a toff
and for the moment I'll let Malcolm strut around . . .
strut around.

I have no name you see
A number's good enough for me
and for all those in the know
I work for ASIO
and spend my life in the cause of democracy . . .
democracy.

There are **so** many spies
that you can't believe your eyes
we have bases to protect
and terrorists to detect.
We don't like to see Australians criticise . . .
criticise.

Fellow travellers conceal
that the Russian threat is real
but we know about the reds
for we find them under beds
and we know it's our secrets they'd reveal . . .
they'd reveal.

But everything's okay
while we're friends with the **USA**
as long as the West can stay on top
we'll give those coms the chop
we'll gun them down with our latest laser ray . . .
laser ray.

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In a hotel called the Hilton
we really put a stunt on
and we blamed Ananda Marga
for that awful bloody saga
but that **is** what security is built on . . .
is built on.

It's freedom we extol
and knowledge we control
we don't trust those dirty coms
or even striking poms
the only unionist we like is a Pole . . .
is **a** Pole.

The whole world's going nuclear
and **I** sometimes feel peculiar
but there's no need to worry
we can always say we're **sorry**
if firing **of** the misslies is premature . . .
is premature.

Due to the likes of me
you can thank the Lord you're free
so dig your own bomb shelter
for we'll protect the smelter
and anything that's owned by BHP . . .
by BHP.

If you're sleeping with a red
then kick him out of bed
cause you'll both wish you were dead
if we find you.

I made sure Harold drowned
and I keep Menzies in the ground.
When it was the turn of Gough
I replaced him with a toff
and for the moment I'll let Malcolm strut around . . .
strut around.



ARAB OIL AND THE NEUTRON BOMB*

For a long time I could not make any sense out of the development of the Neutron Bomb. I accepted that the bomb killed people and left buildings intact. It was the first truly ideological bomb. The whole capitalist system stands **as** a monument in the war, Capital versus People. I could see that in the sense that it was the ultimate philosophical pronouncement of Capitalism that the path for its development in the heart-land of Capitalism would not be obstructed but there were still nagging questions. In a world where both Russia and America have the nuclear capacity to kill every human being on this planet five or ten or twenty times over the production of the extra capacity of the Neutron Bomb did not make very much sense.

The Neutron Bomb was heralded with the announcement that it was **a** clean bomb, that is, the radioactivity it generated was short lived but even if the radioactivity generated by the bomb had only a five year danger cycle (by danger cycle I mean that it would be at least five years before the conquering power was able to subject its labouring classes to the risks involved) then it may as well destroy the productive capacity **of** the conquered nation because after five years the machinery would have become obsolete. Perhaps in **an** ideal world this would not be **so**, but the degeneration involved in five years of non-productivity would necessitate such rehabilitation that it would make greater economic sense to move towards a total restructuring of the productive cycle.

The remaining productive capacity in a country subjected to the devastation of a Neutron Bomb would only stand in the way of development—it would need to be demolished—it would make more sense in conventional terms to have obliteration rather than the radiating hulks of once productive equipment.

The only place that the Neutron Bomb made sense was in Arab countries. Here the important energy source would not in any sense be contaminated but the people could be obliterated leaving the Arab oil for future exploitation. We all know that the United States of America has sufficient oil resources to maintain itself into the first thirty years of the twenty-first century. By using the Neutron Bomb against the Arab people and totally annihilating them (probably in association with the Russians) it would be able to maintain known oil reserves in Arab countries for future use. Then the U.S.A. and Russia could share the oil reserves between them.

* Originally published in *Farewell to Arms*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1979.

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CHAPTER IV

AMBROSE BIERCE LIVES

The hotel lounge was starting to empty—the left over public servants were even beginning to look as if they were considering going back to work.

In one corner two old ladies were drinking small beers. The oldest one got up and with the aid of her walking stick headed for the toilets. She tripped and fell over.

She'd hardly hit the carpet before she was surrounded by a group of young men. My eyes lit up—they were going to kick the bitch in the head while she was down.

To my surprise they helped her to her feet. Depression overwhelmed me, I thought someone would have had the guts to kick her in the crutch.

Then a young fellow with a survey clip board who had watched the excitement wandered over to the old lady's helpers and asked them whether they would be prepared to have their tax increased by \$3 a week in order to fund a program to make effective use of old people's **skills** and to extend their opportunities for fulfilment.

Each of the old lady's helpers indicated the young surveyer must be out **of** his tiny mind.

Thus, my faith in human beings **was** restored.

SOCIAL WELFARE OR SOCIAL JUSTICE?

A major choice faces the citizens of Australia in the last quarter of the Twentieth Century—should we persevere with a social welfare model of income distribution or should we adopt fairer redistribution of the common wealth in order to ensure the future of the Commonwealth.

Francis Fox Piven and Richard Cloward¹ among others have pointed to the double edged coercive power of social welfare. If the State does not

meet or sufficiently approach the demands of welfare recipients they will revolt, but if the minimum demands are met then recipients are required to keep quiet, and like Victorian children, if seen be never heard. Donnison, the English poverty expert, when he visited Australia, sanctified the last part of this formula when he said that the poor were incapable of articulating their position and that spokesmen of poor people's organisations were invariably not the poorest of the poor.² The failure of leftist reporters to develop techniques for weeding out pseudo-poor-spokesmen must be a constant worry to reactionary politicians and their fellow-travelling social welfare experts.

Liberal social scientists and left activists have in America, England, Canada and Australia pushed a two pronged attack on the classical welfare state charity approach. They have argued for broadbased social maintaining policies such as Guaranteed Minimum Income and the development of enforcing consciousness amongst recipients. Guaranteed Minimum Income attacks the very basis of narrowly defined eligibility provisions of the maze of social welfare handout schemes present in modern democracies. A Guaranteed Minimum Income scheme has the capacity to reduce and in some countries remove administratively defined class divisions which now exist among social welfare recipients. It would also increase the number of the very poor who would receive assistance, at present many do not apply.'

The development of an enforcing consciousness is the complementary attack on the charity system. Advocates have endeavoured to get recipients to see the benefits they receive as a right, an entitlement, rather than as an act of charity. Another aspect of the development of an enforcing consciousness is the encouragement of recipients to unite across these administratively defined welfare barriers. There have also been attempts to link welfare recipients (lumpen proletariat) with their working class brothers. But the proletariat has been very reluctant to engage wholeheartedly in a joint struggle with the non-working class. In part, this has been because of the failure of the trade union movement to recognize the importance of building a solidarity between the workers and the workless. There is also a fear on the part of many workers that they will have to share some of their wealth with the workless if they unite. Australian workers are eager to share the wealth of those better off than themselves but exhibit a major reluctance to share their wealth with those who earn less than they do. The other important obstacle to the union of the proletariat and the lumpen proletariat does not arise out of a critical reading of Marx but simply because there is a blindness to the advantages which would accrue to workers were they to build solid links with their out of work brothers. Instead workers generally respond to the unemployed exactly as reactionary politicians would have them do.⁴

Those in work realise that unemployed people are relatively powerless and can be conscripted as a threat to the jobs and/or conditions of the employed. The army of the unemployed are **at** one and the same time responded to as if they were scabs and dole bludgers. **A** typical catch **22**

position. A sound trade union policy would aim at strengthening links with the unemployed. In this way the power of unemployed people to resist demands by reactionary governments to act against working class interests could be substantially increased. But instead of seeing the Australian Council of Trade Unions calling national strikes in support of a fair rate of unemployment benefit or the abolition of repressive aspects of the work test we see the mighty trade union leaders, Hawke, Nolan, etc. supporting well paid petrochemical and Telecom technicians' claims for a 20% wage rise.

Despite the failure of the workers to unite solidly with the workless there has been a development of recipient consciousness and unity in the last 10 years. There is still a long way to go. Despite the different problems faced by old age pensioners and young unemployed they are bound together in so far as it is the State which decides just how little they need to exist on and it is the State which they must target if they are to improve their position. Pensioners in Australia are currently advantaged *vis a vis* the unemployed in relation to fringe benefits and rates of pay. In the short term pensioners will need to jeopardise their prerequisites if they are intent upon building a solid front with unemployed and single parents. Once a unity has been built no government could afford to ignore 20% of the population. At the last federal election in Australia 2/5ths of the pensioners and the unemployed voted for the non-Labor parties. This was not false consciousness just a measure of left activists' failure to spend sufficient effort conscientizing the workless.

But even if the liberal social scientists and left activists succeed in building a unity between all classes of welfare recipients and this unity is strengthened by strong trade union and workers' movement links, even if a guaranteed minimum income is introduced, there will still be a welfare state system. There will still be isolated powerless individuals applying to extraordinarily powerful departments for assistance. We will still have the situation where the top 2,000 Australians own as much wealth as the bottom 2¼ million.⁵ We will still be far removed from a system of "From each according to his ability and to each according to his needs." That is, we will have succeeded in establishing an effective social welfare system but neglected to consider social justice.

Bob Pease asked, in a paper presented at the First National Conference of Unemployed Workers,⁶ "Did we want to see a welfare centre established on every street corner or a society in which there was an evenness of distribution and a lack of need of welfare?"

WHAT IS SOCIAL JUSTICE?

It would be easy to sit in an ivory tower and design a system of income distribution which would appeal just to this writer, but what would be certain about such an exercise is that it would never be accepted by the Lang Hancocks, Malcolm Frasers, Bob Hawkes and the other

“notables”. It would not find acceptance by average wage earners and would encounter resistance among many potentially upwardly mobile temporarily unemployed. It might not even be understandable to the bulk of Australians.

Social justice is an elusive concept and undoubtedly has a changing meaning for each and everyone of us at different periods in our lives. Is it then possible to come to a working definition of what should be incorporated in any system of social justice? Very few people in the existing Australian context would accept that total equality of distributed income would amount to social justice,* so ingrained in our collective consciousness is the concept of individual reward for individual effort. Peter Dwyer has addressed himself to the death of the public man in Australia.⁷

Before it would be possible to get even basic agreement about what should be incorporated as a part of a just system we need to accept an ideological framework which spells out the limits of the debate. How is this possible when so many low paid workers, unemployed, and pensioners vote for political parties whose policy platforms enshrine economic inequalities and other Australians are committed to socialist ideals?

Perhaps social justice can only be defined in the Australian context by a process of negation. For instance, is it acceptable to the bulk of Australians that the top 2000 people own as much wealth as the bottom 2¼ million? If it is not acceptable and I do not think that it is, then how can we change this state of affairs in a way which does not conflict with any of our sacred cows (such as the right of individuals through hard work or initiative to amass wealth)? We need to show that these top 2000 citizens inherited rather than amassed their wealth, but this runs into another redistribution problem—the right of children to inherit from their parents. We need to show that the corollary of the protection of the rights of those born with a silver spoon in their mouth is the right of those born with the arse out of their tweeds to be restricted at every life stage in their attempts to find a patch.

In Australia, New Zealand, England, and U.S. there is a substantial number of studies which show that the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer: that all the social security systems ensure is that the bottom 10–20% of people will continue to live in poverty. That is, there is no meaningful redistribution of money across class barriers as a result of either the taxation or social security systems.⁸ The poor's share of the national wealth is actually decreasing.⁹

* (What constitutes equality, difficulties in maintaining equality, and the justice of absolute equality are issues which can't be resolved in a paper of this size. See: Marx, K., & Engels, F., *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Foreign Languages Published House, Moscow, 1962, pp. 13–47.
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We need to confront at every opportunity any myth or stereotype which blames the victims of social welfare for the predicaments in which they find themselves.¹⁰ We must combat those existing ideological components which somehow suggest that people have got where they are because of their effort, intelligence, integrity, etc. It may be that some people do actually succeed because of these factors, but most succeed because they are nurtured to arrive by parents, class training, contacts, etc..

Many workers accept that it is right that doctors should receive high incomes because they worked for it. The truth is that mummy and daddy sent them to the best schools where they were trained to succeed at university. Daddy is thought by the average worker to have forked out a tremendous sum for sonny-boy's education but in fact daddy got back in tax rebates more than the pensioner down the road got to live on. **As** well as this the medical school where sonny-boy got his education cost the State (that is you and me) ten times or more a year to run than the fees that all the daddies "paid" (and on which they also got rebates). If this is so then how does it justify sonny-boy's income of \$50,000 or \$150,000 a year as a doctor. Yet doctors and other professionals come out of their degree factories with the belief that the world owes them a luxurious living. What they should be taught is that they have been extended a privilege and that they are now in debt to the people.

Invariably at this point the issue of individual excellence crops up. The question of reward arises for those outstanding individuals who through some particular ability of their own make a unique contribution and it is therefore suggested they should be highly paid." This argument, when it is applied to nuclear scientists, brain surgeons, ballet dancers, is warmly accepted by the bulk of the population but seems to lose its currency when it is applied to a deserted wife of limited intelligence, who has six children,



one of whom is severely spastic, who as a child herself **was** severely bashed but who manages with little support to be an excellent loving mother who has been able to show her children a breadth of experience **of** which someone with her basic intellectual capacities would **be** thought incapable. There is never any talk of paying her \$150,000 a year for her unique contribution to the national good. If the prima donnas of nuclear science, surgery, the theatre, etc. are so magnificent then providing them with the opportunity to perform their particular art in a way acceptable to them should be sufficient reward. There would not in a socially just society be a need to pay them inordinately high salaries as well.

But now gentle reader, perhaps you're thinking *to yourself* sitting there day after day at the same boring, repetitive, noisy or administratively difficult job. You only do it so that the kids will have a good start to life, because your wife's medical condition is such that she may have to give up work any day, you fear that you may not be able to find secure employment elsewhere, etc. I can hear you saying that **if** there was a real redistribution of income across class boundaries 'brought in by the introduction of a guaranteed minimum income, you would toss your job in and join the dole bludgers sitting on the sand at Surfers Paradise.

In fact some people would do just that. But most people would hurriedly find another rationalisation to excuse their doing the same boring job. Probably the most common rationalisation would be that the job had suddenly become more interesting now that the pressure to be there had dissipated, now that you could afford to experiment with new arrangements and techniques without the fear that you would be dismissed *and the whole family's future would go down the plug hole with you*. Other people with their new found security would set out to do what they had always wanted to do. This does not mean the Gross National Product would plummet. It is in fact far more likely to rise once men and women were freed to exploit their own creativity. The go slow maintained on all production lines would no longer restrain the most productive workers once any advance in productivity was to be shared by the people collectively.

Capitalists have no faith in the responsibility of the average worker and many of us have got sucked into believing in the irresponsibility of our fellow workers. When the profits of our enterprise are squandered by the captains of industry there is no incentive to produce more than we must but if we were all to share from the product of our labours then each of us would contribute to the common wealth to the best of our ability.

At present there are 500,000 unemployed and another half a million underemployed. Many of these one million people are prevented from contributing productively to our economy by government regulations, for instance the unemployment benefit work test and income restrictions. The invalid, aged and widowed pensioners who would work at least some of the time if there were not as many financial disincentives to their obtaining employment. Unemployment Beneficiaries are not free to seek

work where they wish. The Employment Service cuts many off benefits who go to areas where the employment services thinks they won't find work. If all current beneficiaries of social welfare and social security were freed from the constraints which their receipt of benefits imposes on them and if there was a guaranteed minimum income then they would have a sense of security supporting their efforts to engage in productive work.

But there is an ideological position being constantly urged on us by government and industry which says that the unemployed are workshy and the employed avoid work unless a tight rein is kept on them. In 1974 the number of people registered as unemployed was in the order of 150,000. We were asked to believe that the majority of them were dole bludgers. Five years later we have 450,000 registered as unemployed and we are told the majority of them are dole bludgers. The act of retrenchment says something about management, a lot about the economy, but nothing about the man who is retrenched.

Yet we take inordinate delight in seeking out weaknesses in the man (the failure of the system is too complex or horrific for us to contemplate). We put our efforts into embroidering the pathologies of this ex-assembly line worker. We find that during the 10 years he worked for General Motors he was not obviously dissatisfied but that now he has become apathetic, directionless, poorly trained, embittered, hard to place, and so on.

It was Malcolm Fraser, on the 8th September 1974, in his capacity as shadow minister for Labour, commenting on the August unemployment figure of 126,000 who said "The tragedy of unemployment is the personal hardship involved: indeed the complete destruction of a family's living standards as jobs become harder to get. The government should consider closely the situation that **as** unemployment rises so too should unemployment benefits increase. This proposal rests on the principle that as it becomes harder to get **work**, so too should the compensation for those out of work be increased." Fraser is now the most infamous unemployed bashing Prime Minister in Australia's history. The ideology, which he expounds now demands a totally different reality from that suggested in his 8th September, 1974 press release. Since that date the Labor Government has been sacked, the economy has deteriorated, and unemployment is now the worst since the Depression, yet we are asked to believe that the problem is the product of the pathology of the workless.

Now my reactionary friends will claim that there is no evidence to support the suggestion put forward in this paper that the introduction of a guaranteed minimum income will increase productivity. They will argue that incentive will disappear, people will no longer be thrifty and the country will be bankrupted because no one will go to work.¹²

It is frequently suggested that the introduction of a form of guaranteed minimum income would result in members of indigenous minorities,

particularly those who have not been integrated into the work force, being even less inclined to seek employment.”

In Australia, of the 60,000–70,000 Aborigines of working age there is at least 50% unemployment amongst the men and 70% amongst the women. So even if every currently employed Aborigine stopped work it would not make an appreciable difference to the Gross National Product. But this would not happen. The reason for the scandalously high Aboriginal unemployment rate has nothing to do with Aborigines’ preparedness to work but is a product of white indifference and racist determination to ignore Aboriginal potential productivity. In Australia and America the level of Black unemployment is determined not by Blacks but by the economy’s capacity and capitalists’ willingness to employ. Aborigines have shown a preparedness to work which would not be seen elsewhere in Australia. They have been prepared to work at the unemployment rate which they would have been entitled to without work. This scheme (Community Development Employment Project of the Fraser Government has replaced earlier “training allowance” schemes which involved Aborigines working for about the equivalent of a welfare handout.¹⁴

CONCLUSION

This article is not intended as a blueprint for a socially just society, it is merely an attempt to get Australians to look beyond the current social welfare debates. Hopefully it may cause them to reflect upon the inhibiting self-justifying quagmire in which they wallow and to look at the possibilities of a fairer society in which men and women would not be bound by their current mental straight jackets.

We have seen that, even if liberal social scientists and left activists were successful in their attempts to introduce a guaranteed minimum income and in raising the consciousness of the workless, we would still be immersed in a social welfare system which had its relatively powerless recipients confronting powerful departments. Perhaps if we can conceive of a socially just society we have come some of the way towards its creation, for as Oglesby says, “As soon as the slave has defined himself as other than the slave he has defined himself as the rebel.”¹⁵

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TOWARDS A GUARANTEED ADEQUATE INCOME*

By Bob Pease

At the National Unemployed Peoples Convention the concept of a Guaranteed Minimum Income for all people was briefly discussed and voted upon. A majority came out in support of the concept but there was divided feeling within the movement about the strategic value of this demand. Some argued that a struggle around a guaranteed income is in contradiction to a struggle around jobs, and that such a struggle if won would decrease the militancy of the unemployed—that it accepts unemployment. Does a right to work strategy accept alienating work?

People must have the right to control their own lives. A guaranteed income is a demand for an adequate income for everyone and the right to reject the shitty jobs that the lowest paid section of the working class are forced into. As long as work = money = necessities, then it is necessary for people to undertake paid work. Buried beneath all arguments about duty to contribute to society, for most people work comes down to the fact that you have got to eat.

A campaign for a Guaranteed Minimum Income would diffuse the **work** ethic and attack the nuclear family dominated by the male adult. A Guaranteed Minimum Income would also provide greater support for the following current struggles:

- increases in benefits—because it is not based on a system of work incentives,
- an end to stringent means tests—ability to earn would be higher,
- abolishing the work test—benefits would not be dependent upon satisfying the criterion of ‘looking for work’—hence no dole cuts,
- unemployment benefits for married women—because each individual would constitute the income unit,
- no differences in the level of benefit,
- strength in fighting the dole bludger myth—acknowledgement of structural unemployment,
- an attack on the dole as charity—greater potential for benefits to be acknowledged as a right, because everyone gets it.

These would be the short term consequences. In the longer term the struggle would be to turn the Guaranteed Minimum Income into a Guaranteed Adequate Income.

A Guaranteed Adequate Income would seriously undermine the status of labour power—which is a commodity. **A** commodity is something which reinforces the market mechanisms—it stabilises capitalism. If workers could live well without working, one of the critical elements of capitalist social control (wage discipline) would be undermined.

* Originally published in *Link*, 1979.

The extent to which a guaranteed income becomes subversive is dependent upon its magnitude—for a Minimum Income is obviously going to be increasingly disproportionate to that of the dominant economic class. It won't greatly affect the class divisions in our society. Most of the redistribution that occurs would be intra-class redistribution, i.e. it would be paid for by the workers.

It is the way the Guaranteed Minimum Income is fought for that will be crucial for fundamental social change. It needs to be shown that the State is not a neutral entity that can be made better by the introduction of a G.M.I. but acts on behalf of well-defined and powerful interests. It will be important that many individuals and groups involved in such a campaign possess a vision of longer term aims so that tactical skirmishes can contribute towards them.

This strategy doesn't suggest that we shouldn't, at the same time, seek to expand the opportunities for people who want to work. Or struggle for a 30 hour week without loss of pay. Or else the right to work or not to work clearly established without economic pressure to work, which is what the demand for living incomes is all about.

Either way to discuss non-work and to neglect the nature of work is unrealistic. Likewise to discuss work without discussing things like housework, child care and community co-operatives etcetera, is to accept a capitalist and sexist definition of what counts as real work.

Thus a right to work strategy poses some problematic issues. One problem is that most workers are not contributing to society's needs. Many organised workers can no longer claim to be socially useful. However hard they work they are only capitalistically necessary to the system—for example workers involved in slum clearance, building luxury office blocks, expanding repression through the police and army, and polluting the environment, etc.

We must acknowledge that work can be alienating, socially unuseful, environmentally destructive, and poorly paid. Can we hope to mobilise people around jobs that they know from their experiences to be alienating and destructive?

We will not destroy the dole bludger myth by arguing that all people will accept any job, anywhere, anytime. Rather we will do it by:

- 1 illustrating the ideological use of this myth of blaming the victim,
- 2 illustrating the reasons why particular people in particular circumstances don't wish to undertake paid work.

So the right to work slogan needs to be changed to "The Right to Socially Useful Paid Work for Everyone Who Wishes It". This suggests that work can be both socially destructive and socially useful, paid and unpaid, and that people should have the right not to engage in paid work

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in specific circumstances. For example they should have the right to refuse jobs that are noxious, or dangerous, jobs that require them to move from their home town, jobs which involve unsatisfactory work conditions. And they should have the right to leave their present employment to look for another job.

An unemployed movement must question the whole nature of work in our society, not just batter the doors of the system for re-admittance on the treadmill of wage slavery.

UNDER GREAT STREET BRIDGE OR WHEN THE COPS DON'T MOVE US ON

Just pass me a bottle of that Seppelt's Sweet Solero
it's my passport to freedom and I'm going to drink it now.
My friends are waiting at my inner city residence
they're thirsty and they're waiting and we're going to drink it now.
Things are getting tough
times are getting rough
we've all seen better days
but that was long ago.
My best tan shoes are worn
my old grey coat is torn
there's nowhere we belong
we just get moved along
by every cop who doesn't understand.
I once had a woman
but we split up years ago.
I voted Malcolm Fraser
and put my trust in Joh.
I once had a friend
but that was long ago.
So now I put my faith
in Seppelt's Sweet Solero
and all of my prospects
are at my inner-city residence,
inner-city Brisbane coming down.