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Is Liberal Democracy a Contradiction?: A Study of Political Participation and Inequality in Australia During the 1960s and 1970s

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Is Liberal Democracy a Contradiction?: A study of political participation and inequality in Australia during the 1960s and 1970s.

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Declaration

I, Daniel Andrés Elias, certify that this thesis is entirely my own work. Furthermore, to the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signature:

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Abstract

The central concern of this thesis is the disconnect between the premise of democracy and economic realities. The first section of the thesis examines the essential components of a democratic political system by drawing upon political theorists of the past and present. From Aristotle to Robert Dahl the thesis gains an understanding of what democracy is, by identifying and isolating its essential mechanisms. The following section situates liberalism and its origins. Such a history is critical for within liberalism is the sum of many social norms, philosophies, laws, and culture in Australia. Combining political theory and the historical context of liberalism reveals several contradictory political ideals that do not match with economic and social reality. However, the mode of production and the political superstructure had effectively transformed by the 1960s and 1970s giving rise to a post-material humanitarian politics. The last sections of the thesis cover this unique moment in Australia. During this period democratic politics was being genuinely expressed. This was a time of increased political participation and decreasing inequality. What this period offers is an insight into when Australia was a healthy democracy, and identifies a time when economic realities were beginning to match the premise of democracy.

Table of Content

List of Figures

.

Abbreviations

ABS - Australian Bureau of Statistics

ACICD - Australian Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament

ACTU - Australian Council of Trade Unions

ALP - Australian Labor Party

APWU - Amalgamated Postal Workers Union

AWU - Australian Workers Union

BPPA - Black Panther Party of Australia

CANSA - Committee Against the National Service Act

CPA - Communist Party of Australia

CPV - Campaign for Peace in Vietnam

FCAATSI - Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders

ILO - International Labour Organisation

NAWU - Northern Australian Workers Union

NGO - Non-Governmental Organisation

NSW - New South Wales

OPEC - Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

PNG - Papua New Guinea

SAFA - Student Action For Aborigines

SOS - Save Our Sons

SUA - Seamen's Union of Australia

UAW - Union of Australian Women

UDHR - Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN - United Nations

USA - United States of America

VMC - Vietnam Moratorium Campaign

VTHC - Victorian Trades Hall Council

WEL - Women's Electoral Lobby

WWII - World War Two

Introduction

Liberal democracy is often criticised as a contradiction in terms, making a distinction between the political superstructure and the economic mode of production with the dichotomy justifying and reproducing one another. The political superstructure appears as a mirror to the economic mode of production. The distinction claims that a democracy cannot operate within a liberal framework. This is because liberalism presupposes the capitalist mode of production, which creates inequality. Whereas democracy presupposes equality and tends to promote policies that reflect that. Thus the two concepts of liberalism and democracy are contradictory.

However, after World War Two (WWII) there was a significant change in economic policy. Policies to promote the welfare of others became increasingly common. A form of economic security and an equitable distribution of wealth reached its peak in the 1960s and 1970s. This period saw an evolution of the political and economic; Australia's capitalist development incorporated a wide cross section of society. This development led to people having greater political bargaining power, for their labour became essential to Australia's continued economic growth. The humane values and aspirations of liberalism began to be universally applied, the political was no longer serving a narrow section of society.

To be clear, democratic reforms were not unheard of. The early women's and labour movement made political gains in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, it is the post-material humanitarian politics and mass political participation of the 1960s and 1970s that makes this period unique. In particular, the normalising of Asian relations, the move towards the equitable treatment of women, and the dramatic shift in Indigenous policy. The thesis then is a study of this development and seeks to understand two reciprocal questions: (1) how did worker security affect democracy vis-a-vis political participation, and (2) how did the corresponding equitable distribution of wealth influence public opinion? Policy demands were being made by minorities and were met; and this development saw a dramatic shift in the role of the state and its duties. These policy demands went beyond the historical bounds of what the state

usually addressed and began to address the social issues on the terms of those affected by it.

Research Question

How does worker security affect democracy vis-a-vis political participation, and how does the corresponding equitable distribution of wealth influence public opinion? In short, are societies more democratic with greater economic equality and security? Political theory would suggest so, as will be examined, yet within this exploration are many complications. Embedded within the question is an assumption that democracy and inequality are fixed states. They are, however, historically contingent. The assumption is questioned, and the origins of liberal democracy and inequality are explored to discern what the empirical evidence is from ideology. Examining these threads finds liberal democracy to have many internal contradictions. Thus, illuminating and clarifying an underlying dichotomy and tension of this thesis, democratic politics and the mode of production. Coming to the forefront of this study is an analysis of the combined bargaining power of the public and the transformative influence economic security and affluence had on public opinion. The research expands on democratic politics by exploring how political participation moved the bounds of government; shifting it beyond the economic and raising ethical issues for the government to address. With democratic politics operating beyond necessities of the mode of production, how did it function? The research reveals policy changing processes coming into conflict with an old political superstructure. In researching the 1960s and 1970s we find the most revealing answers to the thesis question; namely, that democracy can only flourish if an overwhelming number of people in a society play an essential role in the continued growth of the economy.

Purpose

There has been little written in Australia about the specific link between democracy and inequality. There is a wealth of academic literature that directly addresses issues such

as: inequality, participation, and democracy in Australia. However, there has not been an organisation of these themes into one text analysing Australian political history. European and American authors are leading the way in revising political theory in relation to economic inequality, and this thesis has begun to do the same for an Australian context. Previous research undertaken by Uslaner, Brown, Wilkinson, Pickett and many more, indicates that inequality directly influences people's capacity to participate in society.[1]

Furthermore, the thesis has identified three areas of underdeveloped Australian scholarship and expands upon it, albeit in a limited capacity. The first is scholarship on a historical materialist analysis of Australia. Such an approach to history has been lacking in recent decades. Scholarship on the positive social consequences of an equitable distribution of wealth also remains sparse in Australia. It is found in poverty and community services studies but these analyses occasionally overlook the political consequences of their findings. Within the thesis the outcomes of equitably shared wealth prove to be extremely consequential in the mood and direction of public opinion. Finally, there is little Australian scholarship about the social connections and networks of interest groups, and their capacity to influence politics. There are histories of individuals which mention their connection to multiple organisations, but rarely does research move towards its political potential. Despite the lack of scholarly research in this regard, the labour movement seems to behave by the axiom, 'In unity there is strength.'

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[1] Eric M. Uslaner & Mitchel Brown. "Inequality, trust, and civic engagement." *American Politics Research* 33, (2005): 868-894. doi.org/10.1177/1532673X04271903; Richard G. Wilkinson & Kate E. Pickett. "Income inequality and socioeconomic gradients in mortality." *American Journal of Public Health* 98, (2008): 699-704. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2007.109637; Martin Daly, Margo Wilson, and Shawn Vasdev. "Income inequality and homicide rates in Canada and United States." Canadian Journal of Criminology, (2011): 219-236. https://heinonline-org.ipacez.nd.edu.au/HOL/Page?lname=&handle=hein.journals/cjccj43&collection=&page=219&collection=journals.

Method

Unwrapping how economic realities affect democracy first requires an understanding of what democracy is. Hence the first chapter examines the political theory of democracy, and its constituent parts. Chapters one and two encompass the political superstructure of Australia, with chapter two taking a critical view of the most prevalent ideology, liberalism. It is sometimes called the 'ruling ideology', because it mirrors and justifies the capitalist mode of production. What is right and wrong, good and bad, falls within the purview of the ruling ideology. Chapters one and two situate the Australian liberal democracy for chapters three, four, and five.

Chapter three locates Australia in the mid twentieth century; analysing trade union membership, Australia's unemployment rate, Australia's GDP growth, tax receipts, immigration rate and population growth. This offers a quantitative picture of political bargaining power and economic inequality. The analysis of participation begins with trade unions, as it was the only accessible interest group that informs the public about their membership. Approaches were made to both the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and the Australian Liberal Party for data on their membership but both requests were declined. Further other interest groups discussed in the research have either dissolved or have been amalgamated into new organisations.

Chapter four unfolds via a historical reading of political participation in Australia. Assessing how the worker security and affluence outlined in chapter three affected Australian democracy with regards to political participation. Chapter five goes one step further and examines how three policy demands were met. The chapter digs into the minutiae of changing policy, gaining insight on how worker security and affluence impacts public opinion. The approach taken studies an exception to the rule. Teaching us how, for a brief moment, the contradiction of liberal democracy was nullified.

Historiographical Approach

The thesis adopts a historical materialist lens; that how a society organises and produces its needs for survival is the basic structure upon which the cultural superstructure is built. Literature, philosophy, religion, arts, culture, law and, especially, politics arise from the means of survival they are a reflection of the base structure of society. The base structure is known as the 'mode of production', and it is changes in the mode of production that can change the course of history. Material conditions come first, politics and laws come second, hence the dissection of the thesis question. An example of this dichotomy is the rapid expansion of women in the workforce; they had begun to operate within the mode of production, which in turn influenced the superstructure. The old cultural norms of women became redundant; the moralising that justified domestic life began to wither away. Tension grew between the superstructure of the mid twentieth century and the mode of production, a tension which had to be resolved. The thesis examines some of these resolutions.[2]

Within the resolution of these tensions the thesis encounters another material cause and effect; the influences an equitable distribution of wealth has on society. The demands on the superstructure had effectively transitioned away from the necessities of the mode of production, which gave rise to a government receptive towards post-material humanitarian issues. There was a sudden and wide embrace of human rights and of peace, separating this moment in time. It is a historical peculiarity, and one worthy of further consideration.

The thesis is not dogmatic in this materialist approach, but it is critical of some other historiographical approaches and, accordingly, does not utilise them. The life and actions of Gough Whitlam are an essential component to understanding this period, but 'great men' do not make history.[3] People make history, but they do not make it on their own terms. The Whig or liberal historiographical approach has its own issues too.

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[2] Note: For an abridged explanation of historical materialism see Appendix A.
[3] Thomas Carlyle. *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History.* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes & Brothers, 1888), retrieved online: February 28, 2020.

Believing that the world is moving towards greater enlightenment and liberty, the Whig tradition posits a utopian end to history.[4] As Francis Fukuyama infamously claimed, history ended when the Berlin Wall came down. But just as problematic as Whig utopianism is Marxist utopianism.[5] The thesis is informed by historical materialism, but the thesis does not seek to find a means to an end.[6]

Limitations

A full exploration of the questions posited would benefit from more quantitative research. The thesis therefore must postulate about the effects of political participation on policy outcomes. The quantitative data that is available allows us to see the number of unionised workers or the number of people unemployed, and thus begins to gain an understanding of people's political bargaining power. But the present data does not explain bargaining power perfectly. Additionally, the thesis itself is limited by economic and subjective constraints which are, for the writer, the absence of lived experience. The thesis cannot therefore speak on behalf of the issues and struggles lived by Indigenous Australians and of women but can only write in solidarity for their causes.

The thesis is also frustrated by the limitations of language, problems which can be best explained by semiotics;[7] that is the problem of what the *sign* (or word) is meant to communicate and what the sign *signifies*, its unintentional meaning, or synonym to the sign. The signified is not stated but remains present in the sign. Problems arise with describing political bargaining power, with power signifying multiple meanings which deteriorates the original communication of the sign. Additionally, language has the

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[4] Mary Spongberg and Clara Tuite. "Introduction: The Gender of Whig Historiography: Women Writers and Britain's Pasts and Presents." *Women's History Review* 20, no. 5 (2011): 673-687. doi:10.1080/09612025.2011.622522.
[5] Stuart Sim. *Derrida and the End of History*. (Cambridge: Icon Books, 1999).
[6] Note: It must be acknowledged that the concept of historical materialism is highly contested. A century and a half of scholarship has taken the concept and improved it, however within this tradition divergences on interpretation have occurred. For reasons of brevity the thesis does not delve in these debates. See also G. A. Cohen. *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defence*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1978); Paula Casal. "G. A. Cohen's Historical Materialism: A Feminist Critique." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 25, no. 3 (2020): 316-333.
[7] Susan Petrilli and Augusto Ponzio. *Semiotics Unbounded: Interpretive Routes through the Open Network of Signs*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

inability to convey perfect meaning. Stating, for example, that there was a lack of inequality does not mean there was not inequality. Stating that people participated in politics does not mean all people, even though many people did. Language is limited and terms are contested, therefore the aberrations language conjures must be considered.

Notably, adopting historical materialism poses the danger of falling into dogmatic and mechanical thinking. Indeed, it may appear so in this thesis, but that is not its intention. It is a way of understanding, but it is not gospel. The dialectical approach of superstructure and mode of production yields more questions about society and its history. It begins to disentangle historical narratives, their cause and effect. Within such a foundation of historical analysis one can begin to deconstruct in detail the totalising terminology of the mode of production and superstructure. By analysing, for example, serial data on wages, tax returns, literacy rates, or health data, those constituent elements of a society's base; one can begin to understand the superstructure its policy responses, laws, politics, and cultural norms. Limited by the scope of this study, the thesis only begins to outline a dialectical approach to Australian political history. An expansion of this short study would utilise more quantitative data.

The scope of this research is necessarily constrained by the limitations inherent in a Masters' level thesis. To this end, the thesis is a step for further research in Australian political and economic history, political participation and inequality. The potential for the research to become atomised is probable. An effective expansion of this research would be to examine another period of Australian political history, applying similar methods and expanding upon the present quantitative research. Such a comparative historical analysis approach allows the reader to determine what historical patterns are repeating and what is unique to the period.

Situating Australian Politics

By the 1960s Australia had experienced both turmoil and tranquillity. The Commonwealth of Australia had only become federated in 1901, yet the constitution reflected a highly divided society. *Terra Nullius,* translated as no man's land, was enshrined into the constitution of the new colonial federation, and from the onset of the nation the White Australia Policy was law.[8] These statutes and regulations represented a highly racialised country, with the former acting as a *post hoc* justification for colonising Australia, and the latter representing the darker history of the labour movement in the goldfields.

These goldfields, found scattered throughout the nineteenth century in the states of Victoria, New South Wales, Tasmania and Western Australia, gave rise to an early expression of democratic politics. The gold rapidly expanded the size and wealth of the Australian colonies. Which in turn gave rise to an affluent and educated middle class dominated by white men. These men were becoming essential to the continued growth of the colonies.[9] Seeping into this environment were political ideas conservative, liberal, and radical. A Victorian colonial protest of miners ended in the famous Eureka Stockade in 1854.[10] The political demands of the miners echoed those embedded in the American Declaration of Independence. Although the rebellion ended in the bloodshed of the miners it only helped the move to self-government. The writers of the Victorian colonial parliament widened the franchise and full manhood suffrage was granted for the lower house of the new parliament.[11]

The enacting of democratic politics, however, was very different from colony to colony throughout Australia. For women, the franchise would not come for another forty

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[8] Ann Curthoys and Jessie Mitchelle. "The Advent of Self-Government," in Vol 1. *The Cambridge History of Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre. (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 161.
[9] David Goodman. "The Gold Rushes of the 1850s," in Vol 1. *The Cambridge History of Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre. (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 170-188.
[10] Ibid, 177-179.
[11] Goodman. "The Gold Rushes of the 1850s," in Vol 1. *The Cambridge History of Australia*, (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pg. 177-179.

years. First in South Australia in 1894, followed in Western Australia in 1899 and then finally the federal government passed universal female suffrage in 1902 (with the caveats that excluded Indigenous Australians, Africans, and Asians).[12] The early Australian feminists had hoped that with gaining the vote, their grievances would be heard by politicians. They argued not only for full citizenship rights but for other legal rights. These early feminists focussed their energy on the legal status of marriage, for the definition of women to go beyond the consideration of 'sex creature'.[13] Many of the early feminist grievances would go largely unanswered until the 1970s. But first Australia would plunge into two world wars, and a Great Depression.

The turmoil of the two wars and depression transformed the institution of the state. With Japan at the doorstep of Australia, the federal government reorganised to have far reaching powers to conduct a total war. This had a lasting effect on the administration of the state, introducing it to new roles.[14] After the war, Prime Minister Ben Chifley won a referendum to expand the powers of the government further to legislate for Social Services. This resulted in the state being mobilised to pay for pharmaceuticals.[15] Keynesian economic management became the norm, and post-war labour scarcity led to full employment. After Chifley, came Prime Minister Robert Menzies, and what some consider to be the 'dull 1950s', or what others call the 'decade of the suburban dream'. Far from dull, the Menzies era had many flashpoints, some will be covered in later chapters. For the political left, the 1950s was a decade spent in exile, either by miscalculation on their behalf or because of cunning political manoeuvring by the Menzies Coalition Government.[16] By the 1970s though, the

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[12] Melissa Bellanta. "Rethinking the 1890s," in Vol 1. *The Cambridge History of Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre. (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 220; Katie Holmes and Sarah Pinto. "Gender and Sexuality," in Vol 2. *The Cambridge History of Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre. (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 308.
[13] Melissa Bellanta. "Rethinking the 1890s," in Vol 1. *The Cambridge History of Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre. (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 220.
[14] Kate Darian-Smith "World War 2 and post-war reconstruction, 1939-49," in Vol 2. *The Cambridge History of Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre. (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 88-100.
[15] Ibid, 106-111.
[16] Judith Brett. "The Menzies era, 1950-66," in Vol 2. *The Cambridge History of Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre. (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 112-133.

cohesion of the political conservatives had fractured, and the fractured political left had coalesced behind the peace, women's, and Indigenous movements respectively.

The Composition of Power

Australian Federalism is the legal foundation upon which this history is told. The colonial governments of the future Australian nation maintained a high degree of co-operation and animosity towards one another. The Federal Council of Australasia, established in 1885, was the forerunner to the Commonwealth of Australia.[17] However its powers were limited, the Council could legislate on commercial matters, tariff agreements between states, and the regulation of fisheries but they were unable to raise taxes.[18] Once the example of colonial cooperation was set, it became viable for the colonies to become state jurisdictions, and to federalise under one constitution. This new polity was to supersede the colonial parliaments which were sporadically formed throughout the nineteenth century.[19] The Constitutional Conventions, held three times from 1897-1898, debated and drafted the constitution of Australia. The labour movement did not participate in this process, as Fin Crisp recognized, "The federation issue was being rushed to a decision just ten or fifteen years too soon for labour."[20] However, their entry into the political sphere before 1901 foreshadowed a political culture of democratic participatory politics.

The Australian Federal Parliament is often hailed for its early experiments with democracy, their states set the precedents, and the federal government was to follow.[21] However, this new level of government had to be, "…more cautious, more conservative,

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[17] G.H. Knibbs. *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia: Containing Authoritative Statistic for the Period 1901-1908 and Corrected Statistics for the Period 1788 to 1900.* (Melbourne: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1908), 44-45; Note: Colonial New South Wales was the only colony to have not joined the Federal Council.

[18] Leslie Finlay (Fin) Crisp*. Australian National Government.* (Melbourne: Longman, 1975), 5.

[19] Beverley Kingston. *The Oxford History of Australia: Volume 3 1860-1900.* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988), 256.

[20] Ibid, 256.

[21] Melissa Bellanta. "Rethinking the 1890s," in Vol 1. The Cambridge History of Australia, ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre. (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 220; Katie Holmes and Sarah Pinto. "Gender and Sexuality," in Vol 2. The Cambridge History of Australia, ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre. (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 308.

and more class conscious…"[22] in both directions: the wealthy Australian elite had begun to coalesce against the emerging labour movement, which itself was weary of the paternalistic colonial society they came from.[23] The constitution was rigid and absent of any high minded political rights, comparable to the US Bill of Rights, but the Australian Labor Party sought to change that through referendums. Overcoming the required double majority would prove to be difficult though.[24] An ambitious set of fourteen amendments in the form of the Post-War Reconstruction and Democratic Rights referendum failed to be passed under John Curtin's Government in 1944, with the Liberal Party Opposition painting the potential 'Democratic Rights' as a form of totalitarianism.[25] Not deterred, Chifley's aforementioned referendum to legislate for Social Services passed in 1946, paving the way for universal health care and other welfare benefits.[26] The Australian Federation would have forty-four referendums, but only eight would gain a double majority.[27]

Conflicts between states' rights and the superseding rights of the federal government were to arise not only in parliament, but also in the High Court. Pushback came when the Commonwealth legislated on fiscal matters. The extreme circumstances WWII brought onto the federal government demanded that they raised income tax exclusively. Before 1942 there were state and federal income taxes, but the Commonwealth's *Income Tax Act of 1942* was to change that.[28] The tax was to levy enough money for the war, and to subsequently reimburse state governments through the *State Grants Act of 1942.*[29] These acts were passed on the authority of Section 51(ii) of the Australian Constitution, but were challenged in the High Court by the state

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[22] Kingston. *The Oxford History of Australia: Volume 3 1860-1900.* 256.
[23] Ibid, 256-257.
[24] Note: A double majority is where a referendum must have the majority of votes in all states. If a majority of the nation votes in favor of a referendum but a single state does not, then the referendum would not pass. See also *The Australian Constitution, s128.*
[25] Crisp. *Australian National Government.* 47; "The Referendum: Socialisation if Carried." *The Canberra Times,* July 25, 1944, pg. 3.
[26] Kate Darian-Smith. "World War 2 and post-war reconstruction, 1939-49," in Vol 2. *The Cambridge History of Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre. (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 88-100.
[27] "Constitutional referendums: 1901-1999." *Australian Electoral Commission,* retrieved: June 21, 2020.
[28] South Australia v Commonwealth, 65 CLR 373 (1942).
[29] Ibid.

governments of South Australia, Victoria, Queensland and Western Australia. The High Court case, known as the first Uniform Tax Case, ruled in favour of the federal government citing sections 51(ii) and 96.[30] This in turn has led to the infamous vertical-fiscal imbalance, where the federal government raises more money than it needs; and, where state governments are unable to raise the money they need. Thus state governments require grants from the federal government to run their administrations.[31]

Further complicating the Australian Federation is the distribution of the population, which results in an uneven distribution of money raised from taxation. States with large populations yield a larger return on tax, this leads to debates on the appropriate allocation of funds to respective state governments.[32] The fiscal debate is reflective of the power debate. It is the same problem expressed in a different manner, a mismatch of the population to power ratio in the Senate; with a manner of apprehension emanating from the states of Victoria and New South Wales (NSW) because they must share equal power with the state of Tasmania, a polity with a much smaller population.[33] But the composition of power and the balance thereof is a difficult issue to manage. Constitutions are composed by a logic of mutual benefit and compromise and the Australian Federal Constitution is no different.[34]

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[30] Ibid.

[31] Note: This becomes problematic when state governments are from the opposing political party in the federal government, resulting in an unhelpful politicking from both parties.

[32] Richard Eccleston. "Righting Australia's Vertical Fiscal Imbalance: Transferring Public Hospital Funding as an Option for Reform." *Agenda* 15, No. 3, (2008): 39-51. <https://search-informit-com-au.ipacez.nd.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=935443409604042;res=IELHSS>

[33] Graham Maddox. *Australian Democracy: In Theory and Practise.* (Sydney: Pearson, Education Australia, 2005), 175-188.

[34] Alan Fenna. "Centralising Dynamics in Australian Federalism." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 56, no. 4 (2012): 584. doi-10.1111/j.1467-8497.2012.01654.x

Chapter 1

Surveying Political Theory

States are historically constituted by conflict and alliances which arise from the social divisions within society.[35]

Nickie Charles

In examining the literature on democracy, political participation, and political apathy the following chapter creates a foundation of knowledge which informs the thesis. In exploring democratic political theory, the chapter contends with complications that push and pull at the political system, encountering the pressure that the capitalist mode of production exerts. These pressures can be both a positive and a negative. In positive terms, if policy is geared to an equitable distribution of wealth and worker security, then there are profoundly positive social effects, which will be discussed in later chapters. In negative terms, many argue that modern democracy is broken because of capitalism, which is to be discussed presently.

What will not be examined at any length is an aspect of a democratic society; the judicial branch. It can be either an avenue for reform, or a barrier to it. The work of Eddie Mabo to overturn *Terra Nullius* is testament to the potential of judicial activism.[36] Despite the potential to enact change through the courts, there are two counter prevailing trends in Australia. The first being structural, the other being cultural. Structurally the courts are difficult to navigate, a person would have to be well versed in Australian law, or be able to hire someone who is. Tanya Josev explains that culturally Australia does not have the same tendency for judicial activism, like comparable countries such as the US.[37] Although this cultural trend is changing in Australia, the structural bias still acts as a significant barrier to judicial activism. To explore this

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[35] Nickie Charles. *Feminism, The State and Social Policy.* (London: MacMillan Press, 2000), 55.
[36] Note: The Mabo decision was monumental to the foundation of land law. By overturning *terra nullius,* the recognition of native title was inserted into Australian law; Peter Russell. *Recognising Aboriginal Title: the Mabo case and indigenous resistance to English-settler colonialism.* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2006), 444-460.
[37] Tanya Josev. *The Campaign Against the Courts.* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2017), 84-113.

subject further would be expanding beyond the bounds of this thesis, nevertheless research on the judiciary remains valuable.

Democratic Theory and Society

Literature on the origins of democracy is extensive, however within the literature there appears very little disagreement. Historically, democracies rarely last for a long period of time, as they are usually produced by a unique set of social and economic circumstances.[38] As Freeman and Quinn point out, such instances of an emerging class are few, but they are generally regarded as the rise in a middle class or an affluent class separate from a ruling aristocracy or oligarchy.[39] The emerging class desire influence in public affairs to maintain and expand their new economic status. These political changes tend to express themselves as reforms or violent revolutions. What is common amongst all democracies, though, is the 'logic of equality'.[40] Which is to say, if people are of equal economic necessity, then equal political rights tend to follow. Such political and economic conditions lead to positive social and material consequences. The expression of this would, theoretically, be people treating each other as equally deserving of time and energy.[41] Robert Dahl observed the six interconnected preconditions of democracy. They include effective participation, equality in voting, gaining enlightened understanding, exercising control of the agenda, universal adult suffrage, and equality.[42] Thus democracy requires a variety of interconnected mechanisms which individually do not create a democracy, but together do.[43]

John Plamenatz argued that the democratic process is not only the electoral process. Rather it is also interest groups applying pressure to political parties, making

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[38] Robert Dahl. *On Democracy.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 23.

[39] John Freeman and Dennis Quinn. "The Economic Origins of Democracy Reconsidered." *The Political Science Review* 106, no. 1 (2012): 58-80. www.jstor.org/stable/23275363.

[40] Dahl. *On Democracy.* 25.

[41] John Lynch, et al. "Income inequality and mortality: Importance of health of individual income, psychosocial environment, or material conditions." *British Medical Journal* 320, (2000): 1200-1203. Doi: 10.1136/bmj.320.7243.1200.

[42] Dahl. *On Democracy.* 58.

[43] Ibid, 58.

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their policy demands heard before, during, and after elections.[44] The more freedoms granted to associate, the more democratic a society becomes. Once associations are formed, they can function on the principles Plamenatz set out, applying pressure to the political parties and stakeholders in order to gain favourable policy outcomes. Gaining an enlightened understanding through the freedom of the press, allows the population to understand the political issues of the day, and become informed voters and participants during an election. As a tenet of a democratic society, freedom of the press as a democratising force appears to be a self-evident claim. C. Edwin Baker remarks on it by stating that the press mechanism should expose "corruption or incompetence" and that "exposure is at least part of the remedy…"[45] In so doing the public will theoretically demonstrate their disapproval on the streets or at the ballot box. Government is then forced into a position of self-regulation so as to win elections and retain power.[46] Julianne Schultz notes the idealisation of the free press as a 'watchdog' to a democratic society. She acknowledges the negative direction the press has moved in recent years, with a reduction of readership and diversity of views via media monopolies.[47] She argues for further scholarly work to understand how the free press actually affects a democratic society.[48] Journalism during the Vietnam War can be argued to have operated as Baker suggests but Schultz is correct in urging further research, for it is unclear why precisely it persuaded a large section of the public against the war. Christopher J. Schroll believes an active population ought to engage with the press to maintain a democratic society.[49] Such an assumption is similar to Baker's, but both are idealising the press, press readership and are overlooking the narrowing of the public debate.

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[44] John Plamenatz. "Electoral Studies and Democratic Theory: A British View." *Political Studies* 6, no. 1 (1958): 9.
[45] C. Edwin Baker. *Media, Markets, and Democracy.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 133.
[46] Baker. *Media, Markets, and Democracy.* 132.
[47] Julianne Schultz. *Reviving the Fourth Estate.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 47-58.
[48] Ibid, 230-238.
[49] Christopher Schroll. "Theorizing the Flip Side of Civic Journalism: Democratic Citizenship and Ethical Readership." *Communication Theory* 9, no. 3 (1999): 323. doi-org.ipacez.nd.edu.au/10.1111/j.1468-2885.1999.tb00173.x

Democratic theory suggests the empowerment of citizens is found in the ballot box. Indeed, an important aspect of a democratic society is the recall of politicians if the population wills it.[50] From Aristotle to Rousseau the idea of the collective 'general will' is that it could be enacted through voting and participation.[51] Embedded within this theory is the assumption that the individual is a rational self-interested actor equal in capacity to participate. However, peoples' opinions are malleable and political interests are constantly trying to persuade the public to one opinion or another.[52] Martin Gilens points out that democratic theory often assumes a large, and ever present, middle class.[53] This becomes problematic as it assumes a timelessness to democracy which is far from reality. Kenneth Arrow argues that by assuming the omnipresent middle class, theorists are putting aside the historical, social and economic context that gives rise to such a middle class.[54] Within some theoretical works there a large amount of idealism, especially prominent amongst enlightenment thinkers. But with time comes more data and idealism gives way to a modern analysis of democracy.

Modern Democracy to Biased Democracy

Defining modern democracy requires a move away from the idea of the collective's general will, to what is sometimes called a 'polyarchy' or 'pluralist democracy'.[55] In short, it is defined by elite groups forming coalitions in order to govern, who are voted for every couple of years. Dahl coined the term and argues that a government can maintain legitimacy regardless of non-elites' participation. The low voter turnout of the United States of America (USA) is his main example, asserting that it does not undermine the legitimacy of the elected government. Dahl's polyarchy falters though, when contrasted with Australian democracy where there is universal compulsory voting.

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[50] Alexis de Tocqueville. *Democracy in America.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 248.
[51] Aristotle. *The Politics, 83;* John Locke. *Two Treatises of Government.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 71*; Jean-Jacques Rousseau. *Of The Social Contract and Other Political Writings.* (New York: Penguin Classics, 2012), 26-62.
[52] Anthony Downs. *An Economic Theory of Democracy.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), 63.
[53] Martin Gilens. *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America.* (New York: Princeton University Press), 72.
[54] Kenneth J. Arrow. *Social Choice and Individual Values*. Ed. 2. (New York: Wiley, 1963), 214.
[55] Dahl. *On Democracy.* 98.

Legitimacy thus becomes an ambiguous term, for in an Australian context a legitimate state or federal government is one under compulsory voting laws. Jeffery Berry clarifies elite groups as interest groups that include political parties, businesses, industry lobbies, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO), and trade unions.[56] David B. Truman's puts forward the idea of 'interest group struggle', and assumes that interest groups converge over the middle-ground on policy issues to gain support from a majority of the population.[57] Charles Lindblom takes issue with this idea, and criticises the assumption within Truman's theory that interest groups have equal capacity to influence government. As he points out, such a struggle omits economic capability, which can better predict policy outcomes.[58] For example, the well-resourced Chamber of Commerce may have superior lobbying influence over an under-resourced NGO.[59] Truman fails to recognise the reciprocal nature of economic necessity and capacity over the political body.[60]

Analysing historical, social, and economic contexts, considers the material conditions of a democratic society and offers a more critical perspective with findings that suggest modern democracy is biased to the wealthy.[61] Detailed work by G. William Domhoff demonstrated how economic elites utilise their economic resources to direct political discussion through an 'opinion-shaping apparatus.'[62] The function of the apparatus is found through foundations, think tanks, lobbying, media monopolies, and the flow of donations towards political parties. Significantly C. Wright Mills, Lindblom and others, have given rise to the term 'civil oligarchy', which is the recognition that within civil society there can exist a hierarchy of influence, with corporate interest at the

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[56] Jeffrey M. Berry. *The New Liberalism: The Rising Power of Citizen Groups.* (Washington: Brookings, 1999), 41.

[57] David B. Truman. *The Governmental Process.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 59.

[58] Charles Lindblom. *Politics and Markets.* (New York: Basic, 1977), 164.

[59] Gilens. *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America.* 83.

[60] Mancur Olson. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 58; Eric Uslaner & Mitchell Brown. "Inequality, Trust, and Civic Engagement." *American Politics Research* 31, no. 10 (2003): 872.

[61] Robert Michels. *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy.* (Kitchener: Batoche Books, 1911), 28.

[62] G. William Domhoff. *Who Rules America: The Triumph of the Corporate Rich.* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2013), 30-85.

top.[63] A materialist understanding of democracy views economic elites as exerting the most influence on policy outcomes.[64] Indeed, Gilens and Lindblom, separately, demonstrate that analysing democracy through an economic lens tends to predict policy outcomes.[65]

Participation and Political Reception

An essential component to democracy is political participation; as Rousseau argues, participation in civil society is a method by which to enact the general will of the population.[66] Carole Pateman asserts that citizens need to participate in civil society to have their needs met.[67] Political theorists, such as Noam Chomsky, Mancur Olson and others, argue that organised labour is the best counter balance to the influence of economic elites.[68] They cite the participation of trade unions in civil society as being the best advocates for the interests of the middle and working class. In keeping all classes involved in the political process it ensures a healthy democracy. [69] Indeed, for many in the working and middle class to have their interests met by the state, collective action is required through freely associated groups such as trade unions or NGOs.[70] Alarmingly, programmes for participation are becoming market-based. Brian Head's paper on Australian participation is indicative of the market orientation; to participate, he notes, individuals or organisations must be in 'contractual transactions', and manage NGOs

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[63] C. Wright Mills. *The Power Elite.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 265.

[64] E.E. Schattschneider. *The Semi-Sovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America.* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), 283.

[65] Lindblom. *Politics and Markets.* 164; Gilens. *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America.* 83.

[66] Rousseau. *Of The Social Contract and Other Political Writings.* 26-62, 122-125.

[67] Carole Pateman. *Participation and Democratic Theory.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 40.

[68] Mancur Olson. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965); Noam Chomsky. *Requiem for the American Dream.* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2016).

[69] Ralph Miliband. *The State in Capitalist Society.* New York: Basic, 1969; George J. Stigler. "The Theory of Economic Regulation." *The Bell Journal of Economics and Management Science* 2, no. 1 (1971): 3–21. doi:10.2307/3003160.

[70] Ibid, 128; Noam Chomsky. *Requiem for the American Dream.* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2016), 87.

with 'market efficiency'.[71] This is a significant shift away from the abstract Rousseau-styled public civil society to participate in, to a semi-private market-orientated civil society. The shift is also noteworthy because it only allows for the participation of people with significant capital.[72] Here the capacity to participate is constricted and the views expressed towards the state come from a narrow section of society.

The way the state is responsive to mass social movements is not deeply understood. Matthew B. Platt created a model in which to analyse how the government becomes more receptive to political participation. He looked at a wide scope of variables, considering social, political, and economic conditions.[73] The 'social' refers to the social climate of the time, asking if society is more progressive or conservative, studying demographics and public opinion. The 'political' refers to the networks of an interest group, their allies in state and in political parties. The 'economic', although largely skirted over by the author, is ostensibly taken to mean the consideration for one's material ability to effectively participate, via education and income. The ideas put forward by Platt demonstrate the importance of seizing the opportunity. As he states, "…political opportunities shape policy-motivated activism, but that activism does not necessarily yield policy results."[74] The activism of the 1960s and early 1970s in Australia mirrors Platt's assertion, where the economic conditions facilitated the social conditions upon which the political opportunities to reform the state became apparent. The highly theoretical work by Austen-Smith and Wright posits that participation, specifically high participation through rallies and the like, act as a signal operator for policymakers.[75] That is, if there is popular effort and participation against, or for, a policy, then policy makers would legislate accordingly. However, there is little convincing quantitative data to support their claims.[76]

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[71] Brian W. Head. "Australian Experience: Civic Engagement as Symbol and Substance." *Public Administration and Development* 31, (2011): 110-112.

[72] Kay Lehman Schlozman, et al. *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 251.

[73] Matthew Platt. "Participation for What?: A Policy-Motivated Approach to Political Activism." *Political Behaviour* 30, no. 3 (2008): 391-413. www.jstor.org/stable/40213323.

[74] Ibid, 399.

[75] David Austen-Smith & John R. Wright "Counteractive lobbying." *American Journal of Political Science*, no. 38 (1994): 25-44. doi:10.2307/2111334.

[76] Austen-Smith & Wright. "Counteractive lobbying." 83.

Post-Material Politics

Post-materialist politics was a concept first coined by Ronald Inglehart in the early 1970s.[77] He defined such politics as, "[an] emphasis on belonging, self-expression and the quality of life."[78] His theory is informed by Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, the basic needs of sustenance and safety is at the bottom, and once satisfied, higher order priorities can be pursued.[79] Extensive survey data was produced by Inglewood and others which led him to conclude, "…post-war affluence led to an intergenerational shift from Materialist to Post-Materialist values among Western publics…",[80] he further analysed and noted a decline in post-materialist values after the 1973 oil crisis. The post-WWII environment maintained economic certainty up to the mid-1970s, thereby allowing the baby boomer generation to be socialised in an environment where basic needs were satisfied and higher order needs/post-material issues could be pursued. His sweeping conclusion is backed by longitudinal surveys of twelve western industrialised nations, as well as a study of the political attitudes of the Japanese public from 1945 to the late 1970s.[81] Two other conclusions came from his research: increased prosperity led to an increase in political participation; and, the idealism of youth does not dissipate as a generation gets older. [82] The latter implication is complex:

> *…there is a sizeable time lag between economic changes and their political effects. Ten or fifteen years after an era of prosperity began, the age cohorts that had spent their formative years in prosperity would begin to enter the electorate. Ten more years might pass before these groups began to occupy positions of power and influence in their society; perhaps another decade would pass before they reached the level of top decision makers.[83]*

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[77] Ronald Inglehart. "The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies." *American Political Science Review* 65, (1971): 991-1017. www.jstor.org/stable/1953494
[78] Ronald Inglehart. "Post-Materialism in an Environment of Insecurity." *American Political Science Review* 75, no. 4 (1981): 880. www.jstor.org/stable/1962290
[79] A. H. Maslow. "A Theory of Human Motivation." *Psychological Review*, no. 50 (1943): 370-396. http://www.researchhistory.org/2012/06/16/maslows-hierarchy-of-needs/
[80] Inglehart. "Post-Materialism in an Environment of Insecurity." 880.
[81] Ibid, 883.
[82] Ibid, 883.
[83] Ibid, 882.

Indeed, Inglehart and his peers are grappling with vast socio-economic and cultural trends, which have complicating implications.

One such implication comes from the claim that post-WWII prosperity had a direct correlation with an increase in post-material politics, and such politics cuts across class based politics. As Inglehart states, "On the [post-materialist] anti-nuclear side one finds intellectuals, some socialists – and much of the upper middle class. On the [materialist] pronuclear one finds big business – and the AFL-CIO [US Trade Unions]."[84] This post-materialist versus materialist divide is reflective of the Labor Party's contemporary crisis of identity. Labor was a party founded with working class consciousness but had supposedly moved away from its base with the reforms of Treasurer, and then Prime Minister, Paul Keating.[85] Analysis of the socio-economic voting patterns in Australia hint to this polarisation as well. This is most acutely expressed in the State of Queensland, with Labor's traditional working class base moving their support towards the conservative Liberal Party and One Nation.[86] Chapters three, four, and five are reflective of the hypothesis put forward by Inglehart, yet as other scholars have noted, policy makers would prefer the consent of the public but not their input.

Apathy, De-politicisation, and Alienation

There is evidence to suggest that the public is discouraged from engaging in the political process. Claus Offe points out that governments actively attempt to de-politicise the policy making process, thereby attempting to bypass public opinion.[87] The attempt to de-politicise policy is indicative of states' increasingly technocratic approach to

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84 Inglehart. "Post-Materialism in an Environment of Insecurity." 896-897.
85 Nick Dyrenfurth and Frank Bongiorno. *A Little History of the Australian Labor Party.* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2011), 163-165.
86 Ibid, 164-165; Sarah Cameron & Ian McAllister. *Trends in Australian Political Opinion: Results from the Australian Election Study 1987-2019.* (Canberra: ANU, 2019); Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris. "Trump and the Populist Authoritarian Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse." *American Political Science Association* 15, no. 2 (2017): 443-454. doi:10.1017/S1537592717000111; Note: Inglehart and Norris have noted similar political divergences in many industrialised western states.
87 Claus Offe. "Governance: An "Empty Signifier?" *Constellations* 16, no. 4 (2009): 559. doi-org.ipacez.nd.edu.au/10.1111/j.1467-8675.2009.00570.x

governance, a trend which was accelerated during the neoliberal era. This is quite contrary to the embedded assumption within liberal theory of the rational self-interested actor who participates to influence policy. Studies of behavioural psychology, however, indicate that humans can be rather irrational and open to manipulation.[88] The political consequence of such manipulations has been thoroughly utilised by the state and the private sector. Further, the notion that humans are rather manipulable is not part of popular consciousness, as Daniel Kahneman demonstrates this quite succinctly in *Thinking, Fast and Slow*.[89]

However, the very fact humans can behave irrationally was the starting premise for those who utilised the opinion-shaping apparatus nearly a hundred years before Kahneman's publication. Walter Lippman and Edward Bernays, amongst others, openly discuss how to utilise such irrationality and manipulation.[90] They argue, in general terms, that the public ought to be spectators, not participants in the political system. Lippman and Bernays, separately, were the founding thinkers behind the Public Relation (PR) system, which the Australian public and private sectors embraced.[91] Predominantly utilised as a recruiting method in WWII, the continued use of PR for political ends still existed long after the war. Lippman argues, "The public must be put in its place… so that each of us [in the upper class] may live free of the trampling and the roar of the bewildered herd."[92] He goes on to argue that the marginalisation of the bewildered herd via the PR system is a service to democracy.[93]

In Australia, Kate Fitch wrote, "…the conservative Australian Liberal Party benefited from a sophisticated public relations machine…",[94] the key financial supporters for the PR machine were media magnate Sir Keith Murdoch and the influential financier W.S. Robinson. These financial supporters spoke of the Australian

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[88] Michael Sandel. *What Money Can't Buy: The Moral Limits of Markets.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 25.

[89] Daniel Kahneman. *Thinking, Fast and Slow.* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), 73.

[90] Edward Bernays. *Propaganda.* (New York: Horace Liveright Inc., 1928), 9-19.

[91] Walter Lippmann. *Public Opinion.* (New York, W.W. Norton, 1921), 128; Bernays. *Propaganda.* 135.

[92] Lippmann. *Public Opinion.* 103-105.

[93] Ibid, 105-109.

[94] Kate Fitch. "Rethinking Australian public relations history in the mid-20th century." *Media International Australia* 160, no. 1 (2016): 14. doi.org/10.1177/1329878X16651135.

population in much the same tone as Lippman.[95] Methodical work by Herman and Chomsky has demonstrated how economic elites use their monopoly of the media to shape and frame political debates. They write, "[The media] serve to mobilize support for the special interest that dominate the state and [their] private activity…"[96] Research done by A. Michal McMahon found that efforts to divert the energy of a population to consumerism, rather than political participation, had been worked on since the 1900s with the formulation of society with a, "…concept of man as non-rational, whose desires and aspirations could be manipulated for the good of economic stability…"[97] Such a conception of a society envisions political and economic stability via consumerism, with an irrational person being diverted by the pursuit of material goods, rather than political goals.

Guy Debord writes of the spectacle of modern politics, and the resulting apathy and alienation in modern societies. As he wrote, "…the practical power of modern society has detached itself from [its point of origin], and established itself in the spectacle [of modern society] …"[98] People's alienation from society and politics is expressed in Debord's *Thesis 23*, where he cites the increasingly specialised centres of power detached from any society.[99] It is the rise of multinational corporations, with their centres of power increasingly decentralised; supplying goods and services detached from their original point of production.[100] Debord's observations are a description of late capitalist societies pivoting towards the neoliberal era, the process of globalisation. Ernest Mandel expanded on the notion of the late capitalist society, noting that real political bargaining power no longer resides in people. Rather it resides with

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[95] Bridget Griffen-Foley. "Political opinion polling and the professionalisation of public relations: Keith Murdoch, Robert Menzies, and the Liberal Party of Australia." *Australian Journalism Review* 24, no. 1 (2002): 41-59. search-informit-com-au.ipacez.nd.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=200207162;res=IELAPA.

[96] Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky. *Manufacturing Consent.* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002), 13.

[97] Michal McMahon. "An American Courtship: Psychologist and advertising theory in the progressive era." *American Studies* 13, no. 2 (1972): 7. jstor.org/stable/40641073.

[98] Guy Debord. *Society of the Spectacle.* (Detroit: Black & Red Publishers, 2002), 18.

[99] Debord. *Society of the Spectacle.* 19.

[100] David Harvey. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* (London: Oxford University Press, 2005), 12; Harvey. *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism.* 131.

international finance, multinational corporations, and mass telecommunication.[101] The absence of individual political bargaining power in the neoliberal era blunts the political concerns of many. The influence of multi-national corporate entities undermines the democratic norms of the people as 'sovereign', the ultimate authority within a democratic government.[102] The shifting power balance is reflective of Bernays and Lippman's desire for the public to be spectators of the political system.

The complexity of modern society is a major contributor to the process of de-politicisation. Flinders and Buller argue that from the neoliberal era onwards there has been a clear trend towards it.[103] They point out an intricate series of patterns, which increased in their intensity from the late 1970s onwards. One issue they identify is a noteworthy reduction in political party and interest group participation.[104] Additionally, the important notion of a 'social contract', as Rousseau named it, or 'duty norms' as Flinders and Buller name it, experienced a parallel decline. The decline in duty norms is a reduction in the social norm of giving back to the community, and a move towards personal self-interest. All of which echoes Graham Maddox's argument of the breakdown of Australia's collectivist society in the late 1970s which, he argues, alienates people from their communities.[105] This may be expressed in the lack of political participation, voting, volunteering or paying tax. Duty norms serve a purpose of building cohesion within a community, of establishing a 'common good.'[106]

Flinders and Buller identify the trivialisation of the public debate and find the rise of celebrity politics as one of many problems that cause political apathy amongst the public.[107] Their line of reasoning is similar to Herman and Chomsky's arguments about the opinion-shaping apparatus. Flinders and Buller also expand their analysis to

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[101] Ernest Mandel. *Late Capitalism.* (London: Verso Books, 1999), 85; Note: Mandel's publication came in 1999, by 2020 the owners of online communication (social media) found in Silicon Valley are now some of the wealthiest people in the world.
[102] Rousseau. *Of The Social Contract and Other Political Writings.*
[103] Flinders, et al. "Depoliticisation: Principles, tactics and tools." *British Politics* 1, no. 3 (2006): 294. 10.1057/palgrave.bp.4200016.
[104] Flinders, et al. "Depoliticisation: Principles, tactics and tools." 296.
[105] Maddox. *Australian Democracy.* 452.
[106] Maddox. *Australian Democracy.* 297.
[107] Flinders, et al. "Depoliticisation: Principles, tactics and tools." 296; Herman and Chomsky. *Manufacturing Consent.* 37.

linguistic discourse, how the choice of words de-politicises the policy making process. They are in fact expanding Stevenson and Dryzek's discussion of discourse. Both publications explore de-politicisation from the use of over-simplified rhetorical devices. Political issues require 'common sense' solutions whereby diverging solutions are dismissed.[108] It is the language of the neoliberal ideology, technocratic in nature and apolitical in appearance only. Alienation, apathy and de-politicisation, intentionally coordinated or not, pose a major danger for democracy itself. People disengaging from politics, not caring for their community, and having no desire to participate negates the democratic assumption of participation.

Political Economy

Peter Saunders' study of poverty breaks down human capabilities as defined by Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen. They contend the closer to poverty one is, the less likely one is to exhibit the following capabilities: Long life, bodily health, bodily integrity, sense and imagination, healthy emotions, practical reason, affiliation with others, play, and finally control over one's environment.[109] These social capabilities or traits, if accurate, add up to an antisocial environment in a dramatically unequal society. The work they developed examines the ethical failures of poverty, as well as technical, scientific, and political ones, it is a combination of neo-Aristotelian Philosophy and Marxism. The development of these capabilities is a theory of functioning, which entails an analysis of wellbeing, quality of life, and standards of living; as opposed to the arbitrary measurement of GDP growth, which does not explain whether people are coming out of poverty or whether the wealth created is being shared in an egalitarian manner. Functioning theory covers the 'doing and being' human. The final aim of Nussbaum and Sen is to find 'beneficial alterations' to achieve 'a better life' for people who live in poverty.[110]

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[108] Hayley Stevenson & John Dryzek. "The discursive democratisation of global climate governance." *Environmental Politics* 21, no. 2 (2012): 189–210. doi-org.ipacez.nd.edu.au/10.1080/09644016.2012.651898; Flinders, et al. "Depoliticisation: Principles, tactics and tools." 300.

[109] Peter Saunders. *The Poverty Wars.* (Sydney: NSW Press, 2005), 70-71; note: The definitions of these terms will be addressed in Chapter Three.

[110] David A. Crocker. "Functioning and Capability: The Foundation of Sen's and Nussbaum's Development Ethic." *Political Theory* 20, no. 4 (1992): 584-612. https://www.jstor.org/stable/191970.

Contributions by Suzanne Hodgkin to the *Journal of Australian Social Work* have shown that economic stress and inequality generate negative social cohesion and negative political consequences.[111] Further, Lancee and Werfhorst point out that the advantages accrued by engaging in civil society are consistently enjoyed by those who come from a wealthier background.[112] They demonstrate that inequality decreases participation, negating the democratic precondition of participation.[113] Identifying the rewards of participation through a psychosocial paradigm, they include: accumulating greater social capital to better pursue personal aims; improved social cohesion; higher levels of social learning, and as a consequence improved mental health.[114] Hoppitt and Laland explain the residual effects of inequality, which include: low levels of trust amongst people; feelings of animosity towards different out-groups; and consequently a reduction in social cohesion.[115] Such distrust and animosity negatively influence how people relate to one another, re-enforcing the stratified class structure of a society. The political result of economic inequality and reduced social cohesion varies from: political polarisation, demagoguery, scapegoating minorities, and a generalised anger from the middle and working classes.[116] Such social consequences of one's economic situation proved to have profound effects on Australia's democracy in the 1960s and 1970s. How people perceived the marginalised shifted dramatically. Nussbaum, Lancee, Werfhorst, Hoppitt, and Laland all put forward substantial evidence that economic conditions have a considerable effect on public opinion.

However, understanding political participation is not enough to comprehend personal bargaining power through any given interest group. There must also be an analysis of how money operates within a democracy and how it is utilised as a form of

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[111] Suzanne Hodgkin. "Participation in Social, Civic, and Community Life: Are we all equal?" *Journal of Australian Social Work* 64, no. 3 (2011): 250-252. DOI 10.1080/0312407X.2011.573798.
[112] Bram Lancee and Herman G. Van de Werfhorst. "Income inequality and participation: A comparison of 24 European countries." *Social Science Research* 41, (2012): 1168. 10.1016/j.ssresearch.2012.04.005.
[113] Lancee & Van de Werfhorst. "Income inequality and participation: A comparison of 24 European countries." 1175.
[114] Ibid, 1170.
[115] Wiliam Hoppitt and Kevin N. Laland. *Social Learning: An Introduction to Mechanisms, Methods, and Models.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 231.
[116] Chomsky. *Requiem for the American Dream.* 160.

political participation. Chomsky articulates the problem of money in politics. He argues that it is a 'vicious cycle' where concentrations of private of wealth yield concentrations of political power.[117] As the cost of elections steadily increases, the more political parties are forced to seek donations from the wealthy. This in turn leads to political parties potentially forming legislation favourable to their donors. Such legislation is usually fiscally orientated including, tax cuts, financial deregulation, or adjusting the rules of corporate governance. Such policy adjustments increase the wealth of the donors, and thus increase their power.[118] With every subsequent election, the vicious cycle continues.

A close examination of economic inequality in Australia by Greig et al, found a shrinking middle class, poverty in the working class, and a wealthier upper class by the turn of the century.[119] Further Fincher and Niewenhuysen's anthology *Australian Poverty: Then and Now* finds that, with the collapse of full employment and the dismantling of certain welfare programmes, poverty in Australia has increased rapidly. This has led to the disintegration of social cohesion and a reduction of duty norms from the late 1970s onwards.[120] Meanwhile, Wheelwright and Buckley explain that the centralisation of Australian government power, to the federal government, has increased in parallel to the increase in concentrated private wealth.[121] This is precisely the opposite tendency needed for effective political bargaining. The centralisation of state power reduces the influence of community-specific political participation.[122] Playford and Kirsner, echoing Debord's observation of a politics so complex that it is practically an alienating spectacle, see Australian capitalist development as a trend

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[117] Chomsky. *Requiem for the American Dream.* xiii.
[118] Ibid, viii.
[119] Alastair Greig, et al. *Inequality in Australia.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 222-253.
[120] Bob Gregory and Peter Sheehan. "Poverty and the Collapse of Full Employment." in *Australian Poverty: Then and Now,* ed. Ruth Fincher and John Nieuwenhuysen (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1998), 103-126.
[121] Note: While it is argued that the Australian Federal system has redistributed wealth in Australia, vis-a-vis the Uniform Tax Case, forms of accumulating and maintaining wealth have changed with the passing of Keynesian regulatory economic model. Wages have begun to stagnate, whilst corporate profits have increased. See also Chapter Three; Thomas Piketty. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century.* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2013); Andrew Stewart, et al. *The Wage Crisis in Australia: What is it and what to do about it.* (Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2018).
[122] E.L. Wheelwright & Ken Buckley. *Political Economy of Australian Capitalism.* Vol. 2. (Sydney: Australian & New Zealand Book Company, 1978), 95.

towards, "…monopolistic and oligopolistic structures, with a complex apparatus of controlled, interlocking functions, in which the state assumes co-ordinating and command functions."[123] The concern expressed by Playford and Kirsner is the possibility of Australian democracy sliding towards oligarchy. This creates a politics so complex and skewed to the wealthy that people's political bargaining power is rendered redundant transforming political participation into a pointless practise.[124]

Conclusion

There are many moving variables in attempting to comprehend the thesis question. The above has been an outline of what democracy and political participation is, their interconnected constituent elements and complications in a modern society. This is accompanied by an auxiliary, yet important, exploration of what makes people disengage from politics. Overall, the chapter serves as a foundation of knowledge for the coming chapters; an understanding that equality of voting is not the 'be all and end all' of democracy, and a comprehension that mass political participation has been actively discouraged since the early twentieth century provides vital context for chapters three, four, and five. The next chapter examines and critiques philosophers who tended to retreat back to pure reason to establish their arguments. The philosophies and corresponding institutional laws that underpin Australian society tend to be asymmetrical in their expression, from what is reasoned to what is materially real. In examining what preceded many of these philosophies and political theories it is found that the Australian political superstructure is marred in conquest, inequality, and empire.

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[123] John Playford & Douglas Kirsner. *Australian Capitalism.* (Sydney: Pelican Books, 1972), 192.
[124] Ibid, 192.

Chapter 2

The Ideology of Capitalism

Politics is the continuation of war by other means.[125]

Michel Foucault

The chapter grapples with why liberal democracy is critiqued as a contradiction in terms. For all the promotion of equality inherent in democracy, economic and social inequality is continuously reproduced. From the ideological liberal perspective such inequities exist without external circumstances, rather existing within a hierarchy of meritocracy. Yet tracing the origins of modern inequality tells a different story. Modern inequality, democracy, and liberal philosophies do not exist in a vacuum. Changes in the mode of production[126] led to an elaborate *post hoc* justification of the inequities that existed. The culture, laws, politics and philosophies that arise from the mode of production are called the superstructure or the ruling ideology. That is why there is indifference within liberalism towards inequality and the social relations therein: it is the ideology which justifies and reproduces the capitalist mode of production. There are humane values within liberalism, but its history is riddled with incongruities: disingenuously espousing liberty, equality, and fraternity, whilst actively recreating social division via capitalist profit-seeking. The chapter clarifies the difference between democracy and liberalism, followed by a short history of the English bourgeois revolution, and an analysis of the social imprinting the ruling ideology imposes onto society. That is, the contention that the prevailing morality of the ruling class is the morality imposed on everyone else, and thus situating the following chapters where the old superstructure became outdated with the ever-evolving development of capitalism.

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[125] Michel Foucault. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).
[126] Appendix A.

Democracy and Liberalism

Democracy and liberalism are too often conflated as one in the same; they are, however, two separate conceptual terms. Indeed, to some the two concepts are a contradiction.[127] The inherent difference between the two terms is their understanding of society. While democracy is based on the principle of mutual aid and cooperation of the society, liberalism places primacy on the individual over the society, to the detriment of others if need be. Mutual aid and co-operation asks us 'to do to others as you would have them do to you', which is a basic formulation of equality. Such equality is a contingent element to democracy.[128] This is commonly known as the Golden Rule, which has been expressed by a myriad of faiths and philosophies throughout the world, from Epicurus, Jesus, Confucius, Buddha, and Mohammad.[129] The Golden Rule's commonplace suggests that humans recognise the universality of human dignity, and thus retain an innate logic of equality.[130] A firm belief in human dignity lends itself to the idea that all humans deserve equal portions of justice, of giving people their due. Equality as a form of justice allows us to recognise an injustice. That is, no human should be worse off in society through no fault of their own.[131] In this view, the premise of democracy is inherently egalitarian, reflecting the view that society is a collection of people, interdependent and interconnected on each other's wellbeing.

In political terms, democracy is a governing system that treats all as equals, which theoretically allows for the multitude of the poor and downtrodden to influence government.[132] Democracy then, can be better understood as a function, a word that describes a broader set of systems. Democracy is participatory politics, regular

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[127] Axel Honneth. *The Idea of Socialism.* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017), 10.

[128] Jeffrey Wattles. *The Golden Rule.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3-5, 155.

[129] Nils Holtug and Kasper Lippert-Rasmussen. *Egalitarianism: New Essays on the Nature and Value of Equality.* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 2007), 50.

[130] Patrick M. Brennan & John E. Coons. "Nature and Human Equality." *The American Journal of Jurisprudence* 40, (1995): 287-289. doi.org/10.1093/ajj/40.1.287.

[131] Holtug and Lippert-Rasmussen. *Egalitarianism: New Essays on the Nature and Value of Equality.* 45; Brennan & Coons. "Nature and Human Equality." 291; Note: This conclusion also resembles the work of John Rawls, see also Frank Lovett. *Rawls's 'a Theory of Justice': A Reader's Guide.* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2011).

[132] Patrice Vermeren. "Equality and Democracy." *Diogenes* 220, (2008): 55. DOI: 10.1177/0392192108096830.

elections, a free civil society, a free press, equality, and an ability for all people to exercise control over the government's agenda.[133] By contrast liberalism, as governing system, historically entailed the enfranchisement of wealthy males, their exercise and control over the government accompanied with a quasi-free press. In its early incarnation as a government it was referred to as a republic. However, as a society and economy become more complex, the greater the stake the wider population has on government policy. This stake is usually expressed by demands to widen the franchise. Republican governments usually give way to democratic governments. The modern Australian state combined both concepts and is defined as a liberal democracy. There are professed liberal values and rights expressed by the Australian state. It is the land of the 'fair go', with exceptions to out-groups. To understand why liberal democracy does not uphold equality, a better historical understanding of liberal capitalism is required.

Civil War and Enclosure

Our current socio-economic class system is a direct outcome of the English Civil War (1642–1651). King Charles I ruled England personally, after parliament did not grant him tonnage and poundage for life upon his coronation in 1625, as was customary.[134] As per his prerogative, he dissolved the early parliaments of his reign and did not recall parliament for eleven years. Parliaments were necessary to approve a new tax if the King wished to raise one. The early bourgeoisie, the merchants, manufactures, bankers, and landlords, were the class which had developed England's productive forces and were becoming essential to the economy. They were afraid of Charles' absolutist tendencies and were chafing under the feudal superstructure, its custom duties and archaic tax system. They feared Charles may become a tyrant, a threat to their income, religious freedom and property.[135] Rebellions in Scotland and then Ireland meant

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[133] Robert Dahl. *On Democracy.* 32.
[134] Note: Tonnage and poundage was income levied from export/import duties that was for the discretionary spending for the crown.
[135] Christopher Hill. "The English Civil War interpreted by Marx and Engels." *Science & Society* 12, No. 1 (1948): 130-138. jstor.org/stable/40399879.

Charles had to call a parliament to raise funds for the war to come.[136] The Parliamentarians, many of whom were from the bourgeois class, seized upon the opportunity to reassert parliament as an institution, passing on grievances to the King, denying the requested levy, and attempting to increase their own legal authority. Charles, fearing that he was losing control over the situation, attempted to arrest the 'dissenters' of the Long Parliament in 1642. This act by Charles was perceived as a declaration of hostility towards the sanctity of Parliament. Charles, fearing the London mob who were outraged by his actions, fled London and established his base of operations in Oxford. Thereafter Royalist Cavaliers and the Parliamentarian Roundheads raised armies to settle the dispute.[137] The first phase of the war ended with Oliver Cromwell's Parliamentarians victorious and Charles executed at Whitehall London in 1649. This marked the beginning of republican style commonwealth, with Cromwell as Lord Protector.[138]

The new commonwealth, likening themselves to their neighbouring Dutch Republics, experimented with their newly found autonomy by accelerating the number of *Inclosure Acts* passed in the chamber. This resulted in the demise and displacement of the peasantry class from their common land. The peasantry were subsistence farmers, bound to their land and feudal lord. The peasants, in general terms, would farm the land and would divide their yields, enough for themselves and the rest to their lord. The lords in exchange would protect the peasants from marauding invaders. This arrangement, however, was outdated and unravelling by the seventeenth century. Through a mix of overpopulation, farming innovation, urban labour shortages and Parliamentarian opportunism the English peasantry was becoming a thing of the past. The *Inclosure Acts* consolidated the property rights and power of the emerging bourgeois class.[139] In this light, it is understandable why some scholars call the English Civil War a bourgeois revolution.[140] Concurrently, there was a rapid expansion of

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[136] Trevor Royle. *Civil War: The Wars of the Three Kingdoms 1638-1660.* (London: Abacus Books, 2003), 149-184.
[137] Ibid, 149-184.
[138] Hill. "The English Civil War interpreted by Marx and Engels." 151; Note: The term then was fashioned to resemble the Roman Republic.
[139] Hill. "The English Civil War interpreted by Marx and Engels." 147, 150-152.
[140] Ibid, 135.

English imperial power and slave trade, starting a war with the Dutch for dominance over the sea.[141] This was a process of where might makes right, where the Europeans were remaking the world map through brute force.

The legalised land theft by the Parliamentarians created a new class of urban poor, the proletariat.[142] The proletariat, defined by their lack of rights and property, were forced to migrate to major cities vis-à-vis the *Inclosure Acts*. In cities they could sell their labour to survive.[143] In the new arrangement one was technically free from their aristocratic lord, yet one had to work for the bourgeoisie who owned the means of production.[144] This social, economic, political and legal rearrangement facilitated the rise of capitalism.[145] Class division had become simpler. The intricate political and legal class system of serfs, dukes, and monarchs was to wane in significance. There would be only two classes of political consequence, bourgeoisie and proletariat.[146] With bourgeois political power in the ascendency a new political and legal framework began to be developed around their interests.

Capitalist Development and Legalised Theft

Karl Marx wrote, "At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production. From forms of development of productive forces, these relations turn into their fetters then begins an era of social revolutions."[147] The Civil War was that revolution. It accelerated the demise of the feudal mode of production, setting in motion a series of class compromises which

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[141] Angela Sutton. "The Seventeenth-Century Slave Trade in the Documents of the English, Dutch, Swedish, Danish and Prussian Royal Slave Trading Companies." *Slavery & Abolition* 36, no. 3 (2015): 445-450. doi:10.1080/0144039X.2015.1067975.
[142] Ibid, 140.
[143] Theodore Koditschek. *Class Formation and Urban-Industrial Society: Bradford, 1750-1850.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 29-52; Note: To be clear, there were people in medieval societies that had been selling their labour for a living before the Civil War. They did not, however, make a substantial portion of the population.
[144] Appendix A; Koditschek. *Class Formation and Urban-Industrial Society.* 165-180, 445-515; Note: The proletariat worker could start their own shop, but rarely would they have the capital to do so.
[145] Note: Capitalism developed in many different forms throughout the world. For the purpose of this examination however, it is useful to explore how it developed in Britain for it directly links to Australia.
[146] Marx & Engels. *Communist Manifesto.* 322-341.
[147] Karl Marx. *The German Ideology.* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1998).

over centuries developed into an oligarchic capitalist mode of production.[148] Inequality remained, the old peasant class were becoming obsolete and replacing it was the 'industrial reserve army' the great mass of the unemployed poor. With the advent of the industrial revolution in the 1750s, the proletariat considered their new status as wage slavery, known less polemically as the capital/labour social relation.[149] Central to the rhetorical concern was the similarity between owning a person for their labour, and renting a person for their labour. But the capital/labour social relation, put simply, is the labour transformation of commodities and the exchange of it for monetary value by the owner of the commodities. For example, an employer buys timber, and employs an artisan to work it to a chair. Thus, the labour of the artisan has increased the value of the timber, and the employer sells the chair for a profit. In turn the employer pays the artisan for a fraction of what the chair was sold for, and takes the remaining profit as capital for themselves.[150] From a Marxist perspective the transaction is wage theft by the employer, whereas from an ideologically liberal perspective the arrangement is benign and natural – a chance taken by the employer to make an honest profit.

Seventeenth century economic and social relations were changing fast, and so in parallel arose liberalism, a new ideological and philosophical force. Liberal economist and philosopher Adam Smith wrote an extensive analysis of the new mode of production.[151] Smith's analysis of labour conditions and wages were divided. He expressed concern about the division of labour, the great innovation of capitalism, fearing it would create a man:

> …as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become. The torpor of his mind renders him not only incapable of relishing or bearing a part in any rational conversation, but of conceiving any generous, noble or tender sentiment, and consequently of forming any just judgement concerning many even of the ordinary duties of private life…[152]

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[148] Thomas Piketty. *Capital and Ideology.* (London: Cambridge, 2020), 160-181.
[149] Marx. *Capital.* 120-160.
[150] Ibid, 159, 375-394.
[151] Adam Smith. *The Wealth of Nations.* (London: Penguin Books, 2011).
[152] E.G. West. "The Political Economy of Alienation: Karl Marx and Adam Smith." *Oxford Economic Papers* 21, no. 1 (1969): 11.

But his observations fall short of any further analysis on the matter. In turn, he praises other facets of the division of labour. He observes notions of powerlessness and subordination from the division of labour but considers them as the 'natural' command of the market. Smith sees no issue with wage theft, or exploitation, believing that the labourer could simply seek other employment, but fails to observe other factors which make such a choice difficult.[153] Indeed, Smith denotes capitalist development as a process by which man is 'liberated' from the constraints of scarcity. Stating that societies which do not create surpluses are 'barbarous' and 'savage.' A society becomes 'civilised' when there is a division of labour, with a legal framework that facilitates capitalist social relations, what he calls the progressive state.[154] Smith does not seek to understand why there is a mass of unemployed people, rather he sings praises of its utility, of its productive capacity. It is an ideologically blinding perspective, but which in turn operates as a philosophical system which justifies inequality and the capitalist mode of production. It is the propensity of his views, the ideas that powerlessness and wage theft are natural, which he shares with many other liberal philosophers. It is however a problematic system of thought, which operates as *post hoc* rationale for the aggressive appropriation of capital.

The capitalist profit motive became a social norm and a part of the ruling ideology. As such appropriating land to farm, regardless of its circumstance, became central to John Locke's liberal philosophy. Locke, before Smith, was equally dismissive of colonial theft in the Americas. He wrote of the Indigenous American and their use of the land, "Where there being more Land, than the inhabitant possess… anyone has [the] liberty to make use of the waste."[155] He argues that if the American land was not being tilled like the farms of 'Devonshire', then a title to the land should be granted to a colonial farmer. His Theory of Property ignored the Indigenous Americans' way of life, believing that if a labourer transforms a commodity, be it a field in the Americas, then it ought to be their property. He was against violent conquest, but if the land could be

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[153] Note: Such as location, capacity to travel, accommodation, labour surplus, the potential disparity of bargaining power over wages and so on.

[154] E.G. West. "The Political Economy of Alienation: Karl Marx and Adam Smith." 11-15.

[155] Barbara Arneil. "Trade, Plantations, and Property: John Locke and the Economic Defense of Colonialism." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 55, No. 4 (1994): 606. doi:10.2307/2709924.

appropriated under a facade of legality then he deemed it permissible.[156] A seventeenth century Virginian colonialist echoed Locke's sentiment, "Our land is full… their [Indigenous Americans] land is empty. They are not industrious, neither have [they] art, science, skill or faculty to use either the land or the commodities of it… so is it lawful now to take a land which none useth and make use of it?"[157] This highly racialised view was incorporated into the liberal ideology: the right to land and property became entwined with the notion of civilising society. Thereby, it would seem morally correct to appropriate 'underutilised' land. Here we can see the philosophical and rhetorical precedence of *terra nullius,* an uncultivated land is an uninhabited land ripe for the taking.[158] Thus, found within the liberal Theory of Property there is a quasi-humanitarian rationale for imperial expansion.

When the development of capitalist markets begins to falter, then the bourgeois of the nation seek other markets to stabilise their domestic money flow, and thus form international trade monopolies.[159] This phase of capitalist development began in earnest during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Take the illustrative example of South East Asia and India and the European expansions therein, with the Portuguese East India Company, the English East India Trading Company, the Dutch West India trading Company, or the French East India Trading Company. These states supported merchant companies signalled the start of global European imperialism.[160] In the words of Peter Kropotkin:

> *…industry seeks foreign markets among the monied classes of other nations... the European is thus bound to promote the growth of serfdom. And so he does. But soon he finds everywhere similar competitors. All the nations evolve on the same lines, and wars, perpetual wars, break out for the right of precedence in the market...[161]*

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[156] Arneil. "Trade, Plantations, and Property: John Locke and the Economic Defense of Colonialism.", 603; James Farr. "Locke, Natural Law, and New World Slavery." *Political Theory* 36, no. 4 (2008): 495-522. jstor.org/stable/20452649.
[157] Ben Kiernan. *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur.* (Virginia: Yale University Press, 2007), 218.
[158] Ibid, 249-309.
[159] Vladimir Lenin. *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism.* (London: Penguin Books, 2010), 13-31.
[160] Daniel R. Headrick. *Power Over Peoples: Technology, Environments, and Western Imperialism, 1400 to the Present.* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010).
[161] Peter Kropotkin. *The Conquest of Bread.* (New York: New York University Press, 1972).

Seventeenth century imperial expansion usually began with the pretext of spreading liberal ideals, the pretext of 'liberalising markets', and 'civilising barbarians.'[162] In short though, Europeans would forcibly impose liberal capitalism on foreign markets. Liberalism and capitalism arose from the same historical and socio-economic roots, the liberal ideology takes for granted the inherent abuses of capitalism. Liberal historical analysis observes and records phenomena but tends not to seek an analysis of the material causes of phenomena. Instead it weighs heavily on the ideas of men as the driving force of history. Thus, liberalism retains this internal contradiction: it espouses universal humane values but is blind to the mode of production that undermines the values.

Ideology and Liberalism

Ideologies determine what facts are important and what actions are acceptable. The liberal ideology begins its analysis of history, politics, and society by studying the unit of the individual. Whereas other ideologies start their analyses of society by looking at class or gender; liberalism downplays the pertinence of external forces beyond the individual, and repudiates the view that individuals are interconnected and interdependent with one another.[163] This way of understanding the world sees facts that arise from external circumstances as superfluous, which in turn becomes problematic when institutionalised into the state apparatus.[164] To the ideology we are but a collection of individuals encountering one another as individuals. Such individualism is driven by self-interest, while altruism and concern for one's society becomes secondary.[165] On an extreme end, some liberals believe that, "[t]here is no such thing as society",[166] we are but competitors in a market, and concern for others is a mute issue. This notion can be understood as the 'unencumbered individual', of existing without context. But humans are social creatures, having come from small hunter gatherer groups to developing

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[162] Kiernan. *Blood and Soil.* 249-250.
[163] Sean Sayers. "Individual and Society in Marx and Hegel: Beyond the Communitarian Critique of Liberalism." *Society & Science* 71, no. 1 (2007): 90. www.jstor.org/stable/40404364.
[164] Ibid, 90-92.
[165] Honneth. *The Idea of Socialism.* 11-30.
[166] G. R. Steele. "There is no such Thing as Society." *Economic Affairs* 29, no. 4 (2009): 85-86. doi-org.ipacez.nd.edu.au/10.1111/j.1468-0270.2009.01954.x

complex societies. There was never a perfect state of nature where it was just man and the wild, as Rousseau argued.[167] Liberal explanations of certain societal ills fall short of having substantial and actionable conclusions. This is evident in many liberal states, where there is an aversion to social spending, justifying such prudence by evoking the spirit of the entrepreneurial individual. Finally, the ideology's *a priori* assumptions are anathema to democracy, society is the collection and sum total of class, gender, ethnicity, and the individual.[168]

Liberalism is often construed as 'not an ideology,' as 'neutral' and as based on the 'facts.'[169] It can be seen that the founders of liberalism used their own rationality to argue that their points were self-evident.[170] If all people are rational then all people will reach the same conclusions. If one does not reach the same conclusions, then it is their fault, not the ideas of the rational enlightened thinker.[171] Liberalism arose from the age of reason, to the enlightenment, and the rise of global European empires.[172] It was up to a man's rationality to remake the world. Far from a dream, there were real examples that liberals could point to, such as Napoleon Bonaparte's enlightened despotism. The new social, political and economic rules of capitalist Europe reflected the values and interest of those who made them.[173] Often then, when others arrive at different conclusions to a liberal, they are deemed unreasonable or irrational. This accusation was often aimed at women, the poor, and non-Europeans, those who experience the brunt of societal inequality, which in turn became politically institutionalised.

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[167] Rousseau. *Of The Social Contract and Other Political Writings.* 1-17.
[168] Sean Sayers. "Individual and Society in Marx and Hegel: Beyond the Communitarian Critique of Liberalism." 92.
[169] Christine Di Stefano. *Configurations of Masculinity: A Feminist Perspective on Modern Political Theory.* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1991), 146.
[170] David Theo Goldberg. "Liberalism's Limits: Carlyle and Mill on the 'The Negro Question.'" *Nineteenth-Century Context* 22, no. 2 (2000): 214.
[171] Note: The idea of the individual at 'fault' is rampant throughout liberalism. Its commonplace in rhetoric and policy is a prominent feature of modern day neoliberalism.
[172] Robert R. Williams. *Tragedy, Recognition, and the Death of God: Studies in Hegel and Nietzsche*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 263-289.
[173] Honneth. *The Idea of Socialism.* 10-51; Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the origin and spread of nationalism*. (London: Verso, 2006), 9-36; Williams. *Tragedy, Recognition, and the Death of God.* 263-289.

It is, however, ideological to assert that one's own world view is not ideological, to equate subjective rationalisations as reality without an acknowledgment of one's own position. To this end, the liberal ideology and the facts that they choose to emphasise, conforms to the base of the capitalist mode of production. To describe social relations within the capitalist system is to describe the liberal ideology.[174] For example, an individual acting alone: a farmer harvests crops, a factory worker labours, and the builder constructs a house. All individuals are acting alone in their labour and encountering other individuals in the exchange of their products. This individuality is in appearance only, it is the outward expression of the division of labour.[175] However, contrary to the ruling ideology, the livelihood of the farmer is dependent on their products being bought by the factory worker, and the builder needs the products produced by the factory. The builder is therefore, by necessity, dependent on the harvest of the farmer and the health of the worker. Individuals are interdependent and interconnected; humans actively produce the means of their survival with one another.[176] To this end though the value of the labourer is defined by the social relations of the society they come from. The inaccuracy of the unencumbered individual is revealed when social relations are examined. Social relations are the "…sum total of relations that people must enter into in order to survive, to produce, and to reproduce the means of their life."[177]

Liberalism and Institutionalised Poverty

As liberal capitalism developed, out-groups were taxonomised accordingly: women were hysterical, non-Europeans were barbarians, and the working class poor were mad criminals. The complex system of creating out-groups comes part and parcel with the liberal state. The emerging liberal state formed a series of institutions and laws which justified peoples' low socio-economic status. For example, the British Poor Laws, or anti-union laws, laws that criminalised the outcomes of poverty, and laws that

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[174] Honneth. *The Idea of Socialism.* 10-35.
[175] Sean Sayers. "Individual and Society in Marx and Hegel: Beyond the Communitarian Critique of Liberalism." 90-92.
[176] Sean Sayers. "Individual and Society in Marx and Hegel. 90-92.
[177] Appendix A.

medicalised 'abnormal' behaviour.[178] Deviancy and drunkenness were criminalised. Mental illness was institutionalised. The underlying causes of mental illness or criminal behaviour went unacknowledged. Instead of treatment and rehabilitation, they were locked away in an institution or taken to penal colonies.[179] Examining what constitutes abnormal behaviour reveals a concealed form of doublespeak, noting that the morality of a society indicates their priorities.

By the late seventeenth century the English Parliament began passing capital crime statutes, through which minor offences were slowly becoming punishable by death. These statutes became known as the Bloody Code, and the number of capital crime statutes went from 50 to 200 by 1820.[180] The laws almost exclusively involved the protection of property. Douglas Hay, critical of the Parliamentarians wrote, "Again and again the voices of money and power declared the sacredness of property in terms hitherto reserved for human life."[181] The practice of everyday labour, such as utilising leftover wood offcuts for personal needs, was deemed a criminal act punishable by death. Lizzie Seal argues that it was reconstituting law so that it would be reflective and of use for the capitalist mode of production. "[Under a] criminal law derived from capitalism, customary appropriations became theft… whereas it had previously been an accepted part of craftsmen's trade."[182] These laws assume the craftsman of criminality, thereby stigmatising low paid manual work.

The anxiety of not being able to afford food, the stress of living in slums, and the instability felt from insecure employment led some people to develop mental health issues.[183] Michel Foucault's *Madness & Civilization* catalogues how social difference vis-a-vis from poverty was institutionalised as a medical problem.[184] Foucault

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[178] Lizzie Seal. "Criminalisation and the eighteenth-century's 'Bloody Code.'" *Criminal Justice Matters* 74, no. 1 (2008): 16-17. Doi: 10.1080/09627250802476726; Michel Foucault. *Madness & Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988).

[179] Manning Clark. *History of Australia.* Abr. Ed. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993), 141-157.

[180] Harriet Evans. "The Bloody Code." *Manchester Student Law Review* 2, (2013): 28-40.

[181] Douglas Hay et al. *Albion Fatal Tree: Crime & Society in 18th Century England.* (London: Verso, 2011), 19.

[182] Lizzie Seal. "Criminalisation and the eighteenth-century's 'Bloody Code.'" *Criminal Justice Matters* 74, no. 1 (2008): 16-17.

[183] Ibid, 162; Iris Elliott. *Poverty and Mental Health.* (London: Mental Health Foundation, 2016).

[184] Foucault. *Madness & Civilization.* 180.

demonstrates that the diagnosis of madness was a method by which the state used their power to control the population through institutions.[185] With the collapse of small-knit communities via the *Inclosure Acts* and the rise of highly competitive individualised labour markets in city slums, it comes as no surprise that many people were experiencing isolation and hardship. The name of the game was competition, making it difficult to forge strong social ties.[186] The social safety net a community offered, though not perfect, was disappearing. Those suffering from mental illness were living a life of disconnection, alienation, and exclusion from social and economic life.[187] Poverty does not always cause mental illness, but equally mental illness can cause poverty. Rather than solve the problems that arise from poverty, or attempt to put an end to poverty altogether, the emerging liberal state medicalised the outcomes of poverty.

Liberalism and Misogyny

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, an enlightenment liberal philosopher, proposed equality and liberty for all men. As he wrote:

> *It being once demonstrated that man and woman are not, nor ought to be, constituted alike in temperament and character, it follows of course that they should not be educated in the same manner. In pursuing the directions of nature, they [women] ought indeed to act in concert, but they should not be engaged in the employments...[188]*

Rousseau assumes and reasserts traditional gender roles, with women in the domestic sphere, and men in the public sphere. Such a position is an internal contradiction of liberalism, betraying its own values of liberty and equality. Enlightenment philosophy though, is characterised by its search for fixed immutable laws of nature, as Newton did with the sciences so would the liberal philosophers attempt to do with politics. The use of 'nature' is an attempt to ground the argument as self-evident and eternal. Indeed, the inequality between men and women would be perpetuated by the liberal state,

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[185] Foucault. *Madness & Civilization.* 241-289.

[186] Honneth. *The Idea of Socialism.* 35-59.

[187] Sean Sayers. "Individual and Society in Marx and Hegel: Beyond the Communitarian Critique of Liberalism." 86-90.

[188] Jean-Jacques Rousseau. *Of The Social Contract and Other Political Writings, as* **quoted in** Mary Wollstonecraft. *A Vindication of the Right of Woman.* (London: Penguin Classics, 2004), 99-101.

institutionalising fault divorce laws, gendered medical diagnosis, and limiting labour laws for women, leading to a feedback loop and the reproduction of social and economic inequality.[189]

John Stuart Mill glorified masculine rationality believing it to be a central feature of liberal civilisation, and the feminised nature as its greatest threat. In a textual analysis, the 'she' is framed as a force of nature, the unpredictable and irrational; and the 'he' as the civilised cultivated society, educated and rational.[190] 'Discipline' and 'control' are couched in the masculine, appearing as prerequisites to civilisation. 'Indolence' and 'passivity' are couched in the feminine, the traits of an individual who would lead society to anarchy.[191] Mill argues, in much of his work, against nature and uplifts cultivated society as the key to civilisation. As Christine Di Stefano writes of Mill, "Society is civilised precisely to the extent that nature is repressed."[192] For much of recorded history females have been viewed as lesser than to their male counterparts. Breaks in the female subservient role, in the late nineteenth century led to women being diagnosed as mentally ill. These deviations from social norms were expressed in terms of a woman being irrational or hysterical.[193] Much like Mill's nature/civilised divide there is a direct correlation with the rational/irrational divide. The early liberal's understanding of women was that they were inherently inferior, in reason and mental faculty. According to Simone de Beauvoir, subservient gender roles for women grew directly from economic life.[194] Women's social role was to stay at home and raise the family.

Yet within this highly gendered ideology fostered from the likes of Rousseau and Mill, lay the contradictory foundations of early feminism: the need for women's political and legal rights were made whilst utilising the discourse of liberalism. As early

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[189] Anne Summers. *Dammed Whores and God's Police: The updated edition of the classic study of women in Australian society.* (Blackburn, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1994), 445-449; Beauvoir. *The Second Sex.* 146-147.

[190] Di Stefano. *Configurations of Masculinity: A Feminist Perspective on Modern Political Theory*, 153.

[191] John S. Mill. *Considerations on Representative Government.* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1958), 18; Ibid, 150-156.

[192] Ibid, 155.

[193] Bruce Cohen. *Psychiatric Hegemony: A Marxist Theory of Mental Illness*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan Limited, 2016), 139-140.

[194] Simone de Beauvoir. *The Second Sex.* (London: Vintage, 1997), 86-96.

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Australian feminist and journalist Louisa Lawson wrote in November 1890, "If men demanding rights and liberties would grant the same to their wives, and demand as much for all women, we might begin to flatter ourselves on our civilization."[195] Indeed it was a powerful call for equal political rights, she further asks in 1891, "Will it be believed, a hundred years hence, that such a state of things existed?"[196] But she would be aghast to find that nearly a hundred years later such a state persisted. Women were still struggling to gain rights well into the twentieth century, despite having gained the right to vote. But these social relations, although historically constituted, were to be undone by the ever-evolving mode of production and a new wave of feminism.[197]

Liberalism and Colonial Violence

Liberalism retains a certain indifference towards imperialism. Mill, for example, developed the liberal discourse to appear as a benign and benevolent philosophy. He wrote that colonial subjects required a 'benevolent despotism', so that they can be educated in 'enlightened European values'.[198] Once again there is a double speak, European powers were to benevolently enlighten, liberate, and civilise with one hand and take the wealth of conquered lands with the other.[199] Such an argument echoes Adam Smith's belief in an inherent benevolence arising from the capitalist mode of production. In his polite racism, Mill ridicules the cultures of Britain's colonial subjects, and in turn the contempt becomes the justification for their continued exploitation. This absurdity becomes exacerbating, where these ideas are found in his seminal liberal text *On Liberty.*[200] His philosophical work also encompasses utilitarianism, a philosophy where the ends justify the means. Mill, as senior officer in the East India Company, seems to have created a philosophy that justified his role. Where the means of utilising

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[195] Olive Lawson. *The First Voice of Australian Feminism: Excerpts from Louisa Lawson's The Dawn 1888-1895.* (Sydney: Simon Schuster, 1990), 71-73.
[196] Ibid, i.
[197] Ibid, 139; Clarissa Pinkola Estes. *Women Who Run With Wolves.* (London: Random House Publishing Group, 1997).
[198] David Theo Goldberg. "Liberalism's Limits: Carlyle and Mill on the 'The Negro Question.'" *Nineteenth-Century Context* 22, no. 2 (2000): 209-214.
[199] Anderson. *Imagined Communities.* 47-66.
[200] John Stuart Mill. *On Liberty.* (London: Andrew UK Ltd, 2011), 89-92; David Theo Goldberg. "Liberalism's Limits: Carlyle and Mill on the 'The Negro Question.'" *Nineteenth-Century Context* 22, no. 2 (2000): 209-214.

colonial violence was for the greater good of British India. To this end Mill, and Locke before him, have created a discourse that justifies the continued exploitation of conquered land.

The facts Mill emphasises, the self-evident benevolence of rational enlightenment thought, and the facts he downplays, the repression and colonial violence, are indicative of liberalism's internal contradictions. A contradiction that is contextualised by its ideological justification of with capitalism. Such disposition excludes the democratic norms of mutual aid and co-operation and denies the self-determination of conquered nations and of out-groups. Modern liberal arguments for foreign invasions ignore this contradiction, and argue for spreading liberal democracy through military intervention.[201] The most prominent example in recent decades was George W. Bush's invasion of Iraq, which was premised, amongst other things, on the need to 'liberate' the Iraqi people. Mill has, intentionally or not, created a justification for the imposition of capitalism. Edward Said recognised this phenomenon and wrote, "…their [non-Europeans] land was and had been dominated by an alien power for whom distant hegemony over non-white peoples seemed inscribed by right in the very fabric of European and Western Christian society, whether that society was liberal, monarchical, or revolutionary."[202] In this context, it appears another underlying current of the ruling ideology of liberalism is a form of racism. In its modern expression minorities are criticised for not behaving like their European counterparts.[203] The deterioration of this position has seen the rise in reactionary identity politics reminiscent of pre-WWII Germany. The definition of what makes a good foreigner, is one that works and behaves like a European. Historically Australia's policies and attitudes towards Indigenous Australians and non-white immigrants points to the continuation of this tendency.

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[201] Naomi Klein. *The Shock Doctrine.* (London: Penguin Books, 2007).

[202] Edward Said, et al. *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*. (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 78.

[203] Eric Rauchway. "Willard Straight and the Paradox of Liberal Imperialism." *Pacific Historical Review* 66, no. 3 (1997): 363-397. doi:10.2307/3640202.

Liberalism in Australia

Australia, as we know it, is a product of British colonialism. The attitudes and opinions of nineteenth century British society were transplanted to a new land. Attitudes towards Indigenous Australians did not differ much from other colonial subjects in the British Empire.[204] The working class still struggled; dealing with the punitive convict stain, with the added dimension of religious based discrimination via Irish Catholicism in opposition to upper class English Anglicanism.[205] The social role women played in the colony echoed Britain's.[206] As Anne Summers sees it, women fell into two broad categories: 'damned whores' or 'god's police'. The former was tarnished with many of the same labels already mentioned: irrational, deviant, and hysterical.[207] The latter were expected to be the moral compass of the bourgeois family, to rein in their husbands and raise good Christian children.

Australia's culture is an acute expression of liberalism, the colonies were established during the height of the British Empire, concurrent with the rise of liberal capitalism. British colonists left Britain either against their own will or of their own volition; both, however, inadvertently left due to the excesses of British capitalism.[208] That is, whilst the Irish were surrounded by fields of privately owned wheat they were left to starve from the potato famine, forced to steal to survive. The English worker saw no prospects in Britain, where factories were full and conditions were inhumane, and sought a new start in Australia. The idle second sons of the bourgeoisie and commanders of the post-Napoleonic War sought fame and fortune by taking Australia

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[204] Clark. *History of Australia.* 12-13; Grace Karskens, "The Early Colonial Presence," in Vol 1. *The Cambridge History of Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre. (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 106-107; A.G.L. Shaw "1788-1810". *A New History of Australia,* ed. Frank Crowley. (Melbourne: William Heinemann Australia, 1980), 33-34.

[205] Bruce Tranter & Jed Donoghue. "Convict ancestry: a neglected aspect of Australian identity." *Nations and Nationalism* 9, no. 4 (2003): 559-570. doi-org.ipacez.nd.edu.au/10.1111/1469-8219.00127

[206] Summers. *Dammed Whores and God's Police: The updated edition of the classic study of women in Australian society.* 445-449; Note: For brevity, the intersections of class, nationality, and ethnicity is not explored in depth, let alone Indigenous Australian womanhood. To be clear though, these variations did produce different experiences of womanhood, and feminist historiography developed since the 1970s has worked to better represent women's history of colonial Australia.

[207] Ibid, 313-335, 337-360; Julia Gillard MP, PM. "National Apology for Forced Adoption." *Department of the Attorney-General,* March 21, 2013.

[208] Mark Peel and Christina Twomey. *A History of Australia.* (London: Palgrave Essential Histories, 2018), 24-107.

for the British Empire.[209] Enough understood, if not tacitly, why they were forced into such a situation; Britain was creating a distorted society with vast inequality. This insight leads Mark Peel and Christina Twomey to conclude in their *A History of Australia* that, "If people supported capitalism, which most did, they did not support it unrestrained and unmanaged. They wanted it civilised."[210]

But such support for liberal capitalism was consent for the continued exploitation of social difference, entrenching inequality in Australia's founding. Such a commitment to liberalism is expressed in the Australian archetype of the 'bush man'. The archetype has its own internal cultural logic, to survive in the hostile Australian outback. However, it mirrors the liberal ideology with its strong emphasis on individualism, self-reliance, and a scepticism towards society or the state. It is Rousseau's man in the state of nature.[211] The archetype conquers the wild Australian bush, and takes the riches for himself, a false notion of meritocracy.[212] This was for a time the pinnacle of Australian culture, from which the myth of a land of the 'fair go' began. The idealisation of the bush man went a step further. The colonial fixation for creating a white man's country led to the White Australia policy.[213] This series of laws is a distillation of hundreds of years of imperial expansion.[214] Adding to the creation of the policy were non-European men who challenged white Australians' perceived dominance. Specifically, in regard to the goldfields, where Chinese miners could find gold when white men could not. Here too is a facet of Australia's animosity towards Asia. The subjects of the British Empire were not supposed to be more skilled than white men. It contradicted the premise of their imperial expansion.[215]

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[209] Clark. *History of Australia.* 132, 137, 312; Reginald Thomas Appleyard & Toby Manford. *The Beginning: European discovery and early settlement of Swan River Western Australia.* (Perth: UWA Press, 1979), 129-132; Jim Handy. "'Almost idiotic wretchedness': a long history of blaming peasants." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 36, no. 2 (2009): 330-333. doi-org.ipacez.nd.edu.au/10.1080/03066150902928306.

[210] Peel and Twomey. *A History of Australia.* 123.

[211] Rousseau. *Of The Social Contract and Other Political Writings.* 1-17.

[212] Russel Ward. *Australian Legend.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), 114-140.

[213] Clark. *History of Australia.* 312, 411-412.

[214] Ibid, 411-412.

[215] Bart Schultz. "Mill and Sidgwick, Imperialism and Racism." *Utilitas* 19, no. 1 (2007): 104-130. doi:10.1017/S095382080600238X

The 'social question', an ill-defined issue which captures the negative symptoms of imperial capitalism as outlined above had long divided post-revolutionary governments and new states alike, and as such the same question was carried over to Australia early in its federation. [216] The hard definitions of socialism and liberalism as understood today was not clearly defined in the early twentieth century. Given such teleological volatility an ideological amalgam was formed, social liberalism or ethical liberalism.[217] Best defined as, "…state's role was to remove the kind of material insecurity and deprived living conditions that prevented individuals from realising their potential as active, engaged citizens."[218] 'Social' legislation served the operational function of state development, a necessary element of new nationhood.[219] It normalised to an extent social spending for state infrastructure, public education, public museums and the like. All to help create an internally self-sufficient economy and a shared sense of national identity.[220]

However, social spending for state development had its political limits. Although it had become normalised the conservative reaction to the Russian Revolution precluded the further development of social liberalism, and with that the contemporary understanding of socialism and liberalism fell into place. In modern political terms, liberalism's current failures to adhere to its universal values take shape through its political alliance with Australian reactionary conservatives.[221] As Robert Menzies, the future leader of the Liberal Party, said of his first meeting with the Country Party in 1920, "Our aim is clear. The socialist policies of the Labour Party were anathema to us… we were in agreement that it would be better to keep the [William Hughes]

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[216] Ian Tregenza. "Are We 'All Socialists Now'? New Liberalism, State Socialism and the Australian Settlement." *Labour History,* no. 102 (2012): 87-89.

[217] Gregory Melleuish. "A Short History of Australian Liberalism." Centre for Independent Studies, retrieved: October 21, 2020.

[218] Tregenza. "Are We 'All Socialists Now'? New Liberalism, State Socialism and the Australian Settlement." 89.

[219] Note: To highlight the non-radical nature of the socialism discussed during this era, the British Liberal Party was passing similar 'social' legislation during the same period; Ibid, 89.

[220] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.* (London: Verso, 2016), 93.

[221] Note: Fin Crisp captures the reactionary element of Australian conservatism by pointing out that many formed coalitions to the halt labour movement from gaining office, dubbing them as 'Anti-Labour' parties. See also Crisp. *Australian National Government.* 227.

47

Government on the rails than assist a Labour Government into office."[222] With the liberals and conservatives forming an ideologically contradictory broadchurch in Australia, they have left the liberal ideology bereft of any ethical or genuine humanitarian expressions.[223]

Conclusion

The capitalist mode of production takes full advantage of out-groups of people, thereby reproducing inequality. The ideological superstructure of liberalism philosophically, legally, and politically justifies these inequalities and like a feedback loop, the social and economic inequities are reproduced. It is an opaque model of institutionalised inequality, interlocked by social tradition, economic expediency, and historical circumstance. There exist similarities, however, in the reform movements of the 1960s and early 1970s to the revolutions of the modern era, such as the English Civil War and the French Revolution. The bourgeoisie had transformed the mode of production and had become essential to its continued growth. In historical parallel, Australia's economic development included a phase where full employment was the norm. A wide cross section of Australian society was incorporated into the mode of production becoming essential to the continued growth of the Australian economy. So in turn, like a revolution, a reform period followed. The bourgeoisie revolutions called for more political rights and so did Australians from all backgrounds. A developing new mode of production was chafing under the old superstructure, the old had become the fetters for the development of Australia's productive forces. The humane values within liberalism, and its incongruities with material reality, had led to great tensions in Australian society. In the following chapters the resolution of some these tensions is discussed.

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[222] Crisp. *Australian National Government.* 226.
[223] Note: Here too one can see the material interest superseding any supposed ideological believes.

Chapter 3

Mid-20th Century Australia

Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past.[224]

Karl Marx

Situating the economy, politics, and social relations in Australian is pertinent to understanding the following chapters. The first chapter addressed and contextualised what democracy is, how it operates and where tensions exist; and the second chapter deconstructed and analysed the source of democracy's tensions, albeit in a constrained manner. The following chapters answer the thesis' twofold question: how worker security affects democracy vis-a-vis political participation, and how the equitable distribution of wealth influences public opinion. The Keynesian economic era (1945-1975) in Australia created shared wealth and prosperity, it is a period sometimes called the golden age of capitalism.[225] The economic conditions were such that it was the closest Australia came to achieving Robert Dahl's preconditions of democracy. Australia had universal suffrage; effective participation and with it came a control over the government's agenda; people could gain an enlightened understanding of the political landscape;[226] and, the equitable distribution of wealth led to what could be called a relative material equality. Liberal capitalism was, for the first time, providing for a wide cross section of society. It was under these circumstances then, that Australian democracy could be considered healthy.

Utilising trade union membership, Australia's unemployment rate, and the Australian population growth offers a quantitative picture of the explicit and implicit political bargaining power of the Australian population. With Trade Unions operating as an explicit potential bargaining power, and the unemployment statistics indicating the implied influence people have in a society predicated on full employment. With full

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[224] Karl Marx. *18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* (London: Electric Book Company, 2000), 7.
[225] Klaus Serr. "Poverty, Wealth and the Structures of Global Capitalism." in 4th ed. *Thinking about Poverty,* ed. Klaus Serr. (Sydney: The Federation Press, 2017), 13-15.
[226] Note: Media monopolies were not common, and therefore a diversity of political views were expressed.

employment came the incorporation of Australian workers of all backgrounds into the mode of production.[227] By the 1960s and early 1970s the base structure of Australian society did not reflect the old politics and laws of the superstructure.[228] Workers of diverse backgrounds had become indispensable to the continued growth of the Australian economy and by being so their political influence had increased.

Grounding Theory

A policy white paper commission by Prime Minister John Curtin in 1945 recommended that Australia should aim to have full employment. As the policy was being composed by H.C. Coombs, and implemented by the Minister for Employment John Dedman, there were clear memories of the Great Depression's bread lines and dole queues.[229] The idea was simple, the state should take an active role in regulating the market. Where private enterprise fails to produce work the state should step in and run public works.[230] The aim was to stabilise the economy so that when the market fails and fluctuates, the state would provide worker employment ensuring that money was flowing through the economy.[231] This provided stability for businesses large and small, ensuring that there were always consumers to keep their doors open. Importantly, however, this gave rise to a stable income for Australians, and because of powerful trade unionism[232] wages grew with inflation. Francis G. Castle defines Australia's welfare approach from 1945 to 1975 as non-contributory, in that welfare payments were not large, rather the welfare provided was the state's intervention in labour markets, ensuring that there was labour scarcity, full employment, and high wages.[233]

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[227] Bob Gregory and Peter Sheehan. "Poverty and the Collapse of Full Employment." in *Australian Poverty: Then and Now,* ed. Ruth Fincher and John Nieuwenhuysen (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1998), 103-126.

[228] Appendix A.

[229] Herbert Cole Coombs. *From Curtin to Keating: The 1945 and 1994 White Papers on Employment. A Better Environment for Human and Economic Diversity?* (Darwin: Australian National University, 1994), 1-7.

[230] Note: For example the Snowy Mountain Scheme.

[231] "The 1945 White Paper on Full Employment." *Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet,* retrieved: February 19, 2020; Note: the white paper and is found in the appendix of *From Curtin to Keating.*

[232] Note: See Figure 2 & 3.

[233] Francis G. Castle. *The Working Class and Welfare: Reflections on the Political Development of the Welfare State in Australia and New Zealand, 1890-1980.* (Hong Kong: Allen & Unwin, 1985), 102-109.

The architect of this capitalist mode of production was John Maynard Keynes. His regulatory approach to the economy, known as Keynesian economics, became the status quo between the major political parties. This period demarcates a turn in economic history, a time where the state actively took a role in trying to grow the economy in a humane manner.[234] This transformation saw public investment in infrastructure, subsidies for growing business, and tariffs on imports as sound economic policy.[235] Internationally, similar policies were adopted, and a multilateral monetary regulatory agreement was implemented. Known as the Bretton Woods Agreement, it guaranteed for nearly thirty years economic growth and stability.[236] Full employment was maintained through the Menzies era, the last years of the Coalition Government, and into the early years of the Whitlam Government. With full employment came an equitable distribution of wealth and economic security and, as such, these conditions gave people the freedom to participate in civil society without fear of destitution.[237]

However, international politics and economics was to turn such security upside down. It was during the late 1960s that the Keynesian economic mode of production began to falter. Internationally, economic growth began to stagnate; seeking a solution the USA President Richard Nixon withdrew from the Bretton Woods Agreement in 1971.[238] Meanwhile the Yom Kippur War broke out in 1973, and Western Nations backed the actions of Israel. The Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) harboured resentment towards Western Nations for their support of Israel, and were aware that the cancelation of the Bretton Woods Agreement weakened their economies. In 1974 OPEC restricted the supply of oil to the market crippling the global economy.

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[234] "The 1945 White Paper on Full Employment." *Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.*
[235] Piketty. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century.* 249-294.
[236] Val Wake. "The way forward: The way out of the current global financial crisis." *AQ – Australian Quarterly* 80, no. 6 (2008): 21-22. www.jstor.org/stable/20638593.
[237] Benno Engels and Sonia Martin. "The Welfare State and Neoliberalism in Australia: An Historical Overview," in 4th ed. *Thinking about Poverty,* ed. Klaus Serr. (Sydney: The Federation Press, 2017), 43.
[238] Klaus Serr. "Poverty, Wealth and the Structures of Global Capitalism." in 4th ed. *Thinking about Poverty,* ed. Klaus Serr. (Sydney: The Federation Press, 2017), 13.

Figure 1: Unemployment data retrieved from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Records on long term unemployment begins in 1964. Long term unemployment is defined as being jobless for a year or more. See towards the end of the 1970s the economic crisis had truly taken hold.[239]

Concern about Australia's exposure to the forces of the international market began to permeate years before the economic stagnation. In the late 1960s, leader of the Country Party and Deputy Prime Minister as part of the Coalition Government, John McEwen presciently worried about Australia's increasing reliance on international investment. This struck a positive chord with many in the Labor Party, but alienated his Coalition partners in the Liberal Party.[240] Similar concern was expressed by Coombs, who by 1968 was the outgoing Chairman of the Reserve Bank. He stated:

> ...[foreign companies are] entrusted [with] decisions on matters which may become of increasing national concern to men whose purposes are not ours, whose allegiances are elsewhere, who are not exposed to social pressures which influence Australians, and whose interest in our economy may therefore be limited to short or long-term profits they can derive from it.[241]

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[239] Appendix B.
[240] Bolton. *The Oxford History of Australia.* 180.
[241] Ibid, 180.

But his advice went unheard, economic crisis ensued, and the Whitlam Government was elected in its midst. Although the stagnation of the economy began in the late 1960s, the oil crisis helped stagnate the economy.[242] A political crisis followed, with the loans affair and an obstinate senate helping to end the Whitlam Government. Malcolm Fraser's Coalition Government followed, and accelerated the dismantling of the Keynesian arrangement.[243] Since the regulatory regime was dismantled Australia, like other capitalist states, has experienced deep cycles of inflation and recessions.[244]

Political Bargaining Power

It has been the economic necessity of a certain class that has promoted democratic reforms or revolution. These periods of change have the emerging class use their economic necessity as a bargaining tool to impose a legal framework which helps to increase and secure their wealth. It is a democratic feedback loop, political and material privileges are maintained and elevated so long as the labour of a class or groups of people is necessary to the mode of production. [245] Press criticism of conscription during the 1960s was correlated with full employment. They argued that peoples' stake in an economy driven by full employment was too high, adding that if conscription continued it would come at a great cost to the economy and society.[246] But this democratic feedback loop was not only identified and utilised by draft resisters, but also by the women's and Indigenous movements.

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[242] Benno Engels and Sonia Martin. "The Welfare State and Neoliberalism in Australia: An Historical Overview," in 4th ed. *Thinking about Poverty,* ed. Klaus Serr. (Sydney: The Federation Press, 2017), 45-47.
[243] Ibid, 47.
[244] Note: As Figure 6 indicates in the span of thirty years (1970-2000) Australia has had three recessions, with the additional economic stress of the Global Financial Crisis and another recession in 2020. See also Oliver Stone and Peter Kuznick. *The Untold History of the United States.* (London: Ebury Press, 2013), 392.
[245] Note: See also Chapter Two for a brief example of the bourgeois revolutions and how they elevated their own political and legal rights by having developed the productive forces of Britain.
[246] John Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993), 114-116.

In terms of Game Theory, the labour of a person is far more valuable in an economy that is predicated on full employment.[247] Combine that with large scale collective political action and one has a powerful political entity. The average number of long term unemployed persons during the 1960s and early 1970s was approximately 6,000 people.[248] Thus, a strike or protest of more than 150,000 people would be a real distruption to the domestic economy. A network of interest groups pooled their resources and did just that in May 8th 1970, to protest the Vietnam War. The political bargaining power found within a society with low unemployment proved to be substantial then. The mode of production granted a broad section of society unprecedented political bargaining power, albeit implicit in nature. Another instance of such implicit power is explored in chapter five, where the influence of women, who represented a third of the labour force by 1971, is considered in the Equal Wage Case.[249] Interest group participation rates have only begun to be understood, further research is required. In absence of other ascertainable data similar to Figure 2 the next chapter illustrates political participation in a historical narrative.

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[247] Note: As Figure 1 indicates Australia's economy was predicated on such terms, with unemployment only beginning to increase dramatically by 1974-1975.

[248] Bob Gregory and Peter Sheehan. "Poverty and the Collapse of Full Employment." in *Australian Poverty: Then and Now,* ed. Ruth Fincher and John Nieuwenhuysen (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1998), 107.

[249] Bolton. *The Oxford History of Australia.* 200-201.
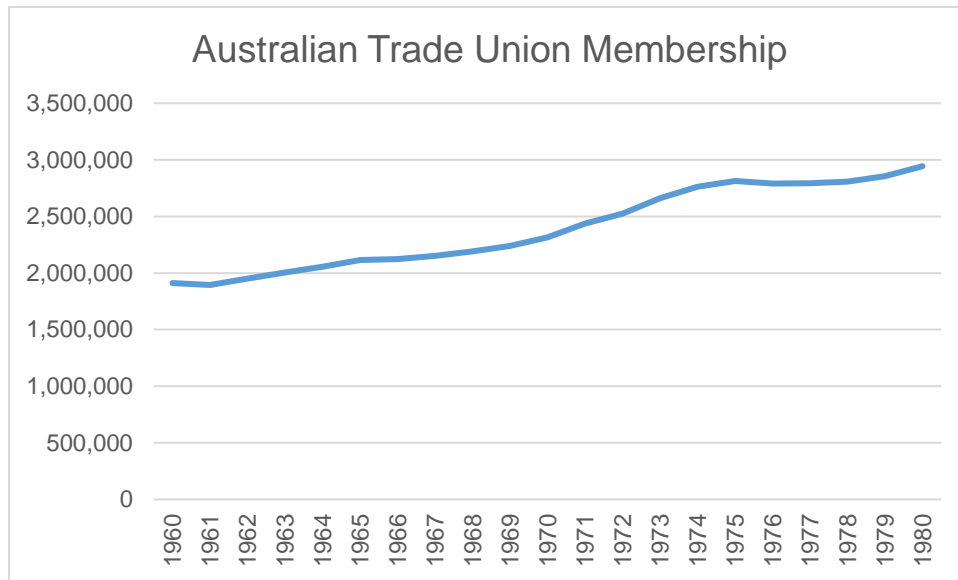
Figure 2: Trade Union data was retrieved from ABS from both the Australian Labour Force Surveys and Census data.[250]
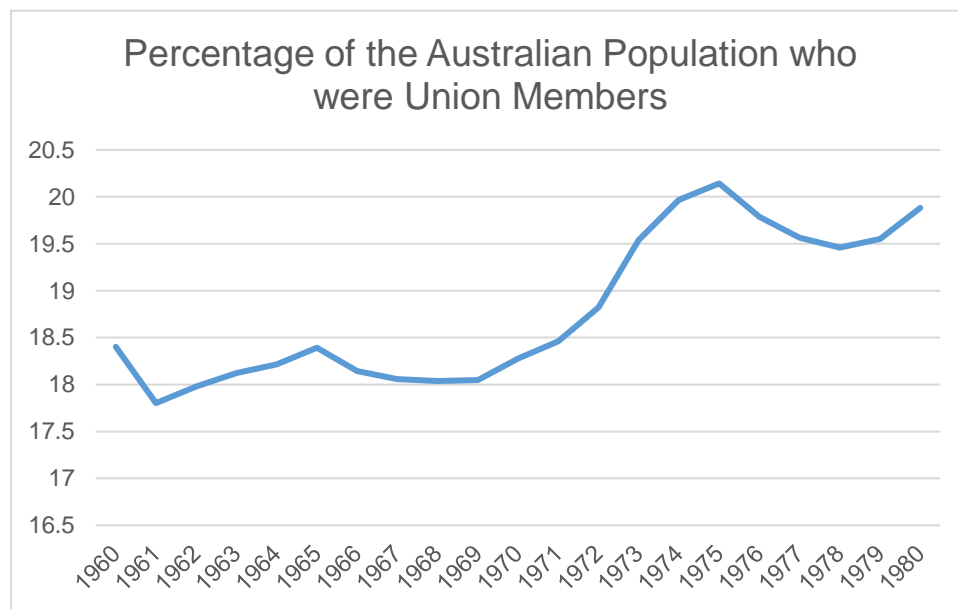
Figure 3: The graph is composed by cross referencing the Australian population with the Trade Union data both from the ABS. This is not a calculation of the total workforce of Australia which is less than the total population of Australia.[251]

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[250] Appendix B.
[251] Appendix B.

Figure 2 demonstrates the explicit bargaining power of withdrawing a full fifth of the labour force, here in we find the mechanism by which the feedback loop functions. The Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU)[252] had a network of connections with other interest groups and this, in turn, would have increased the influence of smaller groups and vice-versa. This offers a glimpse into the influence political participation had in Australia's democracy, and chapter four elucidates this fact further. With this in mind however, a policy demand coming from both the ACTU and the organised women's movement would prove to be a substantial and explicit numerical influence over the economy if taken to a strike or protest. It is the explicit use of people power.[253] However applying Game Theory does not perfectly predict whether a government would be responsive to policy demands coming from political participants. Yet it surely plays a significant role, as the historical record suggests.

The transformation that commercial refrigeration had on the economic development of the pastoral industry provides a sharp example of the feedback loop at work, with cattle eventually becoming one of Australia's largest exports. According to Kahn and Cottle, large sections of rural north Australia required the labour of Indigenous Australians.[254] Employment figures of Indigenous Australians remains sparse, but according to the New South Wales Aborigines Welfare Board there was 96% male employment for a majority of the 1950s, most of whom worked in the pastoral industry.[255] With very few colonial settlers to the north of Australia and even less convict labour, Indigenous labour was essential to the pastoral industry. Working conditions were harsh and living conditions were worse. Yet within that environment the Indigenous movement began to gain momentum. There was no mistaking the pastoralists' explicit desire for European labour and innovations in the late 1960s:

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[252] Note: They are the umbrella body for the trade unions in Australia.
[253] Note: Power can be thought of as a degree of control. The capacity to control people, events, institutions, the economy or governments. Power can be derived from a strength over others. In this sense, a trade union has the potential power over industry, and state police has the potential power over people.
[254] Lewis Kahn and David Cottle. *Beef Cattle Production and Trade.* (Victoria: CSIRO Publishing, 2014), 247-248.
[255] Ann Curthoys. *Freedom Ride: A Freedom Rider Remembers.* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2002), 85.

through worker strikes a peaceful democratic mechanism was being utilised by the Indigenous population to gain better political and working rights.[256]

Affluence & Security on Social Movements

Economic inequality and insecurity has a negative impact on how people interact with one another. High levels of economic inequality correlate with lower levels of interpersonal trust. Conversely, a lack of inequality correlates with higher levels of interpersonal trust. [257] Indeed, collaboration among interest groups was high in the 1960s and 1970s, and for some there remained a shared sense of community.[258] The labour movement helped the peace movement, the peace movement helped the women's movement and so on. The implications of interpersonal trust results in solidarity with marginalised out-groups in society. Solidarity creates large networks of interest groups which can plan and co-ordinate political movements which have transformative consequences. Furthermore, interpersonal trust and social cohesion is what is needed for people to 'buy in' and support interest groups through participation.[259]

Additionally, a society with egalitarian wealth distribution and economic security is freed from bread and butter issues thereby allowing policy discussions to move towards humanitarian and post-material matters. Australia, during the Keynesian era, was that egalitarian society with many willing to advocate for a more humane politics. The economic arrangement had a corresponding effect on communities, minimising social barriers and improving social cohesion. Slavoj Zizek and Mark Fisher argue separately that neoliberal economics (1975-present), which has led to worker insecurity, results in political and social polarisation and a decrease in social cohesion. It has led to a society that prioritises individual security before others.[260] As Fisher states, "It is

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[256] Richard Broome. *Aboriginal Australians.* 5th ed. (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2019), 144.
[257] Dora Costa & Matthew Kahn. "Understanding the American Decline in Social Capital, 1952-1998." *Kyklos* 56, no. 1 (2003): 35-42. doi-org.ipacez.nd.edu.au/10.1111/1467-6435.00208.
[258] Maddox. *Australian Democracy.* 452.
[259] Costa & Kahn. "Understanding the American Decline in Social Capital, 1952-1998." pg. 35-42.
[260] Mark Fisher. *Capitalist Realism.* (Hampshire: Zero Books, 2009); Slavoj Zizek. *The Year of Dreaming Dangerously.* (London, Verso, 2012).

easier to imagine the end of the world than it is to imagine the end of capitalism"[261] or, at the very least, an economic arrangement that benefits the whole society. The contrast between the two economic eras is compelling. Compare the outrage towards two wars, Vietnam and Iraq. The former sustained a decade long peace movement, whereas the latter could only sustain less than a dozen mass protests.[262] There was dissatisfaction with the Iraq war, but no sustained popular movement for peace. Worker insecurity has made political participation a difficult prospect. It either becomes a way of life, giving rise to the professional political operator, or a side spectacle that people vote on every few years. This has led to a narrowing of those who can exert political power, with contemporary policy discourse becoming increasingly technocratic in nature.[263]

Examining functioning and capability studies of poverty offers another dimension into how and why the equitable distribution of wealth influenced public opinion, social movements and society. Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen set out traits or capabilities that is highly influenced by people's economic circumstance, and combine the capabilities with a theory of functioning which aims for human eudemonia or flourishment.[264] Of central concern is the definition of the following capabilities:

> *Sense and imagination – the ability to think and reason in a 'human way';*
> *Emotions – the ability to have attachment to things and other people;*
> *Practical reason – the ability to engage in critical reflection about one's life;*
> *Affiliation – being able to live with and for others;*
> *Control over one's environment – the ability to own property and participate politically.[265]*

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[261] Fisher. *Capitalist Realism.* 1.
[262] Langley. *A Decade of Dissent: Vietnam and the conflict on the Australian home front;* James Arvanitakis. "Redefining the political moment: Or the way politics hollows out politics and how we should respond." *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies* 3, no. 2 (2011). https://search-informit-com-au.ipacez.nd.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=016408405713937;res=IELHSS; Note: It is worth noting however that despite difficulties in Iraq, the aim to peruse long term peace in the region has not subsided.
[263] Peter Allen. "The professionalisation of politics makes our democracy less representative and less accessible*" Democratic Audit Blog*, September 11, 2013. https://www.democraticaudit.com/2013/09/11/the-professionalisation-of-politics-makes-our-democracy-less-representative-and-less-accessible/.
[264] David A. Crocker. "Functioning and Capability: The Foundation of Sen's and Nussbaum's Development Ethic." *Political Theory* 20, no. 4 (1992): 584-612.
[265] Saunders. *The Poverty Wars.* 70-71.

All these capabilities are measured on a sliding scale, where the more affluent and secure one person is the more *likely* they are to possess the above traits. However, the process of measuring these traits are yet to be systematically operationalised.[266] Of course, social context facilitates certain capabilities more than others, access to information, day to day constraints, and class background all play a role. Thus, the thesis contends in general terms, that many Australians during the 1960s and early 1970s having experienced prolonged economic prosperity and security, exhibited and practised many of the listed capabilities.

These capabilities are complimentary to the concept of post-material politics, as stated in Chapter One this form of politics develops in the generations that grow up during a prosperous period.[267] The generational cohort born in the late 1940s grew up to expect economic security, by the time they came onto political arena in the 1960s and 1970s their political priorities evolved to be the post-material as chapters four and five demonstrate. This also explains why the prosperity of the 1950s did not elicit large scale social movements, the generational cohorts that grew up in WWI, the Great Depression, and WWII were in the senior ranks of society and their political interest would have been securing the material.[268] Yet, the social science discussed thus far must be combined with an economic picture to fully understand Australia's wealth distribution.

There are three trends that can be observed which correspond to distribution of wealth. They are Australia's GDP growth, Australia's immigration programme, and Australia's tax data. Ascertaining the median income of the Australian population is near impossible with the introduction of a progressive tax rate. Life at the lower end of mid-range tax bracket would be very different to life in the upper end of the same bracket, hence tax brackets conceal the degree of inequality. But within that limitation is a picture of Australia's concentrated wealth, with very few people in the highest income tax

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[266] Note: Exactly to what extent do individuals exhibit these capabilities beyond their control remains unknown. An important question for further research is, where does the temperament of people end, and where does merit and skill begin; See also Piketty. *Capital.* 611.
[267] Inglehart. "Post-Materialism in an Environment of Insecurity." 880-900.
[268] Inglehart. "Post-Materialism in an Environment of Insecurity." 882.

bracket. This has the corresponding implication that incomes in lower tax brackets must have been higher.[269] It can be seen from the taxable income data that wealth concentration was decreasing from the years 1950 to 1980. With the vertical axis representing the, "…nature of inequality: when it is increasing [in the vertical axis], it means that income is getting more concentrated…"[270] The low and stable concentration of wealth is emblematic of the Keynesian economic era.
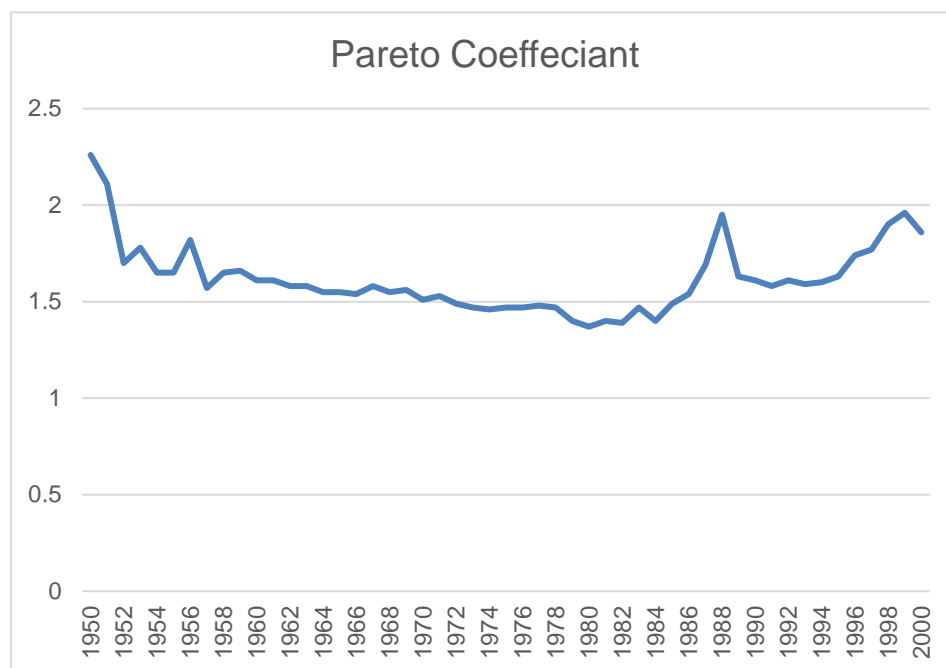
Figure 4: The graph's data was retrieved from the World Wealth & Income Database. The fifty year snap shot offers a glimpse of the post-Keynesian era into the neoliberal era where wealth became concentrated again.[271]

Additionally, Australia was not a capital-dominated society by the very nature of being a colonial country whose population was replenished by immigration. This was most pronounced during the Keynesian era. It gave rise to a period of the 'suburban dream' when it was easier to obtain a well-paying job and to buy property. These circumstances

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[269] Note: See Figure 4.
[270] Thomas Blanchet et al. "Applying Generalized Pareto Curves to Inequality Analysis." *World Wealth & Income Data,* January 2018.
[271] Appendix B.

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though, were not permanent. [272] Thus immigration in Australia had an equalising effect on the distribution of wealth; this phenomenon becomes more pronounced because Australia is a colonial settled society. Early in the establishment of the Australian colonies there was an absence of entrenched hierarchies, and a diminished significance of inherited wealth.[273] Essentially, every colonial settler or immigrant had to carve out their own living, to survive on their own labour and savings. Equally, every colonial settler from 1788 to the present analysis brought with them their own capital, or in the case of convicts, their own ability to create/earn capital. By the twentieth century immigrant's capital increased and diversified the circulation of money through the economy thereby significantly slowing, not stopping, the effects of wealth concentration which for a time made Australia an egalitarian society.[274]
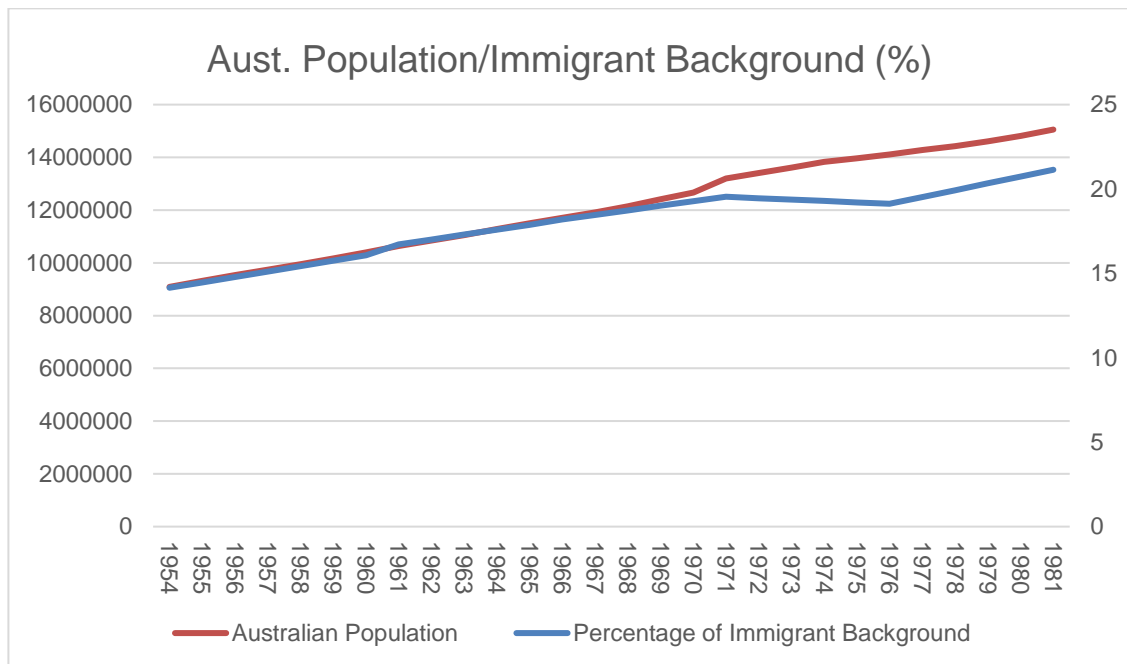
Figure 5: Data was retrieved from the ABS, and immigration data specifically from the census. Percentage calculations were made by the author. The graph offers a glimpse of the post-Keynesian era into the neoliberal era.[275]

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[272] Note: Figure 1 shows the climbing unemployment rate, with 1975 signalling the start of the neoliberal era; and Figure 4 indicating the outcomes of the changing economic model, where after the 1980s capital concentration increased dramatically.
[273] Piketty. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century.* 106-107.
[274] Note: See Figure 4.
[275] Appendix B.

Figure 5 illustrates Australia's immigration as a percentage of the total population and Australia's population growth, both grew in tandem for most of the Keynesian period. This graph indicates to two points: the correlation with the economic stagnation which was beginning to take hold globally in the late 1960s;[276] and, approximately a fifth of the Australian population were born overseas making the equalising effect a prominent feature of Australian society.
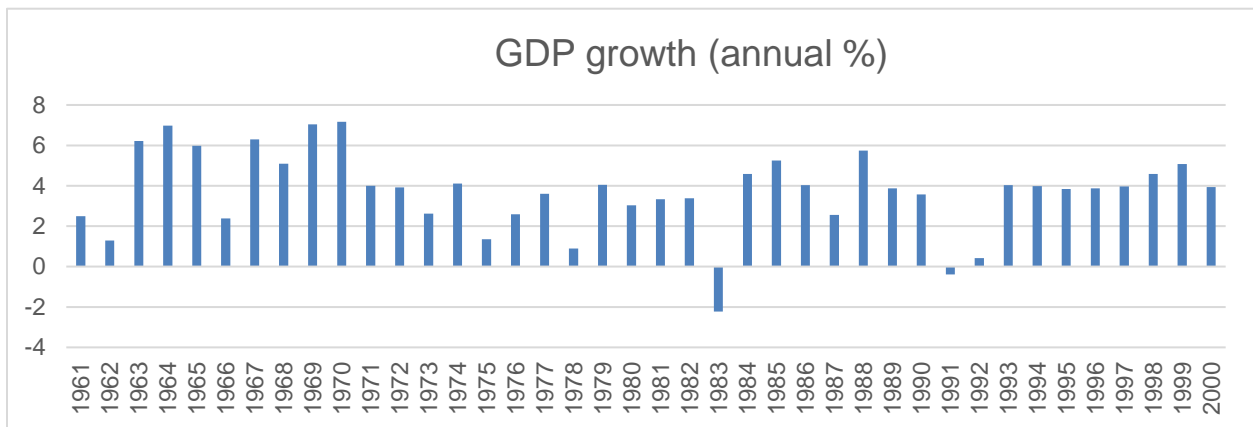
GDP growth (annual %)

Figure 6: The data was retrieved from the World Bank, available data only begins at 1961. GDP growth should always be understood with unemployment rates and other relevant data. GDP growth itself hides the dynamics of the growth and its effects on a society.[277]

Yet, the rapid economic growth via immigration, worker security and state regulations, is an aberration to the historical norm. Take the extreme but illustrative example of the medieval era, where economic growth is estimated at about 0.1% per year or less for centuries. As such political power structures and social relations were reproduced generation after generation.[278] Thomas Piketty suggests that if economic growth is at 1% per year then that, "…means that new functions are constantly being created and new skills are needed in every generation."[279] Australia's economic growth from 1960 to 1980 remained on average at 4.26% per year, and thus social relations were changing rapidly. Such a rate of growth is profound on a society but unsustainable. The growth

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[276] Note: This can be seen sharply when combined with Figure 1.
[277] Appendix B.
[278] Piketty. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century.* 93-94.
[279] Ibid, 107.

was egalitarian, many people benefited from it. Keynesian growth thus gave rise to social mobility and temporarily limited the reproduction and of wealth concentration. Problematically, growth is impermanent; the low economic inequality of the Keynesian era is materially and temporally limited.

The golden age of capitalism ended in 1975. In total the affluence and security afforded to the Australian public and social movements were temporary but nonetheless present during the 1960s and early 1970s. The contradiction of liberal democracy seemed to have been resolved. These economic conditions gave rise to the social conditions which fostered greater social cohesion, interpersonal trust, and a base from which political participants could persuade the public towards a more humane politics. The Keynesian era smoothed out the contradictions of capitalism, but only for a fleeting moment. The stagnation and crisis that followed were precipitated by the demand for high economic growth. This demand for higher growth and in turn profits came at the cost of wages and worker security, and so the contradiction of liberal democracy returned.

Conclusion

For a majority of Australian history its civil society was dominated and shaped by a narrow section of society. That is what makes the 1960s and early 1970s such a significant period; there was a substantial increase in the political participation and bargaining power of women and Indigenous people - two social categories which were usually marginalised in Australian civil society. Through the participation of these marginalised groups they put their issues on the political agenda. Garnering the support from the wider public was made easier as a shared affluence and security gave rise to a multitude of social capabilities. A combination of social cohesion, practical reason, affiliation, and complex emotion gave rise to a post-material humanitarian politics. Incongruities within the liberal democratic framework were identified and calls for reform grew louder. Support came from both major political groupings, the Coalition and Labor.

Although the former was reluctant and slow to give concessions, the latter party was optimistically adopting an ever-growing reform agenda by 1972.[280]

[280] Bolton. *The Oxford History of Australia.* 174 & 176.

Chapter 4

Upending the Status Quo

Democracy is government by the people, and government by the people demands action by the people. It demands effective ways of showing what the interest and needs of the people really are. It demands action in public places all around the land.[281]

Jim Cairns

Bridging some of the incongruities of liberal democracy required worker security and a shared affluence. With fear of destitution mitigated, people participated in civil society and pressed for reforms. The following chapter explores the transformation of Australian politics. Australian democracy was flourishing and operated just as Robert Dahl's intertwined prerequisites of democracy set out.[282] The political superstructure transformed to a genuine expression of democratic politics towards the 1960s and early 1970s. With full employment came the full incorporation of a large cross section of society. A broad cross section of society became essential to the continued growth of the capitalist mode of production, this led to tensions with the marginalised and the existing political superstructure. The existing structure was old and becoming a hindrance to the development of Australia's productive forces. The institutions and laws which justified inequality between men and women, and between Indigenous Australians and European Australians had effectively become redundant. Equally the laws which justified a discriminatory immigration programme became disconnected with the public as the media began to humanise the Vietnamese. This humanising process was essential to ending arguments for conscription, and by the same way attitudes towards Indigenous Australians transformed. The shared affluence and security gave rise to a critically reflexive population willing to engage in political participation to resolve the tensions of liberal democracy.

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[281] CPD, House of Representatives, vol. 66, 14 April 1970, pg. 1066-1068.
[282] Robert Dahl. *On Democracy.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 58.

Indigenous Rights

Indigenous rights began to seep into the political agenda in 1938, where two associations, the Aboriginal Progressive Association and the Australian Aborigines League declared 26 January as a day of mourning.[283] The date, in 1788, marks the start of Australia's colonisation, and a dramatic change in the trajectory of the Indigenous population. However, momentum was building and national awareness for Indigenous affairs began fifteen years before the 1960s, with a strike that became known as the Pilbara Walk-off. The walk-off highlighted the oppressive conditions Indigenous Australians experienced. Their struggle was supported in solidarity by multiple interest groups. Organisers from the labour movement, particularly from the Seamen's Union of Australia (SUA), and Australian Workers Union (AWU) assisted in the action.[284] The walk-off began in 1946, and was organised by Dooley Bin Bin, Daisy Bindi, Clancy McKenna, and activist Don McLeod. Of the organisers, Dooley, McKenna, and McLeod were arrested under the *Native Administration Act*, which drew greater attention to the strike itself.[285] The Committee for Defence of Native Rights, took the effort to write to the Secretary-General of the UN,[286] arguing that the conditions the striking workers were under contravened the newly created UN *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. In the post-WWII political climate, violations of human rights were increasingly shunned by the wider public.[287] Daisy Bindi said of their conditions, "We didn't live in houses or anything. We had to go down to the creek like kangaroos... We just want to be treated like human beings, not cattle."[288] Thus the strike and media attention that followed led to a royal commission in 1952 to investigate the matter.

Commissioner F.E.A. Bateman and Sir Ross McDonald were early high-ranking government officials to find favourably towards Indigenous Australian autonomy. They wrote, "[they] had walked off stations, dissatisfied with their conditions…" noting that the

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[283] Bain Attwood. *Rights for Aborigines.* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2003), 30-33.
[284] Attwood. *Rights for Aborigines.* pg. 184-186.
[285] Ibid, 143; "NATIVES' STRIKE" *Northern Times, Carnarvon,* June 28, 1946, pg. 12.
[286] Committee for Defence of Native Rights to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organisation, New York, 13 June 1946, SROWA, 1945/0800/221-23.
[287] Attwood. *Rights for Aborigines.* 134.
[288] Katrin Wilson, "The Allocation of Sex Roles in Social and Economic Affairs in a 'New Style' Australian Aboriginal Community, Pindan" (Master's thesis, University of Western Australia, 1961), pg. 45.

conditions were "palpably absurd."[289] Their findings suggested that Indigenous people should have the freedom to work wherever they like, and that the pastoralists and mining companies should not discriminate against their Indigenous employees. In an article in the *West Australian*, titled "The Native Question", landlords and squatters are interviewed in a discussion about the way in which they treated Indigenous Australians. The article elucidates their fear that the Pilbara Walk-off was the start of a popular emancipatory politics for Indigenous people, that they can get better living conditions by taking direct political action. The discussion proceeds, in matter of fact terms, that landlords have been caught red handed, caught committing human rights violations; and as such there was no going back – there was an inevitable move towards more humane treatment of Indigenous people.[290] The article states, "The Natives… are likely to regard the increase in rations as a direct outcome of the strike agitation. If this happens it might well sow the seeds of further trouble."[291] Indeed, trouble for those who sought to maintain the status quo did follow. A peaceful and democratic mechanism to gain better conditions was found, and it was to be used to its upmost ability and, in so doing, inspired many. As Allen Muriwulla Baker stated in the 1970s, "Now to me revolution was when I picked up a pick and shovel and starved in the strike of '46… Aboriginals are standing up. Look at that strike."[292]

Another strike followed, this time at Berrimah Reserve in the Northern Territory on November 1950 and then in January 1951. It was organised and advised by Fred Waters and Yorky Peel of the Northern Australian Workers Union (NAWU). The strike, of about 300 Indigenous workers, was not just for better wages and conditions, but also to be recognised as citizens equal to any other Australian and for the dismantling of discriminatory laws.[293] These laws included nightly curfews and limitations on their freedom of movement. Some in government thought their actions were sincere and that they ought to have better living conditions, whereas others thought it was a communist

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[289] Sir Ross McDonald and F.E.A. Bateman on Native Group at Marble Bar, Don McLeod Papers, State Library of Western Australia, MS 5525A/2.
[290] "Native Question: Effects of Recent Strike" *The West Australian,* June 27, 1946, pg, 11.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Broome. *Aboriginal Australians*. 144.
[293] Attwood. *Rights for Aborigines.* 131-136.

conspiracy enacted by militant unionists.[294] The strikers did not relent, but the government sought to clamp down on them. They arrested and removed Fred Waters from Berrimah Reserve, hoping that if they removed the Larrakia elder that the situation would calm down. This action however, only agitated the strikers and union. The president of the NAWU sought international support from the World Federation of Trade Unions and from the UN, with some success.[295] The strike also gained political support from both conservative and progressive sides of society. In particular, the conservative newspaper the *Argus,* and in the progressive Labor Party, which the union movement successfully lobbied for support.[296] A union spokesman accurately summed up their struggle for equal rights as their desire for "[a] place in the community as workers and citizens".[297] *Argus* journalist Gordon Williams wrote a scathing criticism of the government's treatment of Indigenous people by stating, "Does it mean that aborigines belong to a different, inferior order of Mankind? Or does it simply mean that they are expendable, and that if they perish in dirt and decay the Government will have another problem off their hands."[298] Policy at the time indicates the latter proposition to be more accurate, with an active policy of assimilation on the books.[299]

These strikes laid the groundwork for a monumental walk-off led by Gurindji elder Vincent Lingiari in 1966.[300] Again the strike action was to highlight the inhumane working and living conditions of the Gurindji people. Gurindji elders and organisers met with NAWU organiser Dexter Daniels to discuss their initial demand for equal wages. As the political climate around the strike intensified, their political demands evolved; they were asserting their right to work, equal pay, and the right to live on their traditional country. The strike was no longer a worker/employer dispute, but rather a larger symbolic struggle of Indigenous Australians asserting their sovereignty. A significant portion of Linguari campaign was entrusted to the NAWU, an institution which was largely dominated by European Australians, this in turn helped to humanise Indigenous

[294] Ibid, 132
[295] A. Dowling to President, United Nations, NAA, A431/1,1950/3697; Attwood. *Rights for Aborigines.*135.
[296] Attwood. *Rights for Aborigines.* 132-133.
[297] *Northern Standard.* January 26 & February 16, 1951 **quoted in** Attwood. *Rights for Aborigines.* 133.
[298] Gordon Williams. *Argus.* March 9, 1951, **quoted in** Attwood. *Rights for Aborigines.* 134.
[299] Attwood. *Rights for Aborigines.* 119.
[300] "Aborigines Strike for More Money" *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 30, 1966, 2.

people to the white population – they were working with each other as equals facilitating interpersonal trust.[301] Within the NAWU was the legal and political experience to successfully carry out an industrial action. They promoted their cause via tours to other work sites, with predominantly white workers. The strike drew the attention of both the major political parties, but only the support of the Labor Party.[302] The strike action was only recognised as legitimate by the Federal Government two years after it took place. With an Equal Wage Case taking place before the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission court after the referendum of 1967 to recognise Indigenous Australians as legitimate citizens.

For ten years the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (FCAATSI), campaigned for constitutional recognition. FCAATSI campaigners went from door to door gaining signatures to compel the federal government to call a referendum.[303] The FCAATSI campaign and the industrial action taken by Indigenous leaders were not the only political interest groups trying to advance Indigenous peoples' rights. There were the Freedom Rides led by Student Action For Aborigines (SAFA) in 1964-1965, which called for constitutional recognition and an end to Indigenous segregation from white Australia. Prominent Indigenous activist and one of the leaders of the Freedom Rides, Charles Perkins, said the purpose of the rides, "[Was] to break down the social barriers against Aborigines…"[304] These rides, inspired by the US Civil Rights movement, gained favourable national media coverage. The students uncovered discrimination and exclusion from everyday society, from the exclusion of public amenities to violent acts of racism.[305] The *Tribune* stated, "One of the main things about the students' expedition has been that their visits have encouraged many of the Aboriginal people to stand up for their rights. They have also encouraged many among the white population [to] want to get rid of discrimination and

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[301] Attwood. *Rights for Aborigines.* 187-192.
[302] Attwood. *Rights for Aborigines.* 187-192.
[303] Ibid, 161-178.
[304] "Student Group Hopes to Aid Aborigines". *The Canberra Times,* February 13, 1965, pg. 1 & 4.
[305] "Violence explodes in racist town: Moree battles students." *Daily Mirror,* February 2, 1965, pg. 1.

have won moreover to this viewpoint."[306] As the article suggests, public opinion was beginning to turn in favour of Indigenous Australians.

Increasing media exposure of racial discrimination helped to win over the support of white Australians and humanised Indigenous Australians.[307] The medium of photography and television was becoming essential to illustrating the plight of Indigenous peoples.[308] As Waratah (aka Rosemarie Lorraine Gillespie) suggests about Australian society,

> *Those years [post-WWII] saw global changes in perceptions and power: decolonisation was on the international agenda; civil rights were growing in strength. Racism had become the ugly wart decent people were at pains to deny. The 1967 Referendum gave non-Aboriginal Australians an opportunity to express their belief in equality, justice and the idea of 'a fair go.'[309]*

The then opposition leader, Gough Whitlam, echoed this sentiment by speaking of the referendum as an opportunity to, "purg[e] this stain from our constitution."[310] When it came to vote Australians overwhelmingly favoured change, with 90.8% voting to remove discriminatory clauses in the constitution.[311] The majority was so large that, as Kim Beazley Senior wrote, "The... referendum is the first in Australian history to have been carried in every constituency in the House of Representatives."[312] But as the article in *The Canberra Times* correctly points out the referendum was but a legal formality, further stating:

> *The Commonwealth not only has to inspire action in the States but must improve its own programmes and methods… The needs are fairly obvious: it is the priorities and the methods that are not. Welfare workers are wanted in large numbers; better housing on a large scale; education and more education; vocational training on reserves; equal chances in employment; better medical services; training in hygiene and diet; land rights in reserves.*

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[306] "Students' report will shock: Heroic Story of 'Freedom Ride'". *Tribune,* February 24,1965, p.1.
[307] Scott Bennett. *White Politics and Black Australians.* (Sydney: Allen Unwin, 1999), 20-23.
[308] Note: A scathing example is an op-ed that which effectively used photography; Fred Wells. "Apathy and indifference to aborigines squalor." *The Canberra Times,* January 23, 1965, pg. 2.
[309] Waratah. *Reflections: 40 years on from the 1967 Referendum.* (Adelaide: Aboriginal Legal Rights Movement Inc, 2007), 22-23.
[310] Bennett. *White Politics and Black Australians.* 22.
[311] Ibid, 22.
[312] Kim Beazley MP. "Now action is needed for the Aborigines." *The Canberra Times,* June 1, 1967, pg. 2.

Those are the things that cost money, unlike… conferring of drinking rights and a vote...[313]

It is these issues which are precisely what Indigenous activists had been, and still are, campaigning for.

Political recognition was slow to be gained. Governments on both the state and federal level were, however, beginning to see the merit in Indigenous Australians participating in the policy making process. In other words, Australia was slowly becoming more democratic as Indigenous people were gaining more opportunity to participate in Australian politics. However, this process was not perfect. For example, there was the Council for Aboriginal Affairs, South Australian Aboriginal Affairs Board and the Western Australian Advisory Council. Despite the fact there was an Indigenous presence on these governmental bodies, it was observed that their input was largely tokenistic, with the final outcome of policy recommendations being made by white Australians.[314] However, increasing Indigenous presence was a step in the right direction. Late in his life and by then also the former Chair to the Council for Aboriginal Affairs, H.C. Coombs, observed that, "...Aborigines needed to be empowered to take an active role as agents in negotiations with federal, state and local governments and other bodies (especially corporations from the private sector), which were impinging on their lives."[315] It is for these imperfections that the Indigenous rights movement took a militant turn, taking inspiration from Malcolm X in the US and his Black Power philosophy, as well as the anti-apartheid and anti-colonial sentiment emanating from South Africa. Indigenous Australians adopted a direct form of political participation asserting their demands and creating the Black Panther Party of Australia (BPPA).[316] Land rights, claims to sovereignty, the claim that Indigenous Australians are an invaded people was

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[313] "Imperfect example" *The Canberra Times,* May 30, 1967, p. 2.
[314] Bennett. *White Politics and Black Australians. 40.*
[315] Herbert Cole Coombs. *Aboriginal Autonomy: Issues and Strategies.* (Melbourne: CUP, 1994), 172.
[316] Kathy Lothian. "Seizing the Time: Australian Aborigines and the Influence of the Black Panther Party, 1969-1972." *Journal of Black Studies* 35, no. 4, (2005): 179-200. doi.org/10.1177/0021934704266513.

asserted nowhere more clearly than by the establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy on the 26th of January 1972.[317]

The Tent Embassy was established outside Federal Parliament grounds in response to the Coalition Prime Minister Billy McMahon's speech where he stated his desire for a 'diluted assimilation' and his refusal of land rights. McMahon's vision was to make Indigenous Australians indistinguishable from any other white Australian.[318] The BPPA in Redfern NSW, with their anti-colonial and self-determination philosophy, organised the protest. Michael Anderson, Billy Craigie, Bert Williams and Tony Coorey volunteered to camp outside Parliament House.[319] They utilised a loophole in territory law which allowed Indigenous people to camp on crown land, which the Australian Capital Territory is, without being forced to leave.[320] The symbolism of the Tent Embassy being established on the 26th of January, Australia Day or Invasion Day, was twofold. One, it was a reminder to white Australians that Indigenous Australians were virtually treated like aliens in a land which they had claim to long before colonisation. Secondly, it symbolised Indigenous Australians' self-determination that they would not assimilate into a 'white' Australia, rather they would hold onto their oral histories, culture, and traditions.[321] Raising their own flag was a clear statement of this, of asserting their sovereignty as a colonised people, and demanding to not be treated like foreigners in their own land.[322]

The Tent Embassy gained support from all over the country. Activists, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, joined the initial four protestors. The media's portrayal of the Tent Embassy was mixed, some framed them as audacious larrikins which played favourably

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[317] Gary Foley, Andrew Schaap, and Edwina Howell. *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy: Sovereignty, Black Power, Land Rights and the State.* (New York: A GlassHouse Book, 2014), 7-8.
[318] Foley, Schaap, and Howell. *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy.* 3.
[319] Kurt Iveson. "'Making space public' through occupation: The Aboriginal Tent Embassy." *Environment and Planning A* 49, no. 3 (2017): 538. doi.org/10.1177/0308518X16682496.
[320] Note: Territory law usually applies to Australia's territories, which are the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory; Paul Muldoon and Andrew Schaap. "Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation: The Constituent Power of the Aboriginal Embassy in Australia." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30, no. 3 (June 2012). doi.org/10.1068/d24310.
[321] Iveson. "'Making space public' through occupation: The Aboriginal Tent Embassy." 550-551.
[322] Muldoon and Schaap. "Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation: The Constituent Power of the Aboriginal Embassy in Australia."

to the Australian public. Interest groups, big and small, gave their support from all walks of life; from the ACTU, the peak of the labour movement, to the National Council of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women, which at the time had only just been formed. Anti-apartheid and peace activist student groups joined the embassy, signalling an important connection with youth culture and the Indigenous rights movement. Eventually the McMahon Government, embarrassed and frustrated by the acts of solidarity with the protest, amended the legislation so that the police could forcibly remove them from Parliamentary grounds.[323]

Women's Rights

Women's rights interest groups existed long before the 1960s, with women's suffrage movements organising in the late nineteenth century. Their participation in civil society helped women gain the right to vote.[324] Women's Christian Temperance groups or the Women's Equal Franchise Association's set a precedent that women organising in interest groups could make political gains. There was a belief within the first wave feminist movement that if women received the vote, then women's issues would automatically be on the political agenda. However, this did not eventuate, which prompted the rise of second wave feminism.[325] They championed those issues that the first wave failed to put on the political agenda. Furthermore, women's interest groups also began to broaden their political demands. An effective example is Save Our Sons (SOS), evoking the 'maternal' figure to help end conscription in the Vietnam War.[326] This new feminism emerged simultaneously with the anti-war, and indigenous rights movements. Women's interest groups and their demands were not homogenous, some groups were made up of university students and others came from a domestic background. The Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) was formed with the political goal of

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[323] Foley, Schaap, and Howell. *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy.* 256.

[324] Audrey Oldfield. *Woman suffrage in Australia: a gift or a struggle?* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pg. 117-119 & 263.

[325] Anne Summers. *Damned Whores and God's Police: The colonization of Women in Australia.* 1st ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1975), 172.

[326] Ibid, 172; Siobhan McHugh. *Minefields and Miniskirts: Australian Women and the Vietnam War.* (Sydney: Doubleday, 1993), 205-212.

equality, whereas others promoted and sought political and legal protection for what made women different to men.

There were obvious practical and material issues that getting equal franchise did not fix. In the post-war era women were still expected to spend their time at home with children and attending to domestic issues. Women were allowed at the workplace but were seen as a cheap source of labour, yet there was growing tension for women made up a third of the workforce; whereas before the world wars this was unimaginable.[327] There were very few after school care centres, youth facilities, public libraries, no all-day daycare, and some suburbs did not have kindergartens. Information and advice about contraceptive methods were few and far between, and at the same time abortion was considered a crime. All of these were immediate material concerns. Meanwhile humanitarian post-material issues began to gain traction, with solidarity expressed towards the Indigenous rights movement. These concerns were initially raised by the Union of Australian Women (UAW), an interest group which formed in the 1950s.[328] The UAW can be thought of as the bridge of what later evolved as second wave feminism in Australia.

The UAW did not want to constrain their political goals, they did not wish to be seen as just another housewife association, rather they wanted to be viewed as women asserting their views irrespective of their marriage status. A founding member of the UAW was Doris Mary McRae (1893-1988), she was a headmistress, the vice-president of the Teachers' Union and a lifelong activist.[329] Another member was Mary Wright a trade unionist and Women's rights activist, with strong connections to the Labour Council of NSW and to the Communist Party of Australia (CPA).[330] Barbara Curthoys, another prominent member of UAW, was a feminist, social activist and campaigned heavily on Indigenous rights. She was elected to be the head of the UAW on multiple occasions and was in the Newcastle Trades Hall Councils' committees of Equal Pay

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[327] Bolton. *The Oxford History of Australia.* 200-201.
[328] Ruth Crow. *A tribute to Doris McRae, 1893 to 1988: a life dedicated to peace and social justice* [unpublished]. (Melbourne: Victorian University Research Repository, 1988), 10-11.
[329] Crow. *A tribute to Doris McRae, 1893 to 1988,* [unpublished]. 1-2.
[330] Maggie Shapley. *Collecting women's archives at the ANU Archives.* Archives and Manuscripts, November 28, 2017, pg. 1-5.

and Aboriginal Advancement.[331] UAW member Eva Bacon was just as well connected being a member of the People for Nuclear Disarmament, the Women's Electoral Lobby, and participated in the Women and Labour national conference.[332] Needless to say these are just a handful of UAW members, it demonstrates, however, that their interests varied and their connections were wide. Kevin O'Toole remarks on the UAW's great capacity to form coalitions with other interest groups, which in turn, allowed them to exert greater political bargaining power in civil society.[333]

The UAW approach to campaigning on issues arguably laid the groundwork for future tactics of feminist interest groups. Child care was seen as a form of charity during the 1960s. Charity to mothers from broken families, mothers who had children out of wedlock, mothers who were widowed and mothers who were divorced.[334] Needing daycare facilities was seen as socially stigmatising, for large sections of Australian society shunned divorcees and women who had sexual relations outside of marriage.[335] However as a report by the Victorian Association of Day Nurses concluded, "...nurseries [day cares] must remain open because 60 percent of the mothers were [now] the breadwinners, and that [a] professional service to the community had to replace the practise of charity."[336] Societal norms were changing and as an Australian Pre-School Association study points out with some apprehension, "Whether you like it or not, the fact is undeniable that many married women with children now work outside the home… Married women should have the freedom of choice to pursue this dual role, but it must not be done at the expense of the welfare of their family and children."[337] During the start of the 1960s discourse on daycare remained a moral issue, by the end of the 1960s the discourse shifted, discussing the matter in practical economic terms. As UAW

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[331] Lyndall Ryan, "Obituary - Barbara Curthoys: Communist Activist and Researcher", *Labour History*, no. 80, (2001): 227-229. DOI: 10.3828/27516782.
[332] Deborah Jordan. "Bacon, Eva (1909–1994)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 2018,* retrieved: March 19, 2019.
[333] Kevin O'Toole. "The Union of Australian Women: The Childcare Issue." *Labour History,* no. 75 (1998): 151. DOI: 10.2307/27516606.
[334] Anne Summers. *Damned Whores and God's Police: The colonization of Women in Australia.* 174.
[335] O'Toole. "The Union of Australian Women: The Childcare Issue." 144-146.
[336] Marilyn Lake & Frances Kelly. *Double Time: Women in Victoria - 150 Years.* (Ringwood, Victora: Penguin Books, 1985), pg. 388.
[337] Deborah Brennan. *The Politics of Australian Childcare: From Philanthropy to Feminism.* (Melbourne: Cambridge, 1994), 60.

organiser Alma Morton suggested, "[I]f industry needs women in the workforce…[it was] up to both industry and the government to subsidise all daycare centres for working mothers."[338]

Other interest groups took their concerns to city councils and members of parliament but were having little luck lobbying on the matter. The UAW was different, though, taking a participatory grassroots approach. They conducted surveys by knocking on doors, distributing information about the issue. This had the effect of informing mothers of a politically active interest group advocating for their concerns, which in turn empowered the UAW. With the data from surveys the UAW could effectively approach parliamentarians and city councillors and demand the establishment of daycare centres. Their tactic, of getting as many people to participate in civil society, worked well. In 1964 the Oakleigh City Council in Melbourne established the daycare services because of the petitions submitted by the UAW.[339] As part of their ethos the UAW actively did not discriminate on class nor ethnicity in their campaigning methods.[340] The many connections the UAW leadership had with the labour movement meant that they successfully lobbied the Victorian Trades Hall Council (VTHC) to advocate for improved access to child care.[341] The VTHC, in turn, introduced the matter in the peak trade union body of Australia the ACTU. In March 1969, an ACTU resolution was carried to, "...investigate [funding] requirements of all levels of schooling...",[342] and for the federal government to assist state governments where funding was deficient. This motion included daycares, kindergartens and preschools, and was then adopted as policy by the Whitlam Government in 1972.[343] From grassroots participation to federal

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[338] Union of Australian Women, "Here and There", *Newsletter,* August 1969, pg. 5.

[339] O'Toole. "The Union of Australian Women: The Childcare Issue." 148.

[340] Note: This demonstrates an increased level of trust amongst other people, and is in line with the above mentioned study and increased material equality; Union of Australian Women. "Annual Report", *Newsletter,* May 1971, pg. 1; O'Toole. "The Union of Australian Women: The Childcare Issue." 149.

[341] Union of Australian Women, "Day Nurseries", *Newsletter*, November 1968, pg. 5.

[342] ACTU Executive Meeting, 17-21 March 1969, ACC802A/4, Archives Trades and Labour Council of WA of the ACTU, SLWA, pg 20-21.

[343] Jenny Hocking. *Making Modern Australia: The Whitlam Government's 21st Century Agenda.* (Melbourne: Monash University Publishing, 2017), 3-34.

policy, the UAW demonstrated how women's participation in civil society can effectively change policy.

The UAW had a rapid decline in membership towards the end of the 1960s. Explanations for why it happened are disputed, but historian Kevin O'Toole argues that they were limited by their discourse of maternalism, which was inconsistent with a newly emerging form of feminism. However, the cause of the interest group Save Our Sons (SOS) indicates that maternal discourse and second wave feminism were not mutually exclusive. SOS was founded by two mothers from the UAW, with their mission to end conscription and see peace in Vietnam.[344] Explaining the decline of the UAW is perhaps as simple as a generational shift, after all the UAW was founded in the early 1950s and its membership's interests by the late 1960s had multiplied and fractured. Four interest groups, all connected by their causes or membership, demonstrates that rather than the discourse of maternalism being limiting, it was rather a part of an evolving expansion of public discourse.[345] This expansion is opposed to a traditional view of the docile domesticated mother and wife who only concerns herself with matters of the home. The women of the UAW and SOS voiced their opinions on political rights and international affairs and occupied their place in civil society.

The maternal figure worked to the advantage of the SOS, who whilst advocating for peace and an end to conscription, also helped gain enfranchisement of eighteen year olds. Their method of peaceful protest made their arrests jarring to the public. Sympathy for their cause grew, a *Tribune* report of their arrest is indicative of the public mood:

> *Political police of the Askin Government's New South Wales Special Branch roughly jostled mothers peacefully demonstrating at Sydney Central Station last week against conscription of 20-year-olds for overseas service… The 20-year-olds [conscripts] were friendly to the demonstrators and in some cases*

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[344] McHugh. *Minefields and Miniskirts.* 205-207.
[345] Note: Union of Australian Women, Women's Electoral Lobby, Save Our Son's, the Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament (later known as People for Nuclear Disarmament) were in one way or another connected with each other; Jordan. "Bacon, Eva (1909–1994)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*; "SOS Newsletter (January 1967)", *Australia and the Vietnam War, Australian Department of Veterans' Affairs,* retrieved: March 26, 2019; UAW Newsletter, August 1964, ACC1838A/14, Archives of the Union of Australian Women, SLWA, pg. 2.

> *expressed support… Even a uniformed policeman expressed sympathy with the demonstration.*[346]

Their appeal to the public was their 'distinctly genteel image', a motherly figure which nearly everyone could relate to.[347] SOS's political heritage, the UAW and their tactics, was also of use to their cause. When in 1966, through their grassroots activism, they collected over 17,000 signatures for a petition in support of their cause, it was the largest petition to be submitted to Federal Parliament at the time.[348]

With branches all over Australia, SOS organisers could tailor their campaigns to their specific neighbourhoods. Their tactics became increasingly judicious with the lobbying of politicians from both sides of politics who resided in swing seats. They were also sure not to be politically partisan to gain as much support as possible. Atheist and Anglican, communist and Catholic, Liberal and Labor – women of all socio-economic and ideological backgrounds worked together in SOS.[349] Their cause required a high degree of social cohesion and interpersonal trust, and despite their membership base having contradictory and opposing backgrounds, they were ultimately successful. For some, trust became especially important, for their actions were occasionally illegal non-violent protest.[350] One of their methods to persuade the public to their cause, was to hold free public lectures or information sessions. These public events became hubs for new ideas, ideas which a new generation of women adopted and campaigned on.[351]

A young and new generation of feminists attempted to expand the political consciousness of non-politicised women. This involved hosting public information sessions, seminars, or leafleting. They were seeking to put notion that 'the personal is the political' on the public agenda. Their saying encapsulates the shift in the women's rights movement. The old women's movements were concerned with many issues from nuclear disarmament, to Indigenous rights, to daycare centres. The UAW were raising

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[346] "Save Our Sons!" *Tribune,* July 7, 1965, pg.1.
[347] McHugh. *Minefields and Miniskirts: Australian Women and the Vietnam War.* 207.
[348] McHugh. *Minefields and Miniskirts: Australian Women and the Vietnam War.* 208.
[349] Ibid, 206.
[350] "SOS mother freed from jail" *The Canberra Times,* April 19, 1971, pg. 9.
[351] Jude Conway. "The Battle for Custodianship of International Women's Day in Newcastle, New South Wales." *Lilith: A Feminist History Journal* 23, (2017): 57. search-informit-com-au.ipacez.nd.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=041972842280187;res=IELHSS.

women's issues into the political sphere, but they would be best characterised as 'the domestic is political', with a focus on issues nearly always in relation to the domestic sphere. WEL's founding principles were centred on the new philosophies which later became known as women's liberation movement, their political focus was on the lived experience of being a woman. As one WEL activist stated, "[we have to] stop mirroring men's institutions and behaviours"[352] in order to avoid masculine hierarchies. This evolution of the women's rights campaigning wanted to disentangle the tight bind between domestic issues (daycares and schools) and women's issues such as sexual harassment, abortion rights, no-fault divorces and so on.

WEL's reorienting of women's issues shone a light on an aspect of Australian society which had been largely ignored. The laws and institutions of Australian society privileged the experience of men and neglected women. Moreover, there were laws that singled out women, and punished them for immoral behaviour. Behaviour that, if done by a man, would be considered normal and within their right. Furthermore, as Anne Summers pointed out in 1975, "...the [Australian] State does not recognise a woman's right to an independent income…",[353] this further reinforced women's dependency on a male income and exacerbated their inequality. This reorienting of discourse sought to change the structural inequities that prevented women from achieving self-actualisation and self-determination which, if achieved, would further democratise Australian society. Summers remarks that it was the effective lobbying of WEL, and the coming of the reformist Whitlam government that made the women's rights movement distinctly successful.[354]

Peace Movement

Australia's military involvement in Vietnam began long before there were mass protests against it. In 1965 the Menzies Government increased Australia's involvement in Vietnam for two reasons. The first was from a fear of Russian and Chinese influence in

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[352] Sarah Maddison & Marian Sawer. *The Women's Movement in Protest, Institutions and the Internet: Australia in transnational perspective.* (Milton, UK: Routledge, 2013), 70-72.
[353] Anne Summers. *Damned Whores and God's Police: The updated edition of the classic study of women in Australian society.* 182.
[354] Ibid, 516.

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the South East Asia. The second reason was that Australia was seeking to reinforce the goodwill they had established with the US. The inner circle of the Menzies Government was so eager to participate in the Vietnam War that they committed Australian troops, in correspondence with the US, without consulting the federal cabinet.[355] It is disputed whether the Australian Government invited itself to the war, with the Prime Minister of South Vietnam, Phan Huy Quat, reluctantly accepting Australia's commitment of troops.[356] Even so, South Vietnam was a highly unstable country and had new prime ministers on a near yearly basis. [357]

Australian military advisors had been in Vietnam since 1962, it comes as little surprise then that the commitment of Australian troops received little objection from the Australian public. [358] Polling indicated the public was not split on the issue, rather two thirds of the public supported the deployment of Australian troops and only a third opposed it.[359] Menzies stood aside as Prime Minister the following year, and the new Coalition leadership under Harold Holt was tested on their decision to go to war in an election in 1966. After a poor campaign from the Labor Party and the high personal approval rating of Harold Holt, the Coalition received 56.9% of the vote.[360] This was perceived within the Coalition as an endorsement of the war. The public mood towards the war also conformed with the cultural anxiety already established in Australia: the anxiety over the 'yellow menace', of Asian nations invading in 'hordes'.[361] However, the voluntary recruitment rate was low and the US was pressuring the Australian Government for more troops. The then leader of the opposition, Arthur Calwell, prophetically condemned the Coalition Government after the initial commitment of troops, stating:

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[355] Note: A fortnight before the request for troops came, Menzies asked the Australian ambassador to the US to ask the US to ask Australia for military assistance; Trish Payne. *War and Words: The Australian Press and the Vietnam War*. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007), 1.

[356] Paul Ham. *Vietnam: The Australian War*. (Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers, 2010), 127; Langley. *A Decade of Dissent*. 25.

[357] Stone & Kuznick. *The Untold History of the United States*. 332; Ham. *Vietnam*. 127.

[358] Michael Sexton. *War for the Asking: How Australia invited itself to Vietnam*. (Frenchs Forest: New Holland, 2002), 56.

[359] Ham. *Vietnam*. 131.

[360] Murphy. *Harvest of Fear*. 159.

[361] Ham. *Vietnam*. 130 & 132.

> *If the [Coalition] Government now says that conscripts will not be sent, this means that the First Battalion [of 1000 Australian soldiers] is never to be reinforced, replaced, or replenished. If this is not so, then the Government must have a new policy on the use of conscripts - a policy not yet announced… There is now a commitment of [soldiers]. As the war drags on, who is to say that this will not get to 8,000, and that these will not be drawn from our vote-less, conscripted 20-year-olds… To the members of the Government, I say this: if, by the process of misrepresentation of our motives, in which you are so expert, you try to further divide this nation for political purposes, yours will be dreadful responsibility, and you will have taken a course which you will live to regret…[362]*

Indeed, the enforcement of conscription via the *National Service Act of 1964* followed in 1966. The *National Service Act* legislation was passed with the pretext of expanding the army, to safeguard Australia from the deteriorating situations in both Malaysia and Indonesia. But the Government was misrepresenting their motives, the situations in Malaysia and Indonesia were of little concern to Australian military chiefs and nor was it for Menzies.[363]

The government, however, had jumped the gun, having legislated for conscription before war was declared. Minister for Defence, then later for External Affairs, Paul Hasluck, pushed for the use of conscripts in Vietnam to then entice the US to expand their military presence. This plan became known as the 'Hasluck Doctrine', a plan which was backed by the Prime Minister; a plan which worked.[364] However, when conscription was enforced, support for the war began to fall eventually dividing the nation. Conscription itself has a long history of being opposed by the Australian public, the Vietnam conflict was no different.[365] What followed was a coalescing of various interest groups opposing the war, and the creation of new interest groups dedicated to ending conscription and Australia's involvement in Vietnam.

Intellectuals gave 1960s youth culture a new language, a new way of thinking – one far more critical of the status quo. They include European thinkers from the

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[362] Ham. *Vietnam.* 131.

[363] Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* 114-116.

[364] Ibid, 107 & 116.

[365] James Millar Main. *Conscription: The Australian Debate, 1901-1970.* (Melbourne: Cassel Australia, 1970).

Frankfurt School, American Noam Chomsky, and later Australian Anne Summers just to name a few. It was a culture of self-liberation, questioning social norms, and the norms of the state; such a mentality made them a critical component of the peace movement.[366] Conscription engendered a mix of horror and rage, gaining the nickname of 'the lottery of death' and leading to the growth of the Moratorium campaign within the peace movement.[367] Public dissent over the conflict pointed to the vague and secretive nature of the Menzies Government defence policy. The Coalition government had played politics with a phantom threat from Malaysia and Indonesia to gain support for conscription, but knowingly legislated conscription for a conflict in Vietnam.[368] This fact was not lost on a counterculture that was increasingly sceptical of the state. For the Moratorium to grow, those who opposed the war had to persuade the public *en masse*. The disorientating decision making process of the government, and the debacle of the war itself helped persuade the public in the Moratorium's favour.[369] The Viet Cong's Tet Offensive in early 1968 demoralised the Australian public and signalled a turning point towards the public's opinion of the war, abruptly ending any assumption that Australia and its allies were winning.[370] For the Coalition, it signified the end of Australia's hegemonic cultural Cold War anxiety, an anxiety which was used politically to justify their foreign policy for almost three decades. The offensive signalled for Australia's political left a cultural opening where messaging of the Vietnam War as unwinnable and immoral began to gain traction.

It became common knowledge after the 1968 Tet Offensive that American and Australian forces were seriously neglecting the political and social conditions in Vietnam. They were overlooking what gave rise to the revolution in Vietnam, rather focussing their tactics on their military might.[371] The allies would win nearly all the battles but not the war. The situation rapidly changed in Vietnam, faster than the Coalition Government could control. First, US President Lyndon Johnson recognised

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[366] Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* pg. 106-109 & 114-115.
[367] Langley. *A Decade of Dissent.* 11-19.
[368] Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* 115.
[369] Bolton. *The Oxford History of Australia.* 186-187.
[370] Bolton. *The Oxford History of Australia*, 187-188; Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* 137, 197-200.
[371] Stone & Kuznick. *The Untold History of the United States.* 341.

the legitimacy of the Viet Minh by going into peace talks with them. This was followed quickly in 1969 with America's new president, Richard Nixon, announcing America's withdrawal of troops, and Vietnamisation of the conflict, known as the 'Guam Doctrine'.[372] Momentum for the peace movement grew from these promising events, but their approach remained unfocused and divided as disagreement over tactics grew. The Coalition Government reacted to the rapid shift in American foreign policy with indecision, instead focussing on repression of the local protestors.[373]

Peace movement interest groups such as SOS, Youth Campaign Against Conscription, Australian Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament (ACICD) and many others hung their fortunes on a Labor Government being formed in 1966. The electoral loss accelerated the radicalisation of some campaigners and draft resisters.[374] Simultaneously Labor sought to moderate their anti-war position and the Coalition Government hardened their position by amending the *National Service Act* to include two year imprisonment for draft resisters.[375] As the former Catholic priest, turned Australian Broadcasting Corporation presenter, Val Noone described the 1960s, "…[it was] like living in a storm."[376] ACICD protestors began to mirror the tactics used by Indigenous rights movement, by launching Freedom Rides for imprisoned conscientious objectors.[377] In 1968 there was a legal challenge to the Act with attempts via the High Court to liberalise the interpretation of the law in favour of conscientious objectors; the judges, however, ruled in favour of the Coalition government.[378] Thus the protestors were increasingly forced into a corner: either comply with the draft and go to war, or actively break the law and risk two years of imprisonment.

The illiberal interpretation of the Act manifested new interest groups, ones that explicitly were formed on the basis of breaking the law - of non-compliance with the draft. Of these interest groups the Committee Against the National Service Act

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[372] Note: This meant training the South Vietnamese army to fight against the Viet Minh; Ibid, 360.
[373] Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* 200-206.
[374] Ibid, 157-158.
[375] "Mass pressure, not 'compassion', behind Zarb release." *Tribune,* August 27, 1969, pg, 12; Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* 159.
[376] Langley. *A Decade of Dissent.* 12.
[377] Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* 215.
[378] Ibid, 215.

(CANSA), which was formed in late 1968, found support across the political spectrum from the Labor Party to the CPA. In turn, the Coalition Government ramped up police surveillance of peace and leftist groups, actively undermining their efforts and breaking up their demonstrations.[379] By 1969 civil disobedience had become common, with CANSA signalling a new dimension to the peace movement; a new willingness to organise civil disobedience on a large scale.[380] Although statistically the odds of being conscripted into the army were rather low, the very public nature of the civil disobedience meant that they raised awareness of the issue via a sensationalist media.

A particular flashpoint was the case of South Australian John Zarb, a twenty-one year old part-time student and postman. He objected to the draft and was consequently imprisoned for two years. He was the first to serve jail time for non-compliance. His imprisonment gained considerable public sympathy, with the media placing his story front and centre of the public debate. Interest groups such as Campaign for Peace in Vietnam (CPV) organised protests on his behalf. At one point the CPV were receiving $1,000 per month in donations to assist in their campaign.[381] Flyers were distributed by the CPV which simplified their issue with the *National Services Act*, it stated:

- *THIS ACT forces citizens to become informers*
- *THIS ACT makes no provision for alternative forms of non-military service*
- *THIS ACT forces the individual to participate in military service against the dictates of his conscience*
- *THIS ACT denies the right of trial by jury*
- *THIS ACT makes one man, the magistrate, the sole judge of another man's conscience*
- *THIS ACT threatens the conscientious objector with political imprisonment[382]*

The flyer then implores the reader to write for his release either to their MP or to the magistrate, J.W. Cuthill, who heard Zarb's case. Support for his case grew rapidly,

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[379] Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* 211-218.
[380] Main. *Conscription: The Australian Debate, 1901-1970;* Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* 211-218.
[381] M.J. Saunders, "A Note on the Files of the Campaign for Peace in Vietnam", *South Australiana*, Vol. 21, September. 1982, retrieved: State Library of South Australia, June 22, 2019.
[382] State Library of South Australia SRG 1248, reproduced with the permission of the Campaign for Peace in Vietnam, *Australia and the Vietnam War, Australian Department of Veterans' Affairs,* retrieved: June 27, 2019.

gaining global attention with a Scandinavian branch of Amnesty International declaring him a 'prisoner of conscience.'[383]

Domestically, the CPV were not the only interest group that were agitating for his release, his union the Amalgamated Postal Workers Union (APWU) were also campaigning on his behalf.[384] The General Secretary of the APWU polemically said of Zarb's imprisonment, "John Zarb is a political prisoner, [jailed] by fascists. He refuses to take part in the murder of people who have done him no harm. He upholds the Christian principle of 'thou shalt not kill'."[385] The Victorian Branch of the Labor Party adjourned their state conference with a resolution to assemble and protest once a month outside the Victorian Pentridge Prison where Zarb was imprisoned.[386] Crowds swelled outside the prison, with an estimated 1,000 people demanding Zarb's release in early August 1969.[387] Not long after, in late August, Zarb was released on compassionate grounds. Labor politician and prominent campaigner for Zarb's release, Gordon Bryant, concluded, "[Zarb's release is] not so much the result of a burst of compassion on the part of the government as the product of a public campaign which has made John Zarb's name familiar to most Australians with a conscience."[388]

As Zarb's case demonstrates, the peace movement was not a single unified entity, but rather a diverse range of interest groups. Their ideologies and opposition to the war were equally diverse. Often the differing ideologies led to conflict, with some left interest groups inclined to practice non-violent civil disobedience, whereas moderate or liberal interest groups opposed the war via petitions or letter writing. These conflicts were, however, set aside for the Moratorium campaigns in 1969-1971. The coalescing of the peace movement reflected a fractured period for the political conservatives. Media reports of the US committed My Lai massacre, where 109 women and children were killed, and Australian reports of the 'Water Torture Incident' damaged the pro-war

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[383] "Scandinavian group 'adopts' John Zarb." *The Canberra Times,* August 21, 1969, pg. 3.
[384] Bob Scates. *Draftsman go Free: A History of the Anti-Conscription Movement in Australia.* (Melbourne, 1989), 33.
[385] Scates. *Draftmen go Free: A History of the Anti-Conscription Movement in Australia.* Pg. 33.
[386] "Mass pressure, not 'compassion', behind Zarb release." *Tribune,* August 27, 1969, pg, 12.
[387] "800 in walk for Zarb" *Tribune,* August 13, 1969, pg 12.
[388] "Mass pressure, not 'compassion', behind Zarb release." *Tribune,* August 27, 1969. pg , 12.

argument.[389] The US stated their intention to withdraw from Vietnam in June 1969, which caught the Coalition Government off guard.[390] Internally the Coalition were in a state of paralysis, wanting the US to maintain a military presence in the region, but also wanting to mirror their ally's decision to withdraw troops. The indecision of the Coalition Government is evident in the six months that it took for Prime Minister John Gorton to make an announcement on the withdrawal of Australian troops.[391] The leadership within the Coalition was also divided after a poor election outcome in 1969. Gorton's leadership was challenged by Billy McMahon and David Fairbairn, with Gorton winning the leadership spill.[392] The indecision and division contributed to a mood for change, adding momentum to the Moratorium campaign.

Planning for the Moratorium began in late 1969, inspired by the US Moratoriums which drew over 100,000 protestors in Washington and more in other towns and cities. Australian campaigners from across the country, and from diverse interest groups, created the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign (VMC). They established committees in their respective states with a national coordinating committee in Canberra.[393] The diverse cross section of the community that made up the VMC is perhaps what made it such a powerful movement. Delegates from Canberra's national committee were largely composed of moderate interest groups. VMC state-based committees incorporated both militant and moderate tendencies, the participants included ACICD, ALP, ACTU, CPA, SOS, and more.[394] Much of the organisational work of the first moratorium was done by the ACICD. Their strategy was to appeal to as broad of a constituency as possible, which was why the May 8th, 1970 moratorium was considered such a profound success.[395]

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[389] Payne. *War and Words: The Australian Press and the Vietnam War.* 197; "My Lai: Inquiry shifts to Vietnam." *The Canberra Times,* December 29, 1969, pg. 7; Bolton. *The Oxford History of Australia.* 166.

[390] "Nixon statement of withdrawal." *The Canberra Times,* June 10, 1969, pg, 6.

[391] Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* 114-116 & 242-244.

[392] Bolton. *The Oxford History of Australia.* 186.

[393] Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* 244.

[394] Note: The Victorian Branch of the VMC had over 150 interest groups affiliated with it; Ibid, 244-246 & 248.

[395] Ibid, 245.

Collectively all-around Australia, in towns and cities, approximately 120,000 to 150,000 people participated in the first moratorium. In Melbourne alone about 70,000 to 100,000 people were involved. Conservative opinion was a mix of surprised and impressed, as the paper *The Age* wrote, "A thousand police, many armed with pistols and shotguns, waited. But hardly a punch was thrown. The riots did not happen."[396] Amongst the protestors was Labor MP Jim Cairns, a key organiser for the moratorium campaign, who addressed the Melbourne crowd, "The sea of upturned faces [gives me] even greater confidence in the Australian people… What other issue could have produced a response like this?"[397] The mass mobilisation also provoked horror and vitriol amongst Coalition MPs; infamously the Minister for Labour and National Service, Billy Snedden, colourfully labelled the protestors, "political bikies who pack-rape democracy."[398] The Australian political landscape had not seen political participation of that scale before. Cold War paranoia and conformity meant that for generations the concept of democracy spilling out onto the streets was foreign. Their concept of democracy had been the proceedings of Parliament, and protesting was at the ballot box not the streets.[399]

Symbolically the Moratorium Campaign signalled a turning point for the Australian public. For over 20 years the political left had been divided across ideological lines, maintaining however an egalitarian democratic ethos. As evident with interest groups such as SAFA advocating for an end to institutional discrimination of Indigenous people, or WEL raising women's issues as politically equal to men's issues, or SOS trying to save their sons from an illiberal law that forced them to go to war. With the Vietnam War and conscription there was a common issue that all could organise around. The politically conservative was tired and divided, and there was a mood for change and reform. As Jim Cairns argued in parliament a week before the first moratorium:

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[396] *The Age,* May 9, 1970 **quoted in** Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* 246.
[397] "Thousands join in Moratorium, few incidents." *The Canberra Times,* May 9, 1970, pg. 1.
[398] Alexandra Pierce. "The anti-conscription and anti-Vietnam war movements in Australia." *Agora* 51, No. 3, (2016): 68. search-informit-com-au.ipacez.nd.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=326727595238134;res=IELHSS.
[399] Langley. *A Decade of Dissent.* 4-24; Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* 246-248.

...times are changing. A whole generation is not prepared to accept this complacent, conservative theory. Parliament is not democracy. It is one manifestation of democracy… Democracy is government by the people, and government by the people demands action by the people. It demands effective ways of showing what the interest and needs of the people really are. It demands action in public places all around the land...[400]

Cairns was correct, the times were changing. After Whitlam's narrow election loss in 1969, he led the Labor Party again in the 1972 federal election campaign with the slogan, 'It's time', and won.

Conclusion

Having utilised a diverse set historical sources such as press articles, a multitude of interest groups' histories, and open sourced archival information; the chapter has illustrated how worker security and affluence precipitated a rise in political participation. Of the three movements discussed, success may have been different were it not for the lack of economic inequality. They had, so it seems, encouraged enough people to empathise with their situation and policy demands. Political organising and bargaining power had become so effective that many, but not all, policy demands were met. Elements of these movements allude to a desire for a genuine and universal expression of liberalism. Liberalism maintains inherent humane values which the old superstructure did not substantially practise. In appropriating the original aspirations and rhetoric of the bourgeoisie, a broader section of society gained many social and political rights, and equally, in utilising democratic mechanisms available, people helped overturn the *National Service Act* which contravened basic civil liberties. A genuine universal expression of liberalism, as suggested in chapter one, slides into a democracy, but a set of material conditions need to be present as suggested in chapter three. This is how the lack of economic inequality and worker security affects democracy. Worker security and incongruities with the liberal superstructure drove people to participate in politics to elevate their material privileges and status, but also to act in solidarity to help others. In the following chapter there will be an exploration of how egalitarian wealth distribution acted as the engine for humanitarian social reform.

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[400] CPD, House of Representatives, vol. 66, 14 April 1970, pg. 1066-1068.

Chapter 5

Times are Changing

We cannot afford to limp along with men whose attitudes are rooted in the slogans of the 1950s, the slogans of fear and hate. If we made such a mistake, we would make Australia a backwater in our region and a back number in history.[401]

Gough Whitlam

In a democratic society, major changes in policy require that certain steps be taken if they are to be accepted by the public. It is a cyclical process commencing with problem identification, followed by an undertaking to highlight the issue. The political participation discussed in the previous chapter describes the start of this process. What follows is a consultation and consensus-building period. The influence an equitable distribution of wealth has on a society is profound in this regard. An increasingly complex way of thinking was being put forward, the public were being asked to empathise and recognise the legitimacy of out-groups and their grievances. As the social consequences of an equitable wealth distribution suggests, the broad increase in affluence and security across Australian society permitted the social conditions for people to consider post-material humanitarian issues. As such, the following chapter examines the consensus-building process with respect to three specific policies. The first example is a genuine commitment to civil liberties and anti-colonial politics. The second is the bridging of the incongruities of liberalism and the application of humane values universally. The last example examines how the forces of production shaped the superstructure.

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[401] Gough Whitlam. *It's Time for Leadership: Australian Labor Party Policy Speech, delivered by Gough Whitlam.* Sydney, 13 November, 1972, Malcolm Farnsworth's Collection, retrieved: 23 September 2019.

Mothballing the Draft

In policy terms, the Labor Party was firmly against the use of conscription well before Whitlam's election in 1972. To be explored then, is the grassroots political background to this consensus, and the weight it had within the party. The party's membership is diverse, to a fault, with three infamous splits of the party in 1916, 1931 and 1955. Significantly the split of 1916 was about conscription.[402] It is in the 1916 debate that many senior party members of Arthur Calwell's 1966 Shadow Ministry cut their teeth, and endured the two splits that followed. These members were 'dyed in the wool Labor'; true believers. Committed to civil liberties, workers' rights, and by the Whitlam era, universal human rights; they were also suspected by the Australian political right of harbouring communist leanings, and were distrusted by the US foreign policy apparatchiks.[403]

To delve into the acrimony and weight of Labor's decision to not support conscription and to advocate for peace in Vietnam, requires, in some respects, an understanding of former Labor Prime Minister William Hughes' conscription referendums of 1916 and 1917. Hughes narrowly lost both votes, which had an immense toll on the Labor Party and the public.[404] Two battles, Gallipoli and The Somme, severely depleted the size of the Australian Army. Hughes, alarmed by this and pressured by Britain, sought to implement conscription into Australian law.[405] He was, however, aware of his own party's opposition to conscription. Seeking to override the party's position he called for a public vote on the matter. This severe miscalculation on Hughes behalf led to a hotly contested vote, with Irish born Catholic Archbishop Daniel Mannix advocating the 'No' vote.[406] A troubling facet of the debate was the Protestant/Catholic divide. Protestantism was closely linked with the upper and middle

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[402] Dyrenfurth and Bongiorno. *A Little History of the Australian Labor Party.* 55-120.
[403] James Curran. *Unholy Fury: Whitlam and Nixon at War.* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2015), 113 & 216.
[404] Dyrenfurth & Bongiorno. *A Little History of the Australian Labor Party.* 61-66.
[405] Ibid, 61-66.
[406] Patrick Morgan. "The Parallel Careers of Arthur Calwell and Archbishop Simonds." *Journal of Australian Catholic Historical Society* 38, (2017): 74. search-informit-com-au.ipacez.nd.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=377962580008049;res=IELHSS; Note: Mannix played a far more prominent role in the 'No' vote of 1917.

classes and was part and parcel connected to the abstract notion of the British Empire –
with its holy ordained protestant monarch at the helm. This was an abstract notion
which many Australians, in the early twentieth century, so desperately wanted to still
belong to, and be identified with.[407] Concurrently, however, the Irish executed an
uprising on Easter 1916 signalling the start of a long conflict that would end with Irish
independence from the British Empire in 1937, but with no peace until 1999.[408] The Irish
Australian was no sympathiser with the British Empire. They were predominantly
Catholic and of middle to working class and, for the most part, viewed the Easter Rising
favourably. Hughes's referendum revealed a schism in Australia. By any measure
Australia was not a unified nation, whether it be understood by class, faith, or vote
outcome. This period left an indelible stain on the Labor Party, splitting its constituency
and members. But in so doing it created new avenues for a more diverse party base.
Such working class leanings slowly led to the party becoming increasingly sympathetic
towards other marginalised people. This surely contributed to the Labor's ambitious
reform agenda of 1972.

For a commonwealth so young and for those who remained in the Labor Party,
conscription became a topic which struck a nerve close to their hearts. Although the
political task for Arthur Calwell in the 1960s was to hold together and lead what was left
of the Labor Party, the memory of his youthful political antics surely informed his initial
brash response to the *National Service Act*.[409] Calwell was a protégé of Daniel Mannix,
by the time he was twenty-four, in 1920, he was on the executive committees of the
Irish Ireland League of Victoria, Melbourne branch of the Labor Party, and State Service
Clerical Association.[410] Some thought him too close to Mannix, a puppet of his ambition,
however, Calwell had his sights on the Seat of Melbourne, for which he was
preselected, and secured in 1940.[411] Becoming leader of the party in 1960, Calwell and

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[407] Summers. *Dammed Whores and God's Police: The updated edition of the classic study of women in Australian society.* 341.
[408] Mike Morrissey and Marie Smyth. *Northern Ireland After the Good Friday Agreement: Victims, Grievance and Blame.* (London: Pluto Press, 2002); Charles Townshend. *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion.* (London: Penguin, 2006).
[409] Ham. *Vietnam: The Australian War.* 131.
[410] Morgan. "The Parallel Careers of Arthur Calwell and Archbishop Simonds." 74.
[411] Ibid, 74-80.

his parliamentary colleagues were the outcome of a turbulent time for the Labor Party. The conscription debate in the 1960s and 1970s required little, if any, lobbying towards the party. Their history meant that their opposition to it was almost a foregone conclusion. Thus, with consensus established with a major political stakeholder, the task then was for the Labor Party and the peace movement to establish consensus to end conscription with the public at large. Calwell's rhetoric of the debate echoed Mannix's arguments, however this came with little success. His dismal result in the 1966 federal election led to a new generation leading the party and Calwell bowing out of public life.[412]

Labor's approach to foreign policy was significantly different to the Coalition's; such contrasting discourses invited the Australian public to think of foreigners differently from the prevailing discourse emanating from the Coalition. Equally, Labor were beginning to mirror the opinions and realities of society's economic base. Menzies and his Coalition colleagues justified their foreign policy often in terms of a besieged Australia; isolationist in view 'forward defence' in action. Often relying upon imperial power for protection and policy direction. It was a premise of foreign policy which made sense under the auspices of the early twentieth century British Commonwealth; but by the 1960s Australian trade was not entirely reliant upon Britain. It had become diffuse and diversified; trade links by 1967 included China, Japan, and Korea.[413] Labor, under Whitlam and future PMs, viewed foreign policy as a means of collective protection and mutual aid, highly reflective of Australia's new trade networks.[414] Under Whitlam's leadership the party had an increasingly internationalist anti-colonial perspective, a view where all nations deserved the right to self-determination.[415] One can see the labour movement slowly moving in this direction under the leadership of Doc Evatt twenty-

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[412] Murphy. *Harvest of Fear.* 159.
[413] Agnieszka Sobocinska and Richard White, "Travel and Connection," in Vol 2. *The Cambridge History of Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre. (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 475-476.
[414] Michael Kirby. "Whitlam as Internationalist: A Centenary Reflection" *Melbourne University Law Review* 39, (2016): 853, 864-865; Jim Cairns. *The Eagle and the Lotus.* (Melbourne: Wilke and Company Limited, 1969), 224-226. search-informit-com-au.ipacez.nd.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=195104286270209;res=IELHSS.
[415] Ibid, 853-854.

three years earlier, with Evatt becoming the first and only Australian to be President of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1948-1949.[416] This difference in perspective was not voiced in government for twenty-three years; nor was a humanitarian politics expressed by the public for nearly the same period. Instead Australians, under the Coalition Government, were receiving ideas of an imminent Communist Chinese invasion; playing on tropes of the 'yellow menace' and domino theory, whilst praising the archaic British Empire and cosying up to the American Empire.[417] The discourse and purpose for conscription became an existential need under the Coalition Government, a need that was left wanting in lieu of an actual threat.

Normalising relations with Asia, and reversing hundreds of years of racial animosity towards Asians was the Labor Party's goal.[418] Worker security and a shared wealth had created a public that was receptive to humanitarian politics.[419] Gaining consensus on the matter made arguments for conscription mute. Whitlam took the burden of his party's history in his stride. Before the demise of Evatt in the Federal Caucus in the 1950s, Whitlam was considered his strong supporter, an equal voice for internationalism and a supporter for the UN. Further, Whitlam's internationalism was also a product of his father's career; Fred Whitlam, who was deeply involved in the writing of international treaties and declarations, including the UN *Universal Declaration of Human Rights.*[420] With such an upbringing, Whitlam's support for internationalism is unsurprising. Long before it was the consensus within his own party, he supported an independent Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and Malaysia) and Papua New Guinea (PNG).[421] His meeting with Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai in mid-1971, whilst Opposition leader, was an iconic moment in history.[422] He was the first western leader to visit Communist China which began the process of normalising relations. This caught

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[416] Ashley Hogan. *Moving in the Open Daylight: Doc Evatt, an Australian at the United Nations.* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2008); Kirby. "Whitlam as Internationalist: A Centenary Reflection." 854.
[417] Kirby. "Whitlam as Internationalist: A Centenary Reflection." 854.
[418] Ibid, 855.
[419] Saunders. *The Poverty Wars.* 70-71.
[420] Cameron Hazlehurst, "Whitlam, Harry Frederick (Fred) (1884–1961)." *Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 2002,* vol 16, 540–541.
[421] Kirby. "Whitlam as Internationalist: A Centenary Reflection." 878-880.
[422] Curran. *Unholy Fury: Whitlam and Nixon at War.* 111-114.

the Coalition and the US off guard, infuriating US President Richard Nixon who sent his most senior diplomat, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, to China soon after Whitlam. Relations between Nixon and Whitlam would only deteriorate.[423]

Michael Kirby observed, "Whitlam appreciated that, in some respects, political perception became realities."[424] Whitlam led by example; his internationalist world view helped normalise Asian relations. His rhetoric invited people to perceive Asia differently, to humanise the region and to empathise with their situation. These actions made peaceful Asian engagement palpable for the wider public. For instance, negotiations for PNG independence with the Coalition Government were dithered over and delayed. Discernible political parties were appearing in PNG, and by an Act of Federal Parliament a legislative assembly was established in 1962. Recognising the move to independence was necessary; Whitlam went on a well-publicised tour of the future country whilst in opposition. As Rory Ewins remarks on the public's shifting perception, "As early as 1960, the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Gough Whitlam, was calling for independence to be granted by 1970… When Whitlam repeated his call in 1965… it was noticed, with a poll showing 30 percent of Australians favouring speedy independence and 49 percent favouring delay (the latter centring their answers at about ten years)."[425] As the poll indicated, there was a growing desire in Australia for PNG independence, recognising the Papuans as legitimate and deserving of self-determination. Calls to end the Coalition's slow parochial approach towards PNG independence followed, with some effect. Under the Whitlam Government independence was granted for PNG on the 16th September 1975.[426]

Whitlam was not the only fervent internationalist in the Labor Party caucus. Dr Jim Cairns Member for Yarra, then for Lalor, wrote prolifically on the South East Asian region. The Coalition's arguments for intervention in Vietnam often intentionally referred

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[423] Curran. *Unholy Fury: Whitlam and Nixon at War.* 176.
[424] Kirby. "Whitlam as Internationalist: A Centenary Reflection." 877.
[425] Rory Ewins. "The Papua New Guinea Constitution: Australia's Role in its Development, 1960-75 [unpublished]" *Honours Essay,* 1990, retrieved: September 14, 2019.
[426] Kirby. "Whitlam as Internationalist: A Centenary Reflection." 879.

to the region as a monolithic Indochina; thereby ignoring the various indigenous ethnicities, and relying upon Australian indifference to not examine the matter further.[427] Cairns, on the other hand, was concerned with correcting the record; his approach was intelligent and considered – more historian than politician. His book *The Eagle and the Lotus* spelled out how the Vietnam conflict was a result of a 1950s nationalist-Buddhist revolution against French imperial capitalism.[428] Cairns noted that the Viet Minh sympathies towards communism was a direct result of their opposition to the French parcelling of old communal village land as private property.[429] Published in 1969, the text demystifies South East Asia, taking the reader through the region step-by-step to explain the internal and external histories of Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia.[430] This nuanced understanding of the region was rare, with the discourse of Asia having remained closely linked to British, French, and US expressions of imperialism.[431] With such diverse media and literature, people were offered information that could break through the fog of war. Cairns' approach to consensus was premised upon the expectation that the public would critically engage with the content; and so they did, if the Moratorium protest of May 8th, 1970 is indicative.

Australian's economic affluence and security helped facilitate complex feelings of empathy then and, as such, stories emanating from the media had a great impact on the public.[432] The *Eagle and the Lotus* certainly gave a language to the Australian peace movement. Jim Cairns was the voice of reason, the public intellectual, persuading sections of the public to have a more enlightened view of Asia. His other text, *Silence Kills*, featured graphic images of the conflict, indicating to another layer influencing public opinion: images and media were communicating the very real nature of the war.[433] With television becoming widespread, people were repeatedly exposed to the horrors of war. They saw their own country act as aggressors in a war that was

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[427] Cairns. *The Eagle and the Lotus.* 224-226.
[428] Cairns. *The Eagle and the Lotus.*
[429] Ibid, 1-19.
[430] Ibid, 1-19.
[431] Gough Whitlam. *It's Time for Leadership: Australian Labor Party Policy Speech, delivered by Gough Whitlam.* Sydney, 13 November, 1972, Malcolm Farnsworth's Collection, retrieved: 23 September 2019.
[432] Saunders. *The Poverty Wars.* 70-71.
[433] Jim Cairns. *Silence Kills.* (Richmond North: The Vietnam Moratorium Committee, 1970).

wrapped in secrecy and rhetoric.[434] Imagery was more powerful than rhetorical fear mongering, it humanised the Vietnamese, changing them from a 'communist threat' to a people with their own agency, history, and culture. In short, it helped in recognising their grievances as legitimate. Echoing Nixon's infamous remark that, "Our worst enemy seems to be the press...."[435] many in the Australian military believed that the media sold out the war.[436] However, the media generally toed the government's line until 1968, when the Water Torture Incident was published. Largely forgotten now, the incident involved Australian soldiers torturing a nurse and potential Viet Minh sympathiser, and thus breaking the Geneva Convention.[437] Cairns sharply remarks of the experience of both draftees' and the Vietnamese as, "For the occupation troops, two years in hell. For the Vietnamese, this hell is home."[438] The moral grounds of the war were becoming increasingly shaky, and the media exposure was not helping the Coalition Government.

It is in this context that the Labor Party leadership seized the initiative; enough of the public seemed tired by the war effort and comprehended the inhumanity of the conflict. The Coalition's arguments for the war were increasingly landing on deaf ears. The uneasy occupation of Vietnam by Australian troops led to instability within the Coalition cabinet. A 'scoop' by journalist Alan Ramsey suggested the Army was disloyal to the Coalition Government.[439] The subsequent scandal revealed deep rifts within the cabinet which led to a flurry of slanderous accusations, ministerial resignations, and a leadership coup. Appeals to an imminent communist threat no longer compelled enough of the Australian public to act.[440] The government was exhausted as were the public, on the 19th of August 1971 Australian troops heard over the radio that they would be, "home by Christmas."[441] By the end of Australia's involvement in the war there were 521

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[434] Payne. *War and Words: The Australian Press and the Vietnam War.* 2-3.
[435] Chester Pach. "Our Worst Enemy Seems to be the Press': TV News, the Nixon Administration, and US Troop Withdrawal from Vietnam, 1969-1973." *Diplomatic History,* Vol. 34, No 3 (2010): 556. doi-org.ipacez.nd.edu.au/10.1111/j.1467-7709.2010.00869.x
[436] Payne. *War and Words: The Australian Press and the Vietnam War.* 1-23.
[437] Ibid, 198.
[438] Cairns. *Silence Kills.* 88.
[439] Ham. *Vietnam.* 575-580; Note: the Australian Army was accused of abandoning the order of maintaining 'civic action', of cultivating good relations with non-combatants.
[440] Curran. *Unholy Fury: Whitlam and Nixon at War.* 109-111.
[441] Ham. *Vietnam.* 580.

Australian personnel dead and approximately 3,000 wounded.[442] On the 30th of April 1975 the Viet Minh troops swept into Saigon marking the end of the conflict.[443] In a postscript to the Vietnam War, Cairns wrote, "It is claimed that 614,000 foreign troops invaded Vietnam between 1960 and 1975 – 543,000 Americans and 71,000 others… Any overall estimate of casualties must be tentative… it seems clear from these figures, that casualties (killed and wounded) in the War, both civilian and military exceed 4,000,000."[444] Although Whitlam, Cairns, and their political allies were successful in curtailing Australia's involvement in the war the death toll remained disproportionally high. Their combined leadership though, on an enlightened and humane approach to Asia, contributed to the end of Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War, rendering conscription redundant. The rivals within the party both epitomise their generation's perspective on Asia: open minded and diplomatic, [445] a view that was cultivated in the public sphere and rapidly accepted, in part due to the material conditions of the country.

Racial Discrimination Act

The politics of recognition define the political participation of Indigenous people. As a form of politics it demands that people see an out-group's fundamental humanity; of which history, culture and traditions are all a part. The referendum of 1967 gave a form of recognition; however, it is a narrowly defined recognition: liberal equality before the law. Such legal status did not account for the many social and economic inequalities Indigenous Australians endured.[446] The 1965 'Freedom Ride' into rural NSW, led by student activists including Charles Perkins, exposed the social inequality of informal segregation. They revealed an ugly aspect of Australia, and made it very public, gaining the attention, and occasionally sympathy, of the press.[447] Theorist Jacques Rancière

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[442] "Australian casualties in the Vietnam War, 1962–72." *Australian War Memorial,* December 23, 2019.
[443] Stone & Kuznick. *The Untold History of the United States.* 387.
[444] Jim Cairns. *Vietnam: Scorched Earth Reborn.* (Melbourne: Widescope International Publishers, 1976), 47-49
[445] Ibid, 113-114; Dyrenfurth & Bongiorno. *A Little History of the Australian Labor Party.* 135.
[446] "Imperfect example" *The Canberra Times,* May 30, 1967, p. 2.
[447] "Heroic Story of 'Freedom Ride'" *Tribune,* February 24, 1965, pg. 1; "Helping Aborigines" *The Australian Women's Weekly,* June 23, 1965, pg. 68; "Freedom Riders Return." *The Canberra Times,* February 27, 1965, pg. 3; "Freedom Ride." *The Canberra Times,* October 22, 1966, pg. 3.

argued that "...politics is a matter of subjective recognition, of being able to recognize the opponent as such, as being an equal part of the same political universe."[448] But as the Freedom Rides demonstrated, Indigenous people were not even seen for their fundamental and subjective humanity. Democracy allows for confrontation and conflict, for resolution and consensus. However, if the voice of confrontation is not recognised as an equal, then it is not heard. The referendum of 1967 was largely a legal formality and serious policy reform was needed; but gaining consensus for reform, such as the *Racial Discrimination Act of 1975*, was markedly different to other campaigns.

Whereas the Equal Pay case and the Draft affected nearly every home in Australia, the way the government treats Indigenous people did not. The rationale for the Act, from a Zero-sum Game Theory political perspective, would say that the policy is an aberration.[449] According to the 1971 census Indigenous people made up around 0.83% of the Australian constituency, electorally; so why listen to their demands?[450] Why should a government pursue a policy that would elevate their voice, to be recognised as a legitimate people? The answer may lie on the social consequences of an equitable distribution of wealth. As discussed in chapter three, social barriers are reduced and social cohesion improves the more equal a society is.[451] Equally Nussbaum's theoretical terms of sense and imagination, emotions, practical reason and affiliation are pertinent.[452] Far from merely theoretical, interest groups during the 1960s and 1970s from around Australia were making demands to recognise the cultural and historical legitimacy of Indigenous people; interest groups who had no stake in the political affairs of Indigenous Australians, but who, nonetheless, recognised the inherent humanity of Indigenous Australians. For example, the Women's International League for Peace demanded that the government should, "[recognise] their sacred land [which] should be placed in trust by Aborigines. White people's ignorance as to these sacred

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[448] Jean-Philippe Deranty. *Jacques Ranciere: Key Concepts*. (New York: Routledge, 2014), 51.

[449] Cristina Corduneanu-Huci, Alexander Hamilton, and Issel Masses Ferrer. *Understanding Policy Change: How to Apply Political Economy Concepts in Practice.* (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2013), 292-294.

[450] Ibid, 292-294; Australian Bureau of Statistics. Bulletin No. 87 - Demography 1971, July 1974.

[451] Lynch, et al. "Income inequality and mortality: Importance of health of individual income, psychosocial environment, or material conditions." 1200-1203.

[452] Saunders. *The Poverty Wars.* 70-71.

places, or to sacred objects, is no longer an excuse for irresponsible actions leading to their destruction, theft or sale. Although the sacred nature ascribed to this or these objects is not ours to understand, we should tolerate completely the religious practice of Aboriginal tribes."[453] Expressions of solidarity are an expression of their recognition. Such solidarity was becoming increasingly common and not just from left-wing interest groups, but also from the mainstream media.

Like the Vietnam War, the media, including the film industry, played an important role for reformers. It would be difficult to isolate which film was the linchpin to changing attitudes but there are some titles that stand out from the rest. *A Changing Race,* directed by Therese Denny and narrated by Jimmy Little, is a 1964 documentary that showed the living conditions of an Indigenous community in Central Australia.[454] It showed for the first time, on everyone's television, the third world living conditions they experienced. Further, the documentary included the voices of Indigenous people.[455] It was the first time the Australian media broadcasted the first-hand accounts, grievances, and experiences of racial discrimination of Indigenous people.[456] For some, the exposure to such conditions acted as a juncture in the way Indigenous issues were discussed. In rapid succession, the way Indigenous people were represented in media changed, by 1972 when the documentary *Ningla A-Na (Hungry For Our Land)* was released, they were empowered.[457] It recorded the events of the Tent Embassy whilst it was unfolding, and interviewed the key organisers. Comparing the two documentaries, the first represented Indigenous Australians as outsider oddities within White Australia, whereas the second documentary represents them as equals standing up to white Australians. These documentaries had a humanising effect, and thus Indigenous people were increasingly recognised as equals. The radical shift in public opinion is evident,

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[453]"Submission to the Ministerial Committee on Aboriginal Affairs by the Australian Council of Churches on Aboriginal Land Rights", November 1971, ACC4435A/62, Archives Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, SLWA.
[454] Therese Denny. *A Changing Race.* (1964; Canberra, NFSA: Australian Broadcast Corporation, retrieved: December 2019).
[455] Ibid.
[456] Ibid.
[457] Alessandro Cavadini. *Ningla A-Na (Hungry For Our Land).* (1972; Sydney: Smart Street Films, retrieved: December 2019).

where just ten years earlier they were represented in the tradition of 'The Noble Savage' in the documentary series *Alcheringa.*[458]

Bain Attwood claimed, "...the Tent Embassy had... provoked a crisis of legitimacy for the Australian nation...".[459] As did the numerous strikes which highlighted the inhumane conditions Indigenous people lived under. With sympathetic media coverage towards the Freedom Rides, and with films humanising Indigenous Australians, the issue of racial discrimination could no longer be swept aside. The solidarity of white Australians with Indigenous Australians was on show in the well-attended Black Moratorium, a mass protest which highlighted the stark inequality between them.[460] Such a show of force distinguishes it from other political movements, squarely focusing on what is the morally correct policy. With the moral legitimacy of the government on notice, large swathes of the Australian public were asking their leaders to end institutional discrimination and allow for Indigenous self-determination. Recognising this, Whitlam drafted into his party platform speech, "There is one group of Australians who have been denied their basic rights to the pursuit of happiness, to liberty and indeed to life itself for 180 years – since the very time when Europeans in the New World first proclaimed those rights as inalienable for all mankind."[461] The lofty rhetoric was followed up with a commitment, "A Labor Government will override... discriminatory laws. To ensure that Aborigines are made equal before the law...".[462] Using the United Nations and International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions on racial discrimination, the Labor Government followed through with their promise, passing on the 11th of June the *Racial Discrimination Act of 1975.*[463]

Ann Curthoys, reflecting upon her participation in the Freedom Rides, wrote that the towns they visited had separate church services, playgrounds, and living areas for

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[458] Frank Lowell Few. *Alcheringa.* (1962; Canberra: Australian Broadcasting Corporation, retrieved: December 2019).
[459] Attwood. *Rights for Aborigines.* 346.
[460] "Black Moratorium: Thousands Act for Black Rights." *Tribune,* July 18, 1972, pg, 3.
[461] Gough Whitlam. *It's Time for Leadership: Australian Labor Party Policy Speech, delivered by Gough Whitlam.* Sydney, 13 November, 1972, Malcolm Farnsworth's Collection, retrieved: 23 September 2019.
[462] Ibid.
[463] *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cth).

Indigenous people. They were barred from hotels, Returned Services League Clubs and were denied access to basic amenities.[464] The scope of the Act is indicative of the discrimination the Freedom Riders faced in rural Australia. For many in the public the Act was a post-material humanitarian issue; instead of affecting many it only impacted a few. Yet the Act gained wide support from the public, and for the first-time large sections of society supported the universal application of human rights found within liberalism. Section 9 of the legislation states in unequivocal terms, "It is unlawful for a person to do any act involving a distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of any human right or fundamental freedom in the political, economic, social cultural or any other field of public life."[465]

The Act not only pried open many rural towns' informal segregation practices, but formally deemed all racial segregation in Australia illegal. It created a legal mechanism to settle instances of discrimination.[466] It also, being a federal law, superseded state legislation that actively discriminated against Indigenous people. Many Indigenous first nations would go to the High Court to extinguish state legislation that was deemed discriminatory.[467] The legislation is a statement for self-determination, it eliminates institutional discrimination. However, the Indigenous movement could not claim that their mission was complete. Although progress was made on racial discrimination, it was not perfect. In the same decade, land rights were granted but it was only haphazardly applied.[468] Indigenous Australians were experiencing some of the worst poverty in the country, and still are to this day.[469] In this respect Kep Enderby, the

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[464] Curthoys. *Freedom Ride: A Freedom Rider Remembers.* 83-89.
[465] *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cth) s 9.
[466] *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cth) ss 19-47.
[467] Note: The High Court ruling of, *JOAN MONICA MALONEY v THE QUEEN HCA 28 (2013);* Broome. *Aboriginal Australians.* 284.
[468] Note: The Federal Government's jurisdiction over land is one of the main reasons why land rights has been rolled out sporadically. Constitutionally, it can only legislate land rights to its territories, but not within the jurisdiction of State Governments. States can, and have, legislated for land rights but conspicuously, at times, overlooking first nation people where there are rich mineral deposits; Attwood. *Rights for Aborigines.* 346-349.
[469] Ibid, 345.

Attorney General of the Whitlam Government, was correct when he said, "The [Act] represents an important step… with respects to human rights."[470] The Indigenous movement sought recognition from the Australian public and to this end the public saw them with the consensus being that things have to change.

Equal Wages

Equal pay for equal work was on the political agenda for women, and campaigns on the issue began in earnest during the 1960s. The International Labour Organisation adopted this view in 1951, but at the time Australian trade unions were slow to advocate for it. Pressure for equal pay was increasing, with only 22.8% of the workforce being women in 1954, but by 1971 it had grown to 31.7%.[471] Many were married women, and many sought financial justice. For all the increases in women participating in Australia's mode of production and in the political superstructure, their lot in life was still grim. More than half of working women were typists, nurses, or cleaners. Roles where they outnumbered men, and where they were ruinously underpaid.[472] Less than 10% of women in the workforce held positions of seniority, were employers, or self-employees. 4% worked in banks, most of whom were in their late teens and early twenties, and less than 1% of university professors were women.[473] No women held positions of seniority in the public sector, with the average number of women working in the public sector having not changed from 1947 to 1974.

By the late 1960s the women's and labour movement were of the same view and began working in solidarity with one another.[474] They put forward their arguments for equal pay to the highest institution regarding working conditions and wages, the Commonwealth Arbitration Commission. Important for their argument was the ruling of the National Basic Wage Case, which went before the Commission in 1949-1950. It

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[470] CPD, House of Representatives, 13 February 1975, pg. 285-286.
[471] Bolton. *The Oxford History of Australia.* 200-201.
[472] Ibid, 200-201.
[473] Ibid, 200-201.
[474] 127 CAR 1142, Moore J, President, Williams J, Public Service Arbitrator Chambers, and Gough C, 19 June 1969.

implied that there should be a minimum income to support a family. Despite recognising the need for a basic wage to pay for everyday expenses, the Commission's ruling was highly gendered: women's fixed basic wage was just 75% of their male counterparts.[475] This came with the Victorian Era moral justification that a man ought to be the financial provider for the family and that women should stay at home to raise the children. These social norms were historically rooted in the manner in which the society produced its wealth in the nineteenth century as elaborated on in chapter two.[476]

The National Basic Wage Case was, however, a steppingstone to the Equal Wage Case of 1969. By the 1960s women were integral to the mode of production; WWII had diversified their skill set and the post-war boom required their labour. This gave them better bargaining power for a wage increase.[477] As the ACTU representative, a young Bob Hawke, argued before the full bench of the Commission in 1969, "social attitudes towards women and their contribution to the economy were much different...",[478] arguing that the wage differential set out by the National Basic Wage Case had no place in the modern economy. Women's interest groups also put forward their case, agreeing with Hawke and adding that the wage discrimination was resulting in women and children living in poverty.[479] In strict historical materialist terms, the mode of production had evolved away from the old political superstructure and the labour and women's movements were pressing for reform to the political superstructure. With the development of a new superstructure comes new terms of discussion which could be integrated into the political apparatus. The state began to address, in a humane manner, the financial pressures that come with childrearing or with single motherhood. For example, instead of a punitive response to single motherhood, the reciprocal relation of women in the workforce influencing politics led to financial assistance via

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[475] Patricia Crawford & Philippa Maddern. *Women as Australian Citizens.* (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2001), 166.
[476] Summers. *Damned Whores and God's Police: The updated edition of the classic study of women in Australian society.* 337-339; Note: As Simone de Beauvoir's remarks that subservient gender roles for women grew directly from economic life.
[477] 127 CAR 1142, Moore J, President, Williams J, Public Service Arbitrator Chambers, and Gough C, 19 June 1969.
[478] Ibid.
[479] Ibid.

wages and welfare. State governments were already a step ahead of the Federal Government, having legislated for equal pay. The Commission noted, "Four States, namely, New South Wales, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania, have passed virtually identical legislation on equal pay... [T]he existence of this legislation demonstrate by implication that there is a belief in this community that the concept of equal pay for equal work is a socially proper one..."[480]; it was a promising sentiment, yet they held back.

The Commission gave an inch and not much more, the final ruling was not a resounding win for equal pay advocates. The Commission crudely dismissed reformist claims by stating, "The awarding of an increase to all females whether or not their work is equal to the work of males seems to us to be putting the cart before the horse. The equality of the work must in our view be first determined."[481] However, recognising that society and thus also the workforce, they set out principles under which the wage system could be reviewed and adjusted where the Commission saw the need.[482] The stakeholders engaged in the 1969 case were numerous, they can however be broadly grouped into four categories. They were the women's movement, the labour movement, the Commonwealth Government, and the private employers. The women's and labour movement were already in favour of equal wages, consensus needed to be gained from the Commonwealth Government and the private employers. The lawyers representing the private employers' case demonstrates the private sector's intransigence on the position of equal pay arguing that if women's wages increase, men's wages would decrease, therefore abolishing the wage differential between genders would disrupt the traditional family structure; and, further, increasing women's wages would lead to price increases for retail goods.[483] However, the political reality of changing policy is that unanimous consensus is not needed to proceed with change. All that is needed, in a democracy at least, is a majority of the public support to legitimise policy change. As

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[480] 127 CAR 1142, Moore J, President, Williams J, Public Service Arbitrator Chambers, and Gough C, 19 June 1969.
[481] Ibid.
[482] Ibid.
[483] Ibid.

such the women's and labour movement did not have to gain the support of the private employers, but rather persuade enough of the public to their perspective.

Public support was sought after by both sides; in a war of words, the advocates for equal pay and for the private sector both had their views published in newspapers. The years leading to the federal election of 1972 and the parallel reopening of the Equal Pay Case were crucial. It was clear that the debate would be polarising, even before the 1969 case had opened. In 1968 D.G. Fowler, the National Secretary of the Australian Metal Industries Association, warned Tasmanian industrialists that if equal wages were granted, wages nationwide would have to be frozen to pay for the increase for women.[484] Drawing a dreary picture, he argued that if the Commission ruled in favour of women, then prices would increase, production would falter and worker unrest would follow. He falsely prophesied, "Unless the commission keeps its wage increases within the limits of increases in national productivity, I can foresee the day when the decision of fixing the national wage level will be diverted from the Commonwealth Arbitration Commission and will become the responsibility of the Federal Treasury".[485] This rather overwrought tone was frequently repeated during the Equal Wage case of 1969 where J.H. Wootten, a lawyer representing the private employers, called equal wages, "...a major piece of social engineering on theoretical and doctrinal grounds...".[486] Unperturbed by such rhetoric the women's and labour movement put forward their arguments.

Advocates, much like those of the Indigenous and peace movement issues, appealed to the public for support, asking the public to engage critically on the issue, and to empathise with those who were expressing their grievances. Given the distribution of wealth and the number of women in the workforce at that time, the material conditions were aligned for reform. A combination of these factors with two international conventions that explicitly call for equal pay between men and women, was

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[484] "Wage Freeze 'if equal granted.'" *The Canberra Times,* July 20, 1968, pg. 3.
[485] Ibid.
[486] 127 CAR 1142, Moore J, President, Williams J, Public Service Arbitrator Chambers, and Gough C, 19 June 1969.

decisive for reformers. One was the UN *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) which Australia signed in 1948. The other was the Equal Remuneration Convention of 1951 created by the ILO, which Australia had been a member of since 1919.[487] With confidence the ACTU, UAW, CPA, and other advocates for reform would cite Article 23.2 of the UDHR which states, "Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work."[488] Hammering home the point is the Convention of 1951 which, in Article 2, states, "Each Member shall… promote and… ensure the application to all workers of the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value."[489]

By dismissing the rights granted in the UDHR, the Coalition revealed their own hypocrisy, as they would rhetorically espouse liberal ideals whilst aggressively attempting to limit any genuine application of them.[490] The potency of such hypocrisy was not lost on reformers, who were themselves arguing for the universal application of human rights. It is within this context that the ascendant Labor Party in 1972 argued for equal pay, and for the right to maternity leave.[491] Seeking to expand the role of the state to be more humane and respond to the material realities women faced in Australia, as opposed to the old institutionalising of women and children in the nineteenth to mid twentieth century.

Public consensus had shifted in favour of equal pay; the material realities of Australia's ever developing economy and a public that was open to reform certainly helped the cause. There was sporadic success on a state by state government basis

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[487] "ILO Equal Remuneration Convention (1951) No. 100." *International Labour Office,* retrieved: November 9, 2019; "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights." *United Nation General Assembly,* December 10, 1948, retrieved: November 9, 2019; "The Case for Equal Pay." *Tribune,* February 19, 1969, pg. 5.
[488] "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights." *United Nation General Assembly,* December 10, 1948. Retrieved: November 9, 2019.
[489] "ILO Equal Remuneration Convention (1951) No. 100." *International Labour Office,* retrieved: November 9, 2019.
[490] "The Case for Equal Pay." *Tribune,* February 19, 1969, pg. 5.
[491] Gough Whitlam. *It's Time for Leadership: Australian Labor Party Policy Speech, delivered by Gough Whitlam.* Sydney, 13 November, 1972, Malcolm Farnsworth's Collection, retrieved: 23 September 2019.

106

prior to the Equal Wage Case of 1969 and 1972.[492] Indeed, society was changing faster than the Commission originally assessed. Recognising this the Commissioners state in their 1972 ruling, "In our view the concept of 'equal pay for equal work' is too narrow in today's world and we think the time has come to enlarge the concept to 'equal pay for work of equal value'. This means that award rates for all work should be considered without regard to the sex of the employee."[493] Weighing heavily on the minds of the Commissioners was the widespread change of public opinion, not just domestically but internationally, commenting, "...[there is] evidence of a world wide trend towards equal pay for females."[494] They further noted that following the minor amendments made after the 1969 case that the Australian economy did not suffer from the wage increase, stating, "The employers may have overstated the situation…".[495] In the final months of the Coalition Government they suggested to the 1972 Equal Wage Case that equal pay for equal work should be implemented. Whether they firmly changed their policy position because they were nearing an election or because the women's and labour movement genuinely persuaded them is irrelevant, equal pay had become public consensus.[496] Following up on the Commission's 1972 ruling, the Whitlam Government ratified the ILO's Convention of 1951 on the 10th of December 1974, and thereby making equal pay legally binding.[497]

Conclusion

Public opinion is shaped by the material circumstances of a society. The history of an institution weighs heavily on their choices, such was the case with the Labor Party. Equally the history of an institution can be a hindrance to the mode of production, such as was the case with Australia's old political superstructure. Uniquely though, policy formulation began to be put forward on humanitarian grounds inconsequential of the

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[492] 147 CAR 172, Moore J, A/g President, Robinson J, Coldham J, Public Service Arbitrator Taylor, Brack C, 15 December 1972.
[493] Ibid.
[494] Ibid.
[495] Ibid.
[496] Ibid.
[497] "Ratifications of C100 - Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100)." *International Labour Organization,* retrieved: December 3, 2019.

economy and the minority status of those affected, such was the case for the *Racial Discrimination Act.* In all of these examples there is an immateriality aspect to them. Appeals for change were put forward on humanitarian grounds. Indeed, the issue of equal pay is the most material of these policies, but the debate was predicated on humane ideals.

Part two of the thesis question appears to be answered, an equitable distribution of wealth seems to facilitate critical literature, film, and media; with a general public that is critically engaged and responsive to such content. Consensus on ending the draft would have been difficult to establish were it not for the stories and imagery emanating from the Vietnam conflict. Again, in a twofold manner, appeals to end the draft were argued on humane terms: the civil liberties of the draftee and the humanisation of Asians. To be clear, Australia's developing economic base trade connections surely accelerated the manner in which the change of public opinion occurred. Nevertheless, the change in public opinion towards the Asian region remains profound. Leading by example, Whitlam and Cairns argued against the war on the grounds of empathy and sympathy towards the other; expressing a genuine desire to see the humane values of liberalism applied universally and an end to colonial practices. The most immaterial of all these examples is of course the *Racial Discrimination Act*, and its far-reaching powers to extinguish discriminatory laws. Remarkably, it is a set of laws intended to be morally-sound policy, rather than economically-expedient. With all these examples a moral apprehension is put forward to the public; the inequality between men and women, the premise of Australia's conflicts in Asia, and the injustice the Australian state imposed upon the Indigenous population. Fear mongering and demagoguery fell on deaf ears. Instead public opinion leaned towards a post-material humanitarian perspective.[498]

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[498] Ronald Inglehart. "Post-Materialism in an Environment of Insecurity." *American Political Science Review* 75, no. 4 (1981): 880-900. www.jstor.org/stable/1962290

Chapter 6

Conclusion

For it is not always when things are going from bad to worse that revolutions break out. On the contrary… [it is] patiently endured so long as it seemed beyond redress, a grievance comes to appear intolerable once the possibility of removing it crosses men's minds.[499]

Alexis de Tocqueville

How did a healthy democracy come to pass? Some may say through equality, but that is mistaking the precondition for the cause. First came worker security, the material precondition which gave rise to an egalitarian society. With full employment a wider cross-section of society were empowered. A democratic mechanism became apparent; many who were marginalised could demand better worker and civil rights. This was expressed via an increase in political participation; the incongruities and contradictions of liberal democracy were laid bare by each strike and protest. If the mode of production was to operate and grow, then the political superstructure had to reform. The marginalised were able to appropriate the humane values of liberalism and began to demand change. Gaining consensus and changing the mindset of many was a difficult task; the rules of governance and attitudes towards the marginalised had a history. The established legal framework allowed for the exploitation of out-groups to be rationalised *post hoc.*

The combination of these factors, (1) worker security, and (2) the equitable distribution of wealth gave rise to a healthy democracy. This created a critically engaged public willing to organise and participate in the political system to make change, who were economically empowered to do so. An overwhelming number of people were essential to the mode of production and so the political superstructure incorporated their concerns. There are two distinguishing elements explored in relation to these factors.

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[499] "Violence of Old Men vs. the Idealism of Youth; What Tocqueville Said." *New York Times,* June 7, 1989.

The first is the democratic feedback loop, where political and material privileges are maintained and/or elevated so long as the labour of a class or group of people is necessary to the mode of production. The second is the profound influence an equitable distribution of wealth has on public opinion.

Democratic Feedback Loop

The outcomes of the research suggest democracy and the economy in Australia during the 1960s and early 1970s were acting as a democratic feedback loop. At the bottom were the means of Australia's continued economic growth, the labourers and businesses. At the top was the superstructure, politics and cultural norms. For a brief moment, the means of Australia's continued prosperity was rooted in the population of Australia. Full employment was the economic norm during the post-WWII era, thus people of all backgrounds were integral to the mode of production and thus equally to the superstructure. Historically, these conditions have necessitated political participation if there is an absence of political rights. Indeed, this was how the bourgeoisie gained their political power, albeit in a more violent manner in some instances. The unequal treatment between men and women or Indigenous and non-indigenous people compelled many to take part in protests, strikes, and rallies to highlight such an injustice. A latent bargaining power was discovered and utilised to its utmost ability to reform the old political norms. In so doing, they peacefully appropriated Australian democracy, and were setting the political agenda.

There is usually a tension between capitalism and democracy, however there was a balance and symbiosis of the two during the Keynesian era. For some, secure work and improved living conditions resulted in empowerment and an embrace of humanitarian politics. Humanitarianism increased as social cohesion improved, leading to a genuine expression of solidarity towards the marginalised. Solidarity was located in the expression of the golden rule: do unto others as you would have done onto you. Humanitarian views fed into the political system. Likewise, policies that were in favour of humane reforms were adopted on a bipartisan basis. This abstraction of economic necessity and political bargaining power requires further quantitative research.

Certainly, however, there appears to be a correlation between full employment and political bargaining power. Indeed, it is the same mechanism by which trade unions bargain for better working conditions on a more intimate level between labour and business.

Personal Wealth and Public Opinion

The social outcomes of wealth distribution proved to be consequential, as it had an influence on humanising Indigenous Australians and Vietnamese. Policies to dismantle discriminatory practises may have not received consensus in Australia were it not for the Keynesian economic arrangement. Economic hardship leads to anti-social behaviour and a polarised society, but these features were mitigated during the 1960s and early 1970s. Media monopolies, or the opinion-shaping apparatus, was still in its infancy and self-publishers and independent journalists could still make an impact on a receptive public. Jim Cairns' publications and Seymour Hersh's investigation of the My Lai massacre had a role in delegitimising the Vietnam War. This in turn gave momentum and legitimacy to the peace movement.

The same mechanisms were at work when people saw the Tent Embassy. In one bold move Indigenous activists placed their grievances before the federal parliament. This led to many people recognising Indigenous Australians as a distinct people with their own sovereignty, in their own embassy, with their own distinct needs. In establishing an embassy, the wider public could recognise Australia as an invaded country. In challenging the old cultural norm, the Tent Embassy needed the support and solidarity of others, which they received in droves from other interest groups. The equitable distribution of wealth gave rise to a greater social cohesion and humanitarian politics, which in turn compelled people to participate in democratic politics to resolve inhumane tensions within the political and economic system.

Conclusion

The link between inequality and democracy is clear, economic necessity creates a mechanism whereby people can reinforce or elevate their political and material

privileges. Economic necessity in this regard is full employment, which is followed by an egalitarian distribution of wealth. However, understanding the mechanisms political power is derived from ought to be persistently scrutinised, reviewed, and analysed. Although, in Australia, a post-material humanitarian politics has been stymied, it is not gone. New generations have been socialised in an environment where post-material policies have been institutionalised in a form that becomes self-perpetuating. For instance, the state apparatus has ostensibly embraced near universal health care, and to abolish it would be political suicide. Political participation remains important, the right to assemble and organise is an essential component of any democratic society. Although changes in the rules of governance are often made from necessity, invented chaotically at times, or implemented with careful calculation: democratic tenets must not be cast aside in times of crisis.

Despite such flux, the mode of production has, and is always, changing with alterations in the means of exchange or variations in the priorities of corporate governance, which in turn changes the superstructure. Full employment is no longer the policy norm, and worker insecurity has been actively pursued. Inequality has worsened and capital is becoming more concentrated. Economic growth at the levels of Keynesian era are considered 'corrections' or 'catch-up' to the three massive shocks to the Australian economy in the first half of the twentieth century.[500] Low stable growth is the norm, rapid and high growth is not. This potentially means that the unique social and economic circumstances that gave rise to Australia's healthy democracy, with greater political engagement, may not come to pass again. The egalitarian society that sought to end inhumane laws and policies could be materially and temporally limited. It is difficult to know if similar economic and social circumstances may return. Globally the world is moving to an economic era which resembles the pre-1914 period with large capital concentration, low and stagnant wages, high unemployment, and low economic growth. But the system is dynamic. Economic, political, environmental and health crises tend to shift or transform the mode of production, and with it opportunities to reform the political superstructure could follow. A steep progressive tax on capital concentration

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[500] Note: These are World War One, the Great Depression, and World War Two.

with an egalitarian wealth redistribution agenda may come about, but this is no guarantee of a healthy democracy without some significant industrial relations reform. Perhaps in adopting such policies the project to salvage democracy can continue.

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Appendix A

The thesis uses many technical terms with their definition and relation to one another somewhat unclear and which remain highly contested. Hereafter every bold and italicised word or phrase is a technical phrase that will explain what the overall definition of the ***Mode of Production***.

In the creation of products, of goods and services, two base elements are required ***The Tools of Labour*** and the ***Subjects of Labour.*** The tools are the computers, saws, and factories which are required to make a product. The subjects are the raw resources, the wood, metal, and textiles. Who owns the tools and subjects are those who own the ***Means of Production***, a highly contentious and political point.

But the subjects and tools remain inanimate, the ***Means of Production*** requires a new variable, this is ***Labour***. The combination of the two gives rise to another technical phrase, the ***Forces of Production***, which can now produce a product. But how the ***Labour*** comes to relate to the ***Forces of Production*** leads us to the ***Relations of Production*** or ***Social Relations.***

The ***Relations of Production*** can be defined as, 'The sum total of social relations that people must enter into in order to survive, to produce, and to reproduce the means of their life.' This is the totality of social relations within society. Within the totality of the term are the social relations of ethnicity, gender, and class. These relations are sometimes forced into involuntarily (i.e. slavery, poverty, or penal labour), some arise from family connections others from political connections. In short, it encompasses the multitude of social relations people enter into in society, to employ their ***Labour*** into the ***Forces of Production.***

The ***Social Relations*** to what is produced dictates how the product is distributed within society; an analysis of who owns what, which class distributed the product, which class infused their labour into the product, who takes the final earnings, and who gets the wages etcetera. The totality of the ***Forces of Production*** and the ***Relations of Production*** leads to a description of how a society produces and distributes its means of survival which Marx called the ***Mode of Production.***

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Appendix B

Year	Trade Union Membership	Australian Population
1960	1912392	10391920
1961	1894603	10642654
1962	1950000	10846059
1963	2003500	11055482
1964	2054800	11280429
1965	2116200	11505408
1966	2123500	11704843
1967	2151300	11912253
1968	2190700	12145582
1969	2239100	12407217
1970	2314600	12663469
1971	2436600	13198380
1972	2523700	13409288
1973	2659900	13614344
1974	2761700	13831978
1975	2813800	13968881
1976	2791900	14110107
1977	2794400	14281533
1978	2808300	14430830
1979	2855100	14602481
1980	2943900	14807370

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Year	Pareto Coefficient
1950	2.26
1951	2.11
1952	1.7
1953	1.78
1954	1.65
1955	1.65
1956	1.82
1957	1.57
1958	1.65
1959	1.66
1960	1.61
1961	1.61
1962	1.58
1963	1.58

1964	1.55
1965	1.55
1966	1.54
1967	1.58
1968	1.55
1969	1.56
1970	1.51
1971	1.53
1972	1.49
1973	1.47
1974	1.46
1975	1.47
1976	1.47
1977	1.48
1978	1.47
1979	1.4
1980	1.37
1981	1.4
1982	1.39
1983	1.47
1984	1.4
1985	1.49
1986	1.54
1987	1.69
1988	1.95
1989	1.63
1990	1.61
1991	1.58
1992	1.61
1993	1.59
1994	1.6
1995	1.63
1996	1.74
1997	1.77
1998	1.9
1999	1.96
2000	1.86

Sources

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Year	GDP growth (annual %)
1961	2.486
1962	1.296
1963	6.215
1964	6.979
1965	5.984
1966	2.383
1967	6.303
1968	5.096
1969	7.044
1970	7.172
1971	4.004
1972	3.913
1973	2.613
1974	4.104
1975	1.35
1976	2.588
1977	3.598
1978	0.897
1979	4.044
1980	3.034
1981	3.338
1982	3.382
1983	-2.22
1984	4.581
1985	5.249
1986	4.037
1987	2.553
1988	5.741
1989	3.865
1990	3.571
1991	-0.397
1992	0.413
1993	4.029
1994	3.983
1995	3.836
1996	3.879
1997	3.966
1998	4.577
1999	5.074
2000	3.933

Source

The World Bank. "GDP growth (annual %) – Australia." Retrieved: March 3, 2020.

Year	Australian Population	Percentage of Immigrant Background (%)
1954	9089936	14.15
1955	9311825	14.47
1956	9530871	14.79
1957	9744087	15.11
1958	9947358	15.43
1959	10160968	15.75
1960	10391920	16.07
1961	10642654	16.71
1962	10846059	17.008
1963	11055482	17.298
1964	11280429	17.588
1965	11505408	17.878
1966	11704843	18.2
1967	11912253	18.468
1968	12145582	18.736
1969	12407217	19.004
1970	12663469	19.272
1971	13198380	19.54
1972	13409288	19.456
1973	13614344	19.372
1974	13831978	19.288
1975	13968881	19.204
1976	14110107	19.12
1977	14281533	19.524
1978	14430830	19.928
1979	14602481	20.332
1980	14807370	20.736
1981	15054117	21.14

Sources

Australian Bureau of Statistics. "3105.0.65.001 Australian Historical Population Statistics, 2019." Retrieved: March 3, 2020.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. "2108.0-2103.0 Historical Census." Retrieved: March 3, 2020.

Note: There is precise data as to the percentage of the Australian population of immigrant background for each census date in the graph. Those years are 1954, 1961, 1966, 1971, 1976, and 1981. Approximate calculations were made as to the immigration growth rate between the census years. By, for example, taking the 1961 percentage subtracting the 1954 percentage. Taking the outcome of the subtraction and dividing it by the number of years separating the

census. With that result the author added the divided number to each successive year until the next census year was reached. Of central importance then are the years 1954, 1961, 1966, 1971, 1976, and 1981. The years in between are an approximation of Australia's immigration rate.

Year	Unemployment Percentage (%)
1964	1
1965	1
1966	1.80
1967	1.90
1968	1.80
1969	1.60
1970	1.50
1971	1.90
1972	2.30
1973	1.95
1974	2.20
1975	4.40
1976	4.45
1977	5.80
1978	6.10
1979	5.95
1980	5.95

Source
Note: The data was retrieved from the ABS and utilised by Bob Gregory and Peter Sheehan. "Poverty and the Collapse of Full Employment." in *Australian Poverty: Then and Now,* ed. Ruth Fincher and John Nieuwenhuysen (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1998), 103-126.