

THE

BRISBANE

LINE

VOLUME 1 NO. 1

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BRIBE A COP TODAY

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THE EMERGENCY TEACHER TRAINING SCHEME

ALSO: THE BRISBANE TRAM STRIKE, AMERICA HURRAH, FREE FULL PAGE POSTER OF MALCOLM X

THE BRISBANE LINE

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WE ARE DRAWING A LINE.

ON THE ONE SIDE OF THE LINE STANDS THE ESTABLISHMENT, THE SYSTEM, THAT MEANS EVERY FORCE IN SOCIETY THAT DOES NOT WANT A RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEM UNDER WHICH WE SUFFER. THAT MEANS NOT ONLY BIG BUSINESS AND ITS REPRESENTATIVES, THE LIBERAL PARTY, BUT ALSO THE OTHER PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES AND WOULD BE PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES (SUCH AS THE A.R.M. AND C.P.A.) THAT WOULD MAKE PIECEMEAL REFORMS, PROVIDED THAT, ...ONLY IF...ETC. THAT MEANS THE INSTITUTIONS OF SOCIETY THAT MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO, SUCH AS THE CHURCHES, THE RIGHT WING TRADE UNIONS AND THE UNIVERSITY SENATES, THAT MEANS THE MASS MEDIA, EVERYONE OF WHICH SERVES THE SAME MASTER AND PRESENTS THE SAME VIEWPOINT, WITH DIFFERENCES ONLY IN DEGREE. THE ESTABLISHMENT WHO REPRESS US WITH TOLERANCE, WHO TRY TO TIE US DOWN WITH DRUGS, LOVE-LESS SEX AND INHUMAN CULTURE, BUT ARE FORCED IN THE END TO USE POLICE ACTION EVERY TIME WE POSE EVEN A MILD THREAT TO THEIR SOULLESS SOCIETY.

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE LINE WE STAND, WE ARE THE GROUPS DEMANDING CHANGE AND RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETY. WE ARE THE STUDENTS AND STAFF WHO DEMAND CONTROL OF THE UNIVERSITIES. WE ARE THE WORKERS WHO HAVE LOST CONFIDENCE IN ARBITRATION AND DEMAND MORE THAN PIECEMEAL WAGE CHANGES. WE ARE THE PEOPLE WHO DEMONSTRATE IN SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT. WE ARE THE PEOPLE WHO REJECT A POWER STRUCTURE THAT WILL NOT LISTEN TO US, TRYING TO RUN OUR LIVES AND FORCE A FALSE CULTURE DOWN OUR THROATS.

WE ARE PUSHING A LINE.

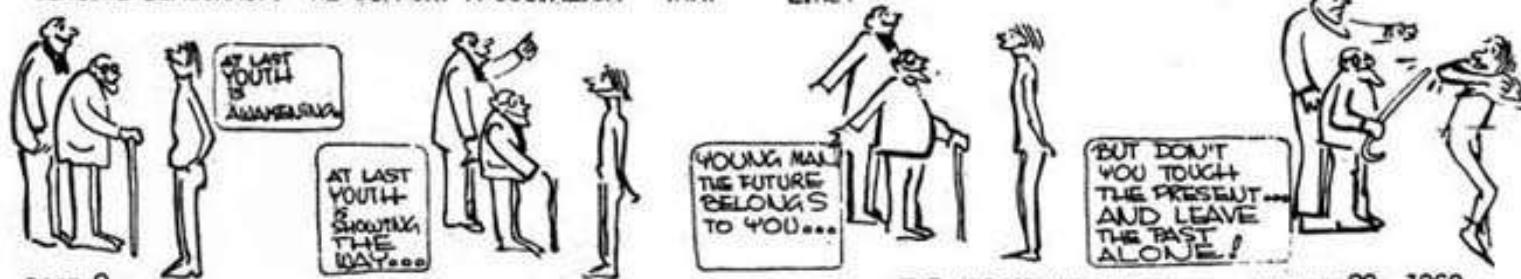
WE ARE PUSHING POSITIVE IDEAS OF SOCIALISM AND GENUINE DEMOCRACY. WE SUPPORT A SOCIALISM THAT

IS NOT BUREAUCRATIC AND A DEMOCRACY IN WHICH THE PEOPLE ACTUALLY CAN PARTICIPATE INSTEAD OF MERELY ELECTING PEOPLE OVER WHOM THEY HAVE CONTROL. IN A BROADER SENSE THE LINE OF THE PAPER WILL BE TO ATTEMPT A GENUINE CRITIQUE OF SOCIETY. WE AIM TO PUBLISH MATERIAL ON POLITICS AND THE ARTS AND ALL OTHER ASPECTS OF SOCIETY, THAT WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE IN ANY OTHER AUSTRALIAN PUBLICATION. ULTIMATELY THE LINE WE ARE PUSHING IS JUST THAT, THAT AUSTRALIANS ARE ENTITLED TO READ AND HEAR VIEWS OTHER THAN THOSE PRESENTED BY THE BLANKET MASS MEDIA.

WHO DO WE WANT IN OUR LINE-UP?

THIS PAPER IS NOT ONLY FOR BRISBANE-ITES AND IT IS NOT MERELY FOR STUDENTS. IT IS BEING PRINTED IN BRISBANE BUT OUR CONTRIBUTORS COME FROM THROUGHOUT AUSTRALIA AND WE WILL BE ON SALE NATIONALLY. IN OTHER WORDS THIS WEEKLY PAPER IS YET ANOTHER CASE OF THE AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH THAT THE LATE MR. HOLT USED TO TALK SO MUCH ABOUT, THOUGH THE TONE OF THE PAPER IS PERHAPS CLOSER TO THE KIND OF VIEWPOINT SO FAR PRESENTED IN AUSTRALIA ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY BY UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, MANY OF OUR WRITERS AND STAFF ARE NON-STUDENTS AND WE HOPE MANY OF OUR READERS WILL BE THE SAME.

OUR LINE-UP WILL INCLUDE ALL THOSE OPPOSED TO AUSTRALIA'S RIGHT-WING BOURGEOIS ESTABLISHMENT AND THAT OUGHT TO INCLUDE WORKERS AS WELL AS STUDENTS. THIS IS THE FIRST ISSUE OF THE BRISBANE LINE. IT CAN BE A LONG LINE OR A SHORT LINE DEPENDING ON WHETHER THERE ARE ENOUGH PEOPLE IN AUSTRALIA WHO WISH TO READ OUR LINE ON SOCIETY. TELL YOUR FRIENDS ABOUT US AND HELP MAKE IT A LONG LINE.



In

HIS "Homage to Catalonia", George Orwell claimed that the worker's natural enemy was the police. The students in France found that the police brutality was the first factor that unified them in their opposition to the state and led to their attempted overthrow of the French Government. In Australia there is a belief developing amongst both cops and students that the two groups are naturally opposed. It is not surprising. Look at the actions of police in the last few months.

In Brisbane the Headquarters of the Society for Democratic Action and The Young Socialist League have been subjected to constant police harassment. Individual members of the organisations have been followed and questioned by police rode their horses and wielded truncheons against an essentially peaceful crowd outside Russell Street Police Headquarters. There had earlier been flag-burning and window breaking at the American Consulate two miles away, but the crowd outside Russell Street were peaceful, though angry, and the police charged before there had been any attempt to read the Riot Act or otherwise ask the crowd to disperse.

Yet for all this, it is wrong for either workers or students to regard the Police as their natural enemies. There are bastards on the force but without doubt many police are good men obeying bad orders ...

Police as their natural enemies. There are bastards on the force but without doubt many police are good men obeying bad orders. For example in Melbourne when the order was given to charge the crowd in Russell Street several policemen were heard to question the orders in tones of utter disbelief. In France it is significant to note that when students and workers took to the streets to protest brutality it was not "flics" against whom the anger was directed but "De Gaulle Assassin." In N.S.W. Bob Askin's "drive over the Bastards" statements give a clear indication as to the source of the brutality. For this is surely the point. Police are polite or brutal depending on the orders they receive. Violence is not a random happening it is as much a property of the state as the right to tax. Police are more brutal nowadays only because state wishes to repress Dissent.

The Government believes that the growth of extra-parliamentary opposition to its policies and the system that it represents can threaten it. It has the examples what happened in Europe and what is happening in America as a warning and it knows that given time it can happen here. So

it is trying to nip dissent in the bud before it becomes genuinely dangerous. This is why Gorton says he doesn't mind dissent as long as it is ineffective. Presumably it must be becoming effective and this is why the brutality is increasing. Fear of a local equivalent of the French situation is also the explanation of the outraged reaction of the Queensland Establishment to Student-Worker alliance during the recent civil Liberties Action.

The state is trying to nip its opposition in the bud. This is why Fraser, the Minister for Education threatened to withdraw scholarships from students convicted for political activities. This is why the Victorian Government went to so much trouble to try and convict the Melbourne July 4th demonstrators on riot charges. Although all demonstrators face a disadvantage some vestiges of Justice still remain and most of the charges were not upheld. Yet in many ways there

was an attempt by the Prosecution and the Police to frame Albert Langer, the only one sent up on an incitement charge and the mistaken assumption that he was the leader of the Melbourne demonstrators and that the removal of Langer would end demonstrations. It is reasonable to assume a frame-up when one answers the following:-

1. All the others charged with riot were also arrested on minor charges. Why was Langer's name added to the list when he was not charged with any minor offence?
2. Why did the only demonstrator subpoenaed by the prosecution just happen to be Albert's girlfriend?
3. Why did the police report hearing Langer making statements that he at no stage made? The state was wrong if it believed that by removing Langer or any so-called leader it could stop attempts to change society. Student and other dissatisfaction with bourgeois society, springs from far deeper sources than the influence of any "Leader".

Young people (particularly) are no longer swallowing the cold-war bullshit that our parents' generation swallowed. Vietnam has proved all that wrong. The state could use police action against every so-called "student leader" in the country and as Capitalist society continues to expose its vicious bankruptcy, dissatisfaction among youth would bring forth new leaders in a world beset by Revolution. The lesson Australian youth has learned is that, in time it can happen here.

Dave Nadel

EVENTS IN FRANCE

NEW STATESMAN

I have just read the most truly obscene book that has come my way for years. It is called *Le Livre Noir des Journées de Mai* (Editions du Seuil, 5fr.), and it consists of evidence of brutalities committed by the French 'forces of order' - police, *gardes mobiles*, and CRS or security troops - during the disturbances of 3-10 May. Another collection of testimonies, so far

available only in mimeographed form, describes events on the night of 24 May, the second peak occasion of street-fighting.

A woman tells how she took refuge in an empty flat with some others, including a young couple:

The wife was three months pregnant. They hid in the bathroom, and almost at once the CRS smashed the door and rushed at them, shouting furiously. I was hiding in the next room, where by some miracle they never came in. I could hear the young woman shouting 'I'm pregnant!' and being beaten up to the

accompaniment of cries of 'You'll soon see if you're pregnant, you tart!' I skip the details, I could go on for 10 pages. They beat her husband almost unconscious, beat up another boy and took them both off, leaving the pregnant girl nearly passing out in the doorway, with her head covered in bruises and in a shocking state. As I picked her up she cried: 'My husband, my husband, they're going to kill him, he's got a fractured skull already.' We went out on the landing and a door on the second floor opened. A gentleman told us to come in quick ... We stayed there in the dark till five in the morning, the building was

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THE HIDDEN EROSION OF TALENT GOES ON

A PROGRESS REPORT ON THE 1968 EMERGENCY TEACHER TRAINING

IN 1960 PAUL GOODMAN WROTE IN GROWING UP ABSURD "IT IS ALLEGED THAT THE LOW PAY IS WHY THERE IS A SHORTAGE OF TEACHERS AND WHY THE BEST DO NOT CHOOSE THE PROFESSION. MY GUESS IS THAT THE BEST AVOID IT BECAUSE OF THE CERTAINTY OF MISEDUCATING. NOR ARE THE BEST WANTED BY THE SYSTEM, FOR THEY ARE NOT SAFE."

AFTER THE NORMAL PACIFIC TIME-LAG HIS WORDS HAVE BECOME VITALLY RELEVANT TO THE AUSTRALIAN SCENE.

The late Premier Pizzey introduced the scheme early this year to answer the high school teacher shortage. The successful applicants, 50 in all, had an intensive course in teacher training for eight weeks prior to their blazing entry into the schools. Qualifications needed for the course were twenty-three years of living and two university subjects.

The day of the course's opening came closer and the resistance of the Teachers' Union crumbled. The training college lectures were prepared to boycott the "emergencies" for eight weeks, which would have obliged the Department to provide instruction for them through non-union sources, but the Union would not back-up the boycott. The chance to nip the scheme in the bud disappeared.

On the morning of the first day of the course a conglomerate group of students and others staged a confrontation demonstration at the training college. The demonstration was motivated by frustration and the fear that the opposition of Teachers' Union would remain verbal, which it did for a long time; it was intended to goad them into action against the scheme. The students leafletted the regular trainees, the college staff and finally, after parading uninvited into the lecture theatre where the holy 50 had assembled leafletted them.

There followed a hostile series of disconnected debates and unilateral proclamations and denunciations which the T.V. cameras covered with glee and the Principal of the training college tried to avert with misery. The holy 50 were asked point-blank to resign from the venture and walk out on the government which was using them as political stop-gaps. However a unity-in-adversity descended on them and infused them with a crusading spirit. Both sides stiffened and the demonstrators left with-

out doing any sabotage and having probably aided the cause of regression in the state by unifying the "emergencies" against the outside hostility which continues to be shown to them.

During the eight weeks the Teachers' Union elected a militant new president, Ted Baldwin, and conducted a state-wide ballot which came out 5 to 1 in favour of some action to thwart the emergency scheme. Both this ballot and the presidential election preceding it clearly indicated the raging, sub-vocal discontent in the state's teaching service.

ESTABLISHMENT COMMON SENSE

The union was directed to conduct the strike ballot by the arbitration court, but motivated to it in the first place by resolutions passed at a renegade meeting of over 400 teachers at State High. This meeting was convened on the afternoon of the demonstration at the training college. University education faculty spoke; Ted Baldwin opened the meeting - at that time he was still campaigning for the presidency - and many teachers, high and primary, proposed strong measures, their anger often breaking the surface of their remarks. The meeting was sketchily reported in the local news media, the Courier Mail, as always, being for common sense in these matters.

UNION SELLS OUT CHEAP

Nipping the scheme in full bloom proved much tougher. The eight weeks ended and the "emergencies" (49 by now) were dispersed to high schools where the principals and teachers boycotted them and refused to time-table them, with union support this time. The department hastily gathered a corps of inspectors and other non-union heavies to supervise and time-table the "emergencies", setting an iniquitous precedent by arbitrarily chopping out

as useful in-school experience, this arrangement was no good to the "emergencies" and it clearly broke their contract, which called for 26 weeks of supervised practical teaching. There were not enough inspectors and sometimes the inspector failed to appear at a school where the "emergency" was teaching several periods. On one day at a city high school an inspector was clocked at 6.1/2 minutes to get out of his car, walk to the room, supervise the "emergency" teaching inside, return and drive off, presumably to supervise someone else.

Finally the union instructed its members not to relinquish classes to inspectors and "emergencies" and this brought the dispute to a crisis. Under arbitration both the department and the union compromised and order was superficially restored.



SUBVERTING THE "MASS
SUPERSTITION" WITH EXTRA-SCHOOL
GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES, LIKE
TEACHING YOUR OWN KIDS
A THING OR TWO

THE PRESENT

Since the settlement the "emergencies" have been compelled to return to the training college two days a week (those at country high schools take a day off per week to study their correspondence lessons) and for the rest of the time are included in the teaching timetable in various, though increasing, degrees of equality with regular teachers.

Which means that the rot has now been incorporated into the system, glossed over. The union has agreed to recognise them as fully qualified teachers at year's end. The compromise represents only slightly less evil a stop-gap measure than the original scheme, and simply takes its place alongside the other nauseating features of the state education system:- the animal toilets (only staff toilets are regularly supplied with soap, towels of any kind; children's toilets with wooden seats are exceptional, bare enamel being the rule); the unheated dusty, "functional" furniture, inhospitable and overcrowded and noisy; the paranoid sacrosanctity of the divisions of control (in one typical country school the department would not authorise payment of a local radio mechanic to repair a blown valve; sending the set to the city for repair took six months; in a one-teacher country school a local member of the P. & C. offered to build desks and contoured seats to replace the old ones at cost, but the department insisted on the regular functional furniture which worked out dearer).

Many of these anomalies result from over-zealous interpretation of the "free and equal" education policy. Every State classroom in Queensland has exactly the same kind of wastepaper basket.

The failure of a public outcry is to be regretted, but it can be understood. Professor Bassett of the University of Queensland, a member of the government-appointed board set up to review teacher training in this state, sees the situation this way in a 1964 article on Australian teacher training,

"The effects of deteriorating standards are never spectacular. The system does not break down; it absorbs its weaker brethren and 'adjusts' to the changed circumstances. The children do not obviously suffer. Even the public examinations give no cause for alarm, as pass rates are generally adjusted on the principle that in so large a number of candidates, performance year by year will not vary appreciably. Nevertheless the hidden erosion of talent goes on, and unless the position is corrected we shall probably pay dearly for it."

THE FRENCH HAVE A PHRASE...

The pity of the whole business of the emergency scheme is that it was a good thing bungled, if one considers it quite apart from whether it filled the shortage or not.. In the same article Professor Bassett notices that Australian recruits into the teaching profession normally "also suffer from in-breeding".

In going through their teacher training they "move from school into an atmosphere" not unlike the one they have left, and then move back into the system as teachers...

"The student who has developed a wide variety of interests, and who has achieved a sense of social responsibility by ~~less~~ didactic methods is likely to be a better teacher because of them. The French have a phrase, 'l'esprit primaire'. It is difficult to define it precisely, but it occurs when teachers have never really left school."

Now the emergency scheme offered an opportunity to inject new blood, blood free of l'esprit primaire.

Now the emergency scheme offered an opportunity to inject new blood, blood free of "l'esprit primaire", into the state teaching service and the opportunity was effectively neutralized in two ways. First by the inadequate period of professional training, which ensured that the "emergencies" would not be able to handle the bedrock duty of teaching; and second, by the low educational standard required of applicants.



'l'esprit primaire'

A longer period of real university-type study and training could have remedied both of those, of course, without permanently submerging the worldly maturity of the applicants. As things stand, education is safely in the hands of the "school-monks", to borrow Paul Goodman's term. And that is the real tragedy, the real missed revolution.

For the sudden infusion of "outsiders" into the vicious circle of inbreeding — the idea is reminiscent of the returned-soldier students in the post-war days — would have begun to put the "school-monks" to rout. And for the future they are the problem. They are the class with the growing and unquestioned control over the resources which our society diverts to education, with the fixed ideas (in everything but size, fixed) about the unlimited power of schools and universities to provide all the education that a citizen needs, all the creative training, literacy, good manners...

One realizes suddenly that one is "confronting a mass superstition". For, as Goodman says in Compulsory Miseducation :

"The schools offer very little evidence of their unique ability to perform any of these things — there is plenty of evidence to the contrary — but they do not need to offer evidence, since nobody opposes them or proposes alternatives".

Statistics

How old are you?—The Ages of Queensland Teachers, 1967

The computerization of pay roll procedures for Queensland teachers has enabled a wider range of staff statistics to be readily available to the Department. One area of interest is the distribution of ages of teachers. The table below shows the distribution of ages of teachers employed as at 1st August, 1967.

Age Range	Males	Females	Total
65	20	15	35
61-65	209	178	387
56-60	345	273	618
51-55	312	175	487
46-50	333	202	535
41-45	423	229	652
36-40	515	250	765
31-35	619	257	876
26-30	1,135	758	1,893
21-25	1,359	1,991	3,350
Less than 21 ..	183	525	708
Total	5,453	4,853	10,306

The mean ages of teachers in the primary, special, secondary and technical divisions were respectively 33.9, 33.7, 31.6, and 41.9 years. The mean age for all teachers included above was 33.4 years.

Aid to Vietcong

Sofia, Aug. 6.—A double-deck London bus arrived in Sofia today with gifts worth £5,000 for the Vietcong from the British Young Communist League. The Britons handed over 100 bicycles, two motorcycles, six transistors, 1,400 yards of khaki material, eight electric generators and other gifts to delegates from the National Liberation Front, the political wing of the Vietcong, and from North Vietnam at the close of the world youth festival here. — Reuter.

Of course, in Australia the Government doesn't even allow you to send money (which is used to buy blood plasma) to the Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam 36 Wellington Street, London WC2.

IF YOU MISS ME AT THE BACK OF THE BUS

UNDOUBTEDLY one of the most vital questions facing workers all over the world today is that of redundancy due to automation. When this question threatened Brisbane Tramways Employees recently they knew just what to do to fight this vicious and deliberate attack on their very way of life.

The dispute arose when the B.C.C. not only announced, but attempted to put into practice, its intention of operating one-man buses on those routes originally serviced by trams. Although this would obviously halve the existing workforce, the Council preferred to put its telescope to its blind eye and claimed to see no problems arising from this situation.

With a magnificent display of solidarity and determination the men walked off the job en masse! Brisbane's system of Public Transport ground to a shuddering halt. Cars jammed the road and Brisbane's poor, overworked Police Force were forced to take time off from vital work, such as photographing Students, to try to clear the resultant maze.

Mrs. Gabrielle (Gabby) Horan promptly put herself on record as saying that she thought it scandalous that the workers would inconvenience the Public in this way. As this was the case with so many people, she gave no thought to the major point at issue, namely, what inconvenience would be caused to the Public and the Community as a whole by 380 men suddenly finding themselves out of work.

The B.C.C. of course, were forced to recognise this point and GENEROUSLY (in their own words) offered to find the men LABOURING jobs on Loan Development work. When one considers that a large proportion of the men concerned are past middle-age, and that some of them have been driving trams for periods of anything up to 25 and even 40 years, one can see the

obvious transparency and insincerity of this ridiculous offer. This being beside the fact that more and more Loan Development work has been let out to Private Enterprise, so that the B.C.C. would not have a large number of positions open, anyway!

However, the size and extent of the strike can only be blamed on the B.C.C. themselves. In an interview with the writer on the 4th day of the strike, the Secretary of the Tramways Union, Mr. Bill McCormack, said that the Union intention had always been to confine the strike to the Ashgrove line only, this being the line originally in dispute. He also stated that the B.C.C. had been notified of this. The action on the part of the B.C.C., however, in taking a driver off standby, after the scheduled driver had refused to operate the bus with -out a conductor and been suspended, then suspending the second driver when he refused to operate the bus, clearly indicated the Council's intentions in regard to the Union's quite justified claim for two-man buses.

**in every form
of industry
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have been trained**

All this brings us back to the vital and pressing question, that in this modern world of ever advancing technology, the working man must be protected from the ravages of automation. Even if we ignore the fact that both Sydney and Adelaide have found it necessary to have conductors on all City buses and on nearly all runs during peak hours, we most certainly cannot ignore the fact that not only in the transport industry, but in every other form of industry right throughout the world, men are being forced to take forms of employment inferior to those in which they have been trained, directly resulting in a

lowering of their personal standards of living, while the Employers reap the benefits of advanced technology in the form of increased production and higher profits.

**the
dreaded
lurgi**

We have seen the situation arise in Victoria, where, in the little town of Morwell, 94 miles from Melbourne, 380 men stand to lose their jobs when natural gas is introduced. Although some compensation has been offered, it is hopelessly inadequate when one considers that these men will not only have to leave their jobs, but will be forced to dispose of their homes as best they can and move to other areas where work is available. The people of Morwell demand that the State Government answer these three questions:-

"Why was the Lurgi gas complex, where all of these men work being closed down before complexes in the metropolitan area?"

What was the strategic value of the Morwell plant if the natural gas flow were interrupted?"

"And what does the Government plan to substitute in the way of employment?"

This final question is being asked by workers all over the world. The workers do not deny the benefits of advanced technology. All they ask is their right to reap their share of these benefits.

The ways in which the workers may share in these benefits are obvious to every thinking Human Being and are perfectly illustrated in many of the Socialist countries throughout the world. They include such things as shorter working hours, higher wages, longer periods of leisure, lower prices of consumer goods, higher standards of living and the chance to live the kind of life they choose without the constant fear of losing their means of livelihood!

GEORGE W. MARLAND.





BEHIND THE LINE'S

CAUGHT REPORT

From the July 4th "Riot" trial in Melbourne;

Lawyer: Senior Constable Taylor, have you attended many demonstrations?

Taylor: Yes, I have attended a lot of them.

Lawyer: Like this one?

Taylor: Nah, don't like any of them.

WILLIS COMES UP WITH SURE FIRE ESCAPE.

The Felix Greene film 'Inside North Vietnam' has aroused considerable comment in Sydney. Ever since its release here a month ago it has been hounded by local councils and the N.S.W. Chief Secretary Mr. Willis.

Whilst not actually being banned, it has been prevented from screening by the technicality that "public halls" are not safe enough to show films in. The argument apparently goes that there are not enough fire escapes, exists etc. in these halls.

This subtle form of censorship can be effectively instituted at the local government level. It is especially effective against 'Inside North Vietnam', a film promoted by non-profit organisations, requiring halls for screening purposes.

The latest example of this came on Friday August 2 when Mr. Willis banned the film from being screened at Macquarie University.

The organisers, the Vietnam Action Society for Peace, proceeded in spite of the ban and screened it in a lecture theatre thus escaping the restriction of the term "public hall". A notice outside the theatre, stated the screening was for university students only and circumvented the restriction of the term "public".

PAUL'S PETER-OUT

Suffering seems to have dominated recent headlines - on the one hand the heart-rending suffering of Pope Paul before handing down his fornicate and starve encyclical and on the other the suffering of Biafra's children. One can only hope Biafra's Children are abiding by the laws of God and not starving at such a rate as to disturb the rhythm of natural selection.

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THE PERSECUTION AND
ASSASSINATION OF **HUEY**

NEWTON

AS PERFORMED BY THE OAKLAND COPS,
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A WHITE

RACIST STATE



In the next few weeks it is possible that you will be reading in the papers, reports of a huge racial riot in Oakland, California. "The Line" is predicting that if Huey Newton is found guilty of murder, then California will see its biggest racial riot and violence since Watts, and America will see an example of the most justified black anger since King. At the time of writing this article, the trial of Huey Newton, Black Panther Minister for Defence, was still continuing. At the commencement of the trial Bobby Seale Black Panther Chairman had said "We will give the courts of Alameda County one chance that they...are capable of dealing justice to a black man. They can do this by setting Huey Newton free."

The background to the frame-up of Huey Newton is one of continuous harassment of the Black Panther by the Oakland cops, some of which is detailed below. The Black Panthers are one of the most enlightened and progressive Black Militant Organisations. Part of their programme is included in Eldridge Cleaver's article from prison (Cleaver is Panther Minister of information) reprinted following this article. On October 28, while Huey Newton and an associate were driving down an Oakland Street, Newton was stopped by a cop for an alleged traffic violation. The cop demanded that Newton remove himself from the car. Newton refused. In an ensuing struggle a number of shots were fired — one cop died, one wounded and Newton seriously wounded in the abdomen. The cops: absolved of any crime, Newton: charged with murder.

On November 13, 1967, the Alameda County Grand Jury after hearing the evidence went to lunch, re-



Bobby Seale, Black Panther Chairman

photo by Brian Shannon

convened at 1.43 p.m. and twenty seven minutes later (at 2.10 p.m.) returned a three count indictment against Huey Newton of murder and kidnapping. The action was taken with no deliberation or questions asked by the Grand Jury.

Pressed into the brief twenty seven minutes was the movement of the fourteen members of the Grand Jury to the courtroom, roll call, two exits from the Grand Jury by the District Attorney and his staff, and indictment. No questions were asked and no weapon was in evidence, nor was the absence of such a weapon explained. Heanes, the

police officer wounded in the incident, made the statement that he had never seen a gun in Newton's hand.

The defence claimed that no evidence was presented to the Grand Jury that the defendant fired or even possessed a weapon at the time that the shots were fired. Newton's lawyer, Charles Garry, is requesting that the indictment be dismissed also on the ground that the Grand Jury which indicted him was illegitimate.

The constitution states that a Grand Jury must be composed of one's own peers. Gary argued that the Grand Jury which indicted Newton was unlawful since its members were primarily upper class whites and not Newton's peers. The Grand Jury system there has systematically omitted black and poor people from the jury. Usual court channels were also denied Newton. After a preliminary hearing in a lower level court was denied him, he was brought directly to superior court before the Grand Jury.

PERSECUTION

The Oakland campaign against the Black Panther goes back virtually since the formation of the Panther Party. The Oakland Cops have generally one of the worst reputations of any American Police force. When the Sit-in was broken up at Berkely, the Berkely Police were not considered brutal enough to do the job, so the Oakland goons were brought in. Over the last two years some examples of Oakland Police treatment of the Panthers have been: the arrest of twenty-three Panthers at a peaceful demonstration; the illegal arrest of Bobby Seale on an obscure law dating back to the Civil War days, in May 1967; the breaking, entering and searching of Eldridge Cleaver's home without a warrant on January 16th this year and a similar action the following day at Bobby Seale's home. In both cases raids took place at 3.30 a.m. and attempts were made to pin charges relating to illegal weapons on the Panther leaders.



Bobby Hutton, young Panther member, murdered by California cops.

ASSASSINATION

On April 6th, the Oakland Cops stepped up their campaign from frameups and harrassment to murder.

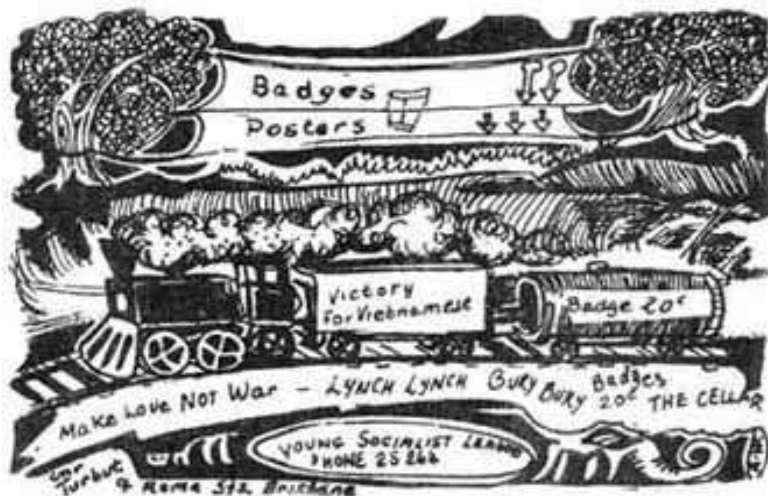
For 90 minutes, Oakland police machine gunned and tear-gassed a house in which the group had taken refuge following an incident in the street. The Panthers state that they did not attack the police; they did defend themselves, as is their policy. When the house caught fire, the men said they would surrender. They decided to go out stripped, to avoid being shot on the pretext of carrying concealed weapons.

Hutton (who was apparently too modest to undress) emerged first with his clothes on, his hands in the air and unarmed (as police later confirmed). He was shot dead in a volley of bullets. Cleaver came out also unarmed, holding his hands in the air and naked; he was wounded.

He is being charged with assault with intent to murder.

Why is the Black Panther Party being persecuted?

The Party is an influential political group working in the black Ghettoes of the Bay area. It maintains the right and need for self-defence; it has opposed spontaneous and needless violence. "We want Non-violence," Chairman Bobby Seale has stated, "but like a Panther who doesn't attack, when we are pushed into a corner we'll defend ourselves". Stokely Carmichael talks of institutionalised Racism. What is happening in Oakland is an extreme example of just that phenomenon. Precisely because the Panthers are an articulate and influential (and Socialist) group working for full liberation of black Americans they pose a threat to the white Racist and Capitalist establishment in America. Therefore they must be crushed and the Oakland goons and their attempts to frame the Panther leadership are the instruments that the Racist state has chosen to crush them. To explain more fully what it is that frightens the American Establishment so badly we reprint below Eldridge Cleaver's article, written from inside Alameda County Jail, which we consider to be one of the best articulations of the Black Power ideology published to date.



THE FIRE NOW

Field Nigger Power takes over the black movement

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER



A reassessment of national black leadership has been in order since the assassination of Malcolm X. The assassination of Martin Luther King makes such a reassessment inevitable. With the death of King, an entire era of leadership with a distinct style and philosophy, spanning some fifty years, draws to a final and decisive close. A new black leadership with its own distinct style and philosophy, which has always been there, waiting in the wings and consciously kept out of the limelight, will now come into its own, to center stage. Nothing can stop this leadership from taking over because it is based on charisma, has the allegiance and support of the black masses, is conscious of its self and its position, and is prepared to shoot its way to power if the need arises.

It is futile and suicidal for white America to greet this new leadership with a political ostrich response. What white America had better do is find out what these leaders want for black people and then set out to discover the quickest possible way to fulfill their demands. The alternative is war, pure and simple, and not just a race war, which in itself would destroy this country, but a guerrilla war which will amount to a second civil war, with thousands of white new-John-Browns fighting on the side of the blacks, plunging America into the depths of its most desperate nightmare, on the way to realizing the American Dream.

When the NAACP was founded in 1911, it vowed, in its preamble, that until black people were invested with full political, economic and social rights, it would never cease to assail the ears of white America with its protests. Protest as the new posture of blacks toward white America was on its way in, and was destined to dominate the black struggle for the next fifty years. On its way out was the era of begging and supplication, rooted in slavery and the plantation, personified in the genuflecting leadership of Booker T. Washington; chief amongst its myriad treasonous acts was giving black acquiescence to the Southern racist policy of segregation, in Booker T.'s notorious sell-out speech at the Atlantic Exposition in 1896. In the same historic breath, the U.S. Supreme Court made segregation the law of the land when it approved the Separate But Equal doctrine in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

Dissenting from this confluence of racist ideology, black submission and judicial certification, W.E.B. DuBois led the protest that was institutionalized in the founding of the NAACP; this held sway until 1954, when the U.S. Supreme Court, recognizing that the racist ideology no

longer had the necessary allegiance of black leadership, reversed itself and declared Separate But Equal, i.e., segregation, unconstitutional. Black protest leadership, which was born to combat segregation, did not know that when it heard, with universal jubilation throughout its ranks, Chief Justice Earl Warren pronounce the death penalty upon that institution, it was, in fact, listening to its own death knell. There was to be, however, a period of transition between the new outmoded protest leadership and a new prevailing leadership that had not yet defined itself.

The transitional leadership was supplied by Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, and Malcolm X, at his death, had laid the foundation of the new leadership that would succeed both him and King. Martin Luther King was a transitional figure, a curious melange of protest and revolutionary activism. He embodied the first ideological strain in its fullest flower; he contained only a smidgin of the latter. He seemed to be saying to white America: If you don't listen to what I am saying, then you are going to have to deal with what I am doing. As far as the willingness of the white power structure to deal with black leadership goes, Martin Luther King, and the type of leadership he personified, held sway from the launching of the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1956 down to our own day, when the vestigial remains of leadership from King's transitional era are still frantically trying to cling to power. In reality their leadership is just as dead as that of the lieutenants of Booker T. Washington at the end of their era.

The difference between Martin Luther King and Malcolm X as transitional leaders between the era of protest and our era of revolutionary activism, is that King's leadership was based on the black bourgeoisie and Malcolm's leadership was based on the black masses. In the vernacular of the ghetto, King had House Nigger Power and Malcolm had Field Nigger Power. What we have now entered, then, is an era in which Field Nigger Power and the grievances and goals of the Field Nigger—and the leadership of Field Niggers—will dominate the black movement for justice in America.

Field Niggers, Molotov Cocktails and Guns

Malcolm X used to tell a little story that points up the difference in perspective and perceived self-interest between the House Nigger and the Field Nigger. The House Nigger was close to the slavemaster. He ate better food, wore better clothes, and didn't have to work as hard as the Field Nigger. He knew that he was better off than his brothers, the Field Niggers, who were kept cooped up in

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, author of *Soul On Ice* (McGraw-Hill), wrote the above article from a jail cell in California.

the slave quarters, had only a subsistence diet this side of garbage, and had to work hard "from can't see in the morning until can't see at night." When the slavemaster's house caught on fire, the House Nigger, even more upset and concerned than the slavemaster himself, came running up to say: "Master, master, *our* house is on fire! What shall we do?" On the other hand, the Field Nigger, viewing the conflagration from the distance of the slave-quarters, hoped for a wind to come along and fan the flames into an all-consuming inferno.

The kernel of truth contained in that story has remained constant from the prison plantations of slavery's South to the prison ghettos of oppression's North, and the urban black, lacking the patience of his forefathers who prayed for a high wind, has opted in favor of the molotov cocktail.

The Black Muslims were the first organization of any significance in our history to understand and harness the volcanic passions of the molotov cocktail-tosser. This organization, which was a transitional organization, rooted in the black masses, based on a protest philosophy with a pinch of revolutionary activism thrown in, made the major contribution of redirecting the dialogue between black leadership and the white power structure, changing it into a dialogue between black leadership and the black masses. This was a necessary by-product of the Muslims' bid to organize black people, because Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X, in order to get their points across, had to talk over the heads of protest leaders to make themselves heard by the black masses.



photo by Brian Shannon

Eldridge Cleaver speaking at Malcolm X memorial meeting, February 24, 1967, at the Militant Labor Forum, San Francisco.

Standing toe to toe with the protest leaders, Malcolm and Elijah, talking over their heads, exposed these leaders for what they were, and these leaders, helping to prove the Muslims' point by talking even louder than before, were talking over Malcolm and Elijah's heads—but not to the black masses. They were still chatting with Charlie, a

note of desperation having slipped into their tone to be sure. But essentially, what they were saying to Charlie now was that if Charlie didn't listen to them, fund their picayune programs, then he was going to be faced with Malcolm and Elijah.

(Now, in the wake of King's death, chatting with Charlie has been driven to the ludicrous, asinine length of Whitney Young pleading to Henry Ford, Rockefeller and George Meany to lead a white folk's march on Washington to prove to blacks that all white folks aren't killers of the dream. The only salutary result of this bankrupt, ridiculous proposal, as far as the black masses are concerned, is that in singling out these three sterling figures, Young brushed them with his Judas kiss of death, identifying for the black masses three of their most culpable oppressors in the spheres of Big Fat Industry, Big Fat Finance and Big Fat Labor. Maybe all whites aren't killers of the dream, as Young suggests, but his three pals are exploiters of oppressed people, both home and abroad.)

When black leaders stopped chatting with Charlie and started cutting it up with the brothers on the block, a decisive juncture had been reached, and blacks had seized control of their own destiny. A full ideological debate ensued. The consensus of this debate was given to the world on a Mississippi dusty road, when young Stokely Carmichael leaped from obscure anonymity and shouted, with a roar of thunder, WE WANT BLACK POWER! How to get it was the only question as far as the black people were concerned.

There have been a lot of simple answers to this question, which is by no means a simple one. Black Power, whatever the form of its implementation, has to solve the question of massive unemployment and underemployment, massive bad housing, massive inferior education. It must also deal with the massive problems of institutionalized white racism manifested in subtle forms of discrimination that result in blacks being denied equal access to and use of existing public accommodations and services. From access to medical facilities through the injustices suffered by blacks in the courts, to the pervasive problem of racist, repressive police practices, Black Power has to come up with solutions.

If the experience of other colonized people is relevant, then the answers given by Huey P. Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party, have to be dealt with. The only real power that black people in America have, argues Huey, is the power to destroy America. We must organize this destructive potential, he goes on, then we can say to the power structure that if black people don't get their political desires and needs satisfied, we will inflict a political consequence upon the system. This is a rejection of the Chamber of Commerce's *laissez faire* myth of the market place that argues to blacks that if they go out and hustle, get themselves educated, learn skills (pull yourself up by your own bootstraps, etc., etc., *ad nauseam*), the American Free Enterprise System will do the rest, that if you don't become President, you are sure at least to make a million bucks. In the age of automation and cybernation, the marketplace has been abolished by the computer. We must make a frontal attack upon the system as a whole, Huey says. We need a redistribution of wealth in America. The form of ownership of the means of production is no longer functional. It is time for the present, non-functional system to be abolished and replaced by a functional, humanistic system that can guarantee a good life for everybody. Everyman is entitled to the best and highest standard of living that the present-day level of technological development is capable of delivering. Every human being is entitled to live. If men must work in order to get the necessities of living, then every man capable of working is entitled to a job. If a man is incapable of working because of a physical inability, then society is responsible for taking care of him for as long as the physical inability

exists, for life if necessary. If the businessmen who now control the economic system are incapable of fulfilling the needs of society, then the economic system must be taken out of their hands and rearranged; then the people can appoint administrators to run the economy who can deliver. That is the eternal right of a free people.

The viability of the Black Panther Party's approach to solving problems is testified to by the fact that it has engineered two remarkable feats which constitute the foundation for a revolutionary movement that overlooks nothing, is afraid of nothing and is able to resolve the major contradiction of our time. On the one hand, the Black Panther Party cemented a working coalition with the predominantly white Peace and Freedom Party. On the other hand, it effected a merger with SNCC. This is the key center of the eye of the storm, because whether they know it or not, whether they like it or not, neither white radicals nor black radicals are going to get very far by themselves, one without the other. In order for a real change to be brought about in America, we have to create machinery that is capable of moving in two different directions at the same time, machinery the two wings of which are capable of communicating with each other. The Black Panther Party, through its coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party and its merger with SNCC, has been the vector of communication between the most important vortexes of black and white radicalism in America. Any black leadership in our era with national ambitions

has to embody this functional flexibility without sacrificing its integrity or its rock-bottom allegiance to the black masses.

Stokely Carmichael is Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party. Rap Brown is its Minister of Justice. James Foreman is its Minister of Foreign Affairs, and George Ware is its Field Marshal. At the same time, Huey Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, is running for Congress on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket. The Black Panther Party's nomination for President of the United States, running on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket, is Robert F. Williams, the black leader in exile in the People's Republic of China. Williams picked up the gun against white racism as far back as 1959. If the Black Panther Party succeeds in getting the Peace and Freedom Party to see the wisdom of picking Williams as its Presidential candidate,* then a bid for the new national black leadership will begin to come into sharper focus. And America will be astounded by this fact: not only will this leadership bear a charismatic relationship to the black masses, but it also will exercise charismatic leadership upon the white masses as well, and it will reach down into the bowels of this nation, amongst its poor, dispossessed and alienated, and it will set aflame a revolutionary wave of change that will give America a birth of freedom that it has known hitherto only in the dreams of its boldest dreamers. And it will kill, once and for all, all the killers of the dream.

*Since this was written, the author has been selected for this office.



Illegal search of Panther home by cops is depicted here by Panther Revolutionary Artist, Emory.

AMERICA HURRAH, AUSTRALIA HURRUMPH!



In the final third of America Hurrah, "Motel", there are three characters — four if you count the motel room — and they are all dummies, actors with huge three-foot false heads on their shoulders.

The scene was included in a performance at Queensland University in the last week of term. The hostess taller than the couple who have come to rent the room by several feet shows them around the garishly decorated place keeping up an incessant prattle of inane "conversation", her huge spectacles (the levers are broom handles) are round bits of mirror, reflecting outward:

"...and just imagine. You got up this morning and drove all day, and I got up this morning never dreaming for a minute that we'd meet and here we are. That'll be twelve dollars in advance. That way you can go anytime you want. Get an early start..." Her voice comes from a tape-recorder, disembodied from her.

Meanwhile the grotesque couple are wandering around the room, flinging open their suitcases, emptying bags upside down on the bed walking on the furniture. The wife disappears backstage. A toilet roll comes scudding out. She follows it, now un-

-dressed for bed. They write on the walls and draw lavatory wall sketches. The husband has stripped to his blazing striped underpants.

All the while the hostess continues obviously showing them this luxury and that, her voice booming out from the hidden taperecorder. But now the sound of Little Richard singing "Rip it up" superimposes on her voice and the couple jive rhythmically for a moment, as though mechanically, ritualistically sexing each other up for bed (long since destroyed by the husband's wandering and stomping on it).

Now they begin in earnest to tear the place apart, pictures and wallpaper come down. Police sirens start droning over Little Richard and the couple knock the woman's head clean off in a climax of destruction and leave the stage in silent chaos.

To draw academic interpretations is unnecessary. The mere report of the stage action makes the point clearly enough. To be actually present is an experience of totally other dimensions; fuller, more instinctual appreciation and understanding and rebuke is communicated.

The sense of rebuke, not of the spectator personally but of the whole audience communally, is probably uppermost.

Indeed, it's not hard to see why the scene is banned in New South Wales. Its attack is too directly upon the sensibilities and self-concepts of just that class (among others) which aspires to the kind of self-importance that travelling for the Minister imports.

As well as that of course, it leaves itself wide open and tender for the official jackpot by using shock tactics, in the tradition of Swift and Sartre, for didactic ends.

The scene is not cut from the performance in America, where the whole play has toured the country and is still having a successful run in New York. At least in America then, despite the degeneration of social community which provoked the play into existence there is sufficient respect for freedom of culture and the arts to keep the censors in check and recognize the therapeutic value of such a dramatic statement.

Here in lotus land there is only the dullness standing guard over the dullness, apathy mated to ignorance, proliferating complacency, self-righteous smugness, and self-satisfaction.

"Theatre is dead" has been the despairing cry in recent years from many tortured theatre workers. Their reaction has been against seeing the commercial theatres presenting assembly-line chocolate-box plays for middle-aged audiences, combined with a lack of encouragement for vigorous experimentation.

American theatre has made advances through playwrights discovered in the off-Broadway theatres. The English stiff-upper-lip, play everything-out-front and don't-you-dare-mask-me-or-I'll-upstage-you type of actor has received a jolt from the work of several innovators, notably Brook and Marowitz. European theatre has an experimenter in Poland's prodigious Grotowski. What of Australia?

As in most other fields, notable exceptions being sport and political ineptitude, Godzone's achievements have been meagre and mainly based on outworn, overseas trends. The search for the Great Australian Play (the G.A.P.) preoccupied our few entrepreneurs interested in indigenous drama. Lawler's 'Summer of the Seventeenth Doll' was hailed, toured the country, was taken overseas where it could not be called a success, (despite the praise it received from critic Kenneth Tynan), and finally was made into a fairly ratty film. After the Doll, What? Virtually nothing worth mentioning. And what of the Doll itself? What could it contribute to the development of Australian theatre? It was a well-made play, cosily ensconced behind a proscenium arch. In the few years after its success came a handful of inferior well-made plays and soon the line thankfully petered out. And of course Lawler himself went to England soon afterwards and has not written anything comparable since, let alone an advancement.

However in the past two years or so, there has been an encouraging number of important productions. As yet there are only a handful of directors here who want to appeal to other than furcoated ladies, but this handful are gradually building an audience awareness that theatre can be related to life, and is related to theatre.

In a world of useless and unending wars, petty international misunderstandings, assassinations by psychotics, starvation amid affluence and shockingly immoral abuses of civil liberties, can the theatre afford to sit back and fail to reflect this world? Yes, it can, if it wants to die an early death. The subject matter may be unpleasant, even the methods of presentation may be unpleasant. However, there can be an aesthetic balance achieved. One of the most publicised productions in recent years, Jean-Claude van Itallie's 'America Hurrah', does this. Audiences all over the world have laughed at van Itallie's trilogy and at least some of them have gone home reeling with the enormity of our society's degradation. Plenty has been written elsewhere about official reaction to the third play in the trilogy, 'Motel'.

The few relatively well-known directors offering resistance to the laziness and complacency in Australian theatre are centred mainly in Melbourne and Sydney, but there are

is Little Theatre



dead



Like God



lesser groups working elsewhere. "The Brisbane Line" will try to seek out and give preference to an evaluation of these groups. The quality may often be uneven but that doesn't matter much at this early stage.

Most are following overseas trends, but in a different way to the commercial theatre's reproductions of overseas successes. Some of the group who have influenced the new wave are the Living Theatre, who have been touring Europe after leaving the U.S. under a cloud; the various off-Broadway groups; the so-called Theatre of Cruelty experiment by Brook and Marowitz with members of England's Royal Shakespeare Company. Most of these groups have concentrated on the development of a new acting style in order to present a new kind of material based on the basic condition of contemporary society.

Side by side with the development of this new style of acting has been a new style of direction and the emergence of a new style of playwriting. Rather than sitting at home sweating by himself over a typewriter and emerging as if from a cocoon with another play, playwrights are now attending actors' improvisation sessions, observing and contributing in the form of ideas they want worked out. Through this creative collaboration between playwrights, directors and actors, a new kind of play has emerged where the text is not just representative of surface manifestations of human behaviour but delves down to the sub-text where the agonies of the well-springs of life are exposed.

"Drama is the mind's most perfect expression. It is in the nature of profound things to clash and combine, to evolve from one another. Action is the very principle of life." During his search for the "mind's most perfect expression" Artaud went mad. His published correspondence with the editor of the Nouvelle Revue Francaise, Jacques Riviere, led to Riviere's writing at one stage: "The only cure for madness is the innocence of facts." Not a cheery thought, but if the theatre is to be rescued from its present doldrums and is to be made to reflect life in its essentials, many people are going to have to risk an awareness of facts.

One man who has influenced many of today's workers has been Antonin Artaud, the actor, playwright, director, and writer who died in 1948 after spending several years of his life in a mental asylum.

So theatre may not be quite dead after all. But it requires a lot of guts and disappointments. There is a long way to go yet, especially in Australia, but the revolution does appear to be alive and well.

One of the pockets of regeneration should ideally be in campus theatre. The Australian Universities Drama Festival will be held at Monash University in the middle of August. The organizers of this year's festival have encouraged all participating university groups to inject some new life into campus theatre. It will be interesting to see whether and how the challenge is accepted.

cont'd from Page 3

surrounded. All that time we could see them beating up the wounded, arresting people walking home alone, baiting them and finally throwing grenades at the flats. We couldn't get help till five o'clock. The pregnant girl started to have contractions and the nurse who examined her said she was in danger of losing her baby. She was taken to hospital at once and I've had no news of her since.

A nurse was arrested and taken to the detention centre at Beaujon:

We got out of the bus and were beaten up; then, going between two ranks of CRS, I reached a stadium surrounded by barbed wire. I waited, standing in the rain. From time to time, CRS buses delivered men and women, hit or gassed, with very bad head wounds, broken arms, etc. Chinese or Vietnamese and blacks specially were treated with great violence. Then we were taken indoors one by one. A CRS man said to me: 'Come along and I'll shave you, curly-locks.' He hit me. An officer intervened, but the girl ahead of me had all her hair cut off. I was taken to a cell, three metres by six. After five hours, it contained 80 of us. We had to stand up. I could see the courtyard; a young man went by half naked, legs lacerated with baton blows, bleeding, holding his stomach, wincing everywhere. A young woman who'd been with him told me the CRS beat him till he fainted, then undressed him and hit his sexual organs till the flesh was in ribbons.

Some girls arrived, among them a school-girl of 16 who told us she had been arrested by CRS at St-Michel. They took her into their bus and four of them raped her. She told me she let them do it, otherwise they'd have beaten her up and shaved her head. Her clothes were torn and she was bruised. Another girl was crying, she had a broken finger. She had to wait 18 hours in that cell before she got medical attention at a hospital - then she was brought back to the cell.

My last quotation is not from these documents. It is from M. Pompidou's eve of-poll speech in his constituency:

The difference between the tri-colour and the red flag is that on one hand you have freedom and the right to vote; on the other there is the one-party system, the police state, forced labour and the outlawing of strikes.

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ARTICLES ON	HOW TO LEAVE THE ARMY
	WHEN IS AN AUSTRALIAN NOT AN AUSTRALIAN — THE BURCHETT CASE

KNOW THE HEROES ➡➡➡

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IS FILLED WITH "HEROES, IDEOLOGISTS, PROPHETS, MARTYRS, LEADERS." THESE ARE THE MEN, WHOSE WORKS AND ACTIONS INSPIRE US, TEACH US AND ENCOURAGE US IN OUR OWN ACTIONS. THESE ARE THE PEOPLE WHOSE PHOTOGRAPHS WE PUT ON OUR WALLS IN THE VAGUE HOPES OF SHINING IN THEIR REFLECTED GLORY. "THE LINE" DOESN'T REALLY BELIEVE IN THE CULT OF THE HERO, EXCEPT AS A TACTIC, AFTER ALL IT IS THE PEOPLE NOT THE LEADERS WHO MAKE SOCIAL CHANGE POSSIBLE. YET WE RECOGNISE THAT EVEN SOME OF THE MOST DEDICATED OPPONENTS OF THE PERSONALITY CULT HAVE FRAMED PICTURES OF KARL MARX ON THEIR MANTEL PEICES. CONCENTRATION ON THE LEADERS IS WORTHWHILE AND JUSTIFIABLE IF WE CONCENTRATE ON UNDERSTANDING THE IDEAS AND QUALITIES OF THE LEADERS.

THE BRISBANE LINE WILL PUBLISH EACH WEEK A FULL PAGE PICTURE OF A "HERO". FOR THE MOMENT WE WILL DEAL WITH CONTEMPORARY HEROES, LEADERS, IDEOLOGISTS, PROPHETS AND MARTYRS OF THE CURRENT POLITICAL TRENDS. LATER WE WILL PUBLISH PICTURES OF PAST HEROES. AS FAR AS POSSIBLE THEY WILL BE RELATED TO MATERIAL PRESENTED WITH -IN THE PAPER. ON THIS PAGE EACH WEEK WE WILL PUBLISH BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF EACH "HERO", DEALING NOT ONLY WITH THE PHYSICAL DETAILS OF THE HERO BUT ALSO A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THEIR IDEAS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE PROGRESS -IVE MOVEMENT. IN THIS WAY THE BACK PAGE WHICH CAN BE DETACHED FROM THE REST OF THE PAPER WILL SERVE AN EDUCATIONAL AS WELL AS ADULATIONAL PURPOSE.

MALCOLM X

In 1966 when Stokely Carmichael first voiced the demand for Black Power and shocked the pants off bourgeois white America, he sloganised a desire and series of ideas that had been growing for years in the Negro community. Since then the ideology and programme of black power has been developed, sophisticated, and modified (but not moderated) until it has reached the level of clarity expressed in Eldridge Cleaver's letter from prison republished elsewhere in this issue. Yet Black Power had been articulated before the Meredith March and every black militant leader will acknowledge that much of what he says was said first by Malcolm X. We are printing Malcolm's photograph as our first "hero" because this issue includes the articles on the militant black movement and Malcolm was the first militant black "hero".

As is the case with most black militant leaders Malcolm was not born in the South. His father was murdered by a mid-western equivalent of the Klan when he was a small child, but throughout most of his childhood his experience of White Racism was more of the unspoken condescension that typify Northern responses to Negroes. One major formative experience his early teens was the response of his English teacher, under whom he had always received near top marks, who was amazed when Malcolm expressed a desire to be a lawyer. He suggested that this was an unrealistic aim for a Negro and advised Malcolm to study carpentry.

streets of harlem

At sixteen Malcolm went first to the Boston Ghetto and later moved on to Harlem. Here he became thoroughly involved in the "hustling" that is almost the only way that a Negro can make a good living in the ghettos. Before he was finally arrested and jailed Malcolm had worked as drug-peddler, a "steerer" for prostitutes a runner for the numbers game, and a burglar on a large scale. Ultimately he was jailed on an armed Robbery charge and it was in prison that he first became converted to the religion of the "Nation of Islam".

the black muslims

The "Nation of Islam" or "Black Muslims" were at that stage a minute group centered around Elijah Muhammad. Their religion was a bastardised version of Islam which included as a major tenet the idea that the white man was a devil. However, their most important role was to teach Black people to have pride in themselves and their race. Malcolm X became the leading minister of the Muslim religion organising Muslim Temples in the major eastern cities. It was because of Malcolm's gift as a leader that the religion began to grow and attract national attention. As the religion grew in strength Malcolm's success arous

ed jealousy of Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm himself became restless at the inactive role that Elijah Muhammad forced on the Muslims while more moderate groups organised the struggle against American racism.

chickens roosting

Finally, Malcolm was suspended and then expelled from the Muslims ostensibly because of his statements after the first Kennedy assassination. Malcolm had said that the assassination was "a case of the chickens coming home to roost". Meaning that the hate that had dominated America's dealings with the black man for centuries could hardly have been expected to stop, merely with the killing of black people. It was a moderate statement paralleled by many white commentators at the time. In many ways Malcolm's break with the Muslims was a major step in the development of Black Militancy. Freed from the racial hate implied by the Nation of Islam, Malcolm began to develop the foundations of the Black Power doctrine. His organisation for Afro-American unity which he formed after his return from a tour of the Islamic countries did not teach hatred for the white man. It concentrated more on the idea that the black man had to free himself rather depend on arousing white sympathy.

field nigger power

In the last year before his assassination (by Muslims) in 1965 Malcolm's ideas took on the sophistication of a political programme. He did not reject political action even in the structure as it stood but believed that Blacks had to be clearer about their aims before they ventured into political action on any large scale. He believed that real freedom could not be obtained in America as it stood, and specifically attacked Capitalism and praised the Non-White Socialist Countries. He did not articulate a socialist revolutionary policy to the extent that recent black leaders have, but he prepared the way by approaching the race problems from a class basis rather than a "pressure group" analysis. When Malcolm talked about "Field niggers" as opposed to "house niggers" he drew the distinctions between the black bourgeoisie (whom he generally despised) and the black masses. Eldridge Cleaver in the article reprinted herein pinpoints Malcolm's greatest achievement, he talked to the black masses, instead of talking over the heads to the white power structure as the N.A.A.C.P. had. It was this more than anything that merits considering Malcolm X (who was born Malcolm Little and died under the name, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz) as the first Black Power leader.

