



SHRINE OF REMEMBRANCE
EDUCATION PROGRAM

A historical photograph showing a group of soldiers in a field. In the foreground, a soldier is kneeling and aiming a rifle. Behind him, several other soldiers are standing, some with rifles. In the background, two helicopters are visible, one of which is landing or taking off. The entire image is overlaid with a semi-transparent green gradient.

VCE
Attitudes to the Vietnam War





Attitudes to the Vietnam War

The Vietnam War was the most divisive war in which Australian men and women were involved. The events that surround it are complex. Historians and other social commentators do not always agree on the nature of that war and the positions taken by supporters and opponents of the various issues that impacted on the war itself - the validity of Australia's involvement; the issue of conscription especially for overseas service; the use of chemical warfare (e.g. napalm and Agent Orange). The war was as complex as the changing society within which debate about the war was conducted.

To help teachers and students in their investigations about attitudes to the Vietnam War, the Shrine of Remembrance has developed a number of resources. Visit each of the following questions to find out more:

- [What are the VCE Study requirements?](#)
- [What resources are available to help me?](#)
- [What are the main events that took place in and near 1965 and 1970?](#)
- [What are some of the important questions I need to ask to better understand attitudes to the Vietnam War?](#)
- [Who were the different groups that supported and opposed Australia's involvement and the National Service Act?](#)
- [What primary documents are available to help me?](#)
- [What can I learn from visual resources?](#)
- [What was the National Service Act?](#)



WHAT ARE THE VCE STUDY REQUIREMENTS?

The following extracts are taken from the History Study Design for 2005-2007.

Unit 4: Australian History

AREA OF STUDY 2

Debating Australia's future 1996-2000

During the 1960s the increasing politicisation of the Aboriginal people, international movements in areas such as environmentalism, human rights, youth, feminism and social justice, and post-colonial struggles in Asia and elsewhere, were beginning to raise questions about Australia's future directions. At this time there was increased prosperity and enormous technological advances. Most immediately, Australia's commitment to the war in Vietnam, while generally accepted in 1965, was facing increasing challenge by the end of the decade.

Outcome 2

On completion of this unit the student should be able to evaluate the extent to which changing attitudes are evident in Australia's reactions to significant social and political issues.

This will be achieved through an examination of changing attitudes at TWO significant points in time, in the context of ONE of the following:

- Attitudes to Indigenous rights
- Attitudes to the Vietnam War (Attitudes to Australia's involvement in the Vietnam conflict, 1965 and 1970)
- Attitudes to the environment
- Attitudes to immigration

To achieve this outcome the student will draw on knowledge and related skills outlined in area of study 2.

Key knowledge

This knowledge includes

- a range of attitudes at each point in time;
- the connections between the two significant points in time;
- the degree of change in attitudes between the two significant points and the reasons for any change.

Key skills

These skills include the ability to

- explain the historical issues covered in the key knowledge
- apply historical concepts related to the period (1960-2000)
- analyse and evaluate written and historical evidence
- synthesise material and evidence to draw conclusions
- analyse the way that the experience of the period (1960-2000) has been interpreted and understood over time by historians and other commentators
- express knowledge and ideas in writing, presenting material using historical conventions such as quotations, acknowledgment of sources, and a bibliography.

On page 91 of the Study Design four assessment tasks are identified for use in Units 3 and 4:

- Research report
- Analysis of visual and/or written documents
- Historiographical exercise
- Essay.

Teachers may choose the order of the assessment tasks. Each type of assessment task may only be used once.



WHAT RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME?

Part A: Study design recommended resources

The following resources have been listed for students studying Attitudes to the Vietnam War for Unit 4, VCE Australian History. This list can also be viewed on page 104 of the History Study Design.

Cook, P (ed) 1991, *Australia and Vietnam, 1965-1972*, La Trobe University, Melbourne

Bassett, Jan & Gerster, Robin 1991, *Seizures of Youth: the 'Sixties' and Australia*, Hyland House, Melbourne

Edwards, Peter (ed) 1997, *The Official History of Australia's Involvement in Southeast Asian Conflicts: A Nation at War-Australian Politics, Society and Diplomacy during the Vietnam War 1965- 1975*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney

Grey, Jeffrey & Doyle, Jeff (eds) 1992, *Vietnam: War Myth and Memory: Comparative Perspectives on Australia's War in Vietnam*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney

Grey, J, Pierce, P & Doyle, J (eds) 1991 *Vietnam Days: Australia and the Impact of Vietnam*, Penguin, Melbourne

Langley, Greg 1992, *A Decade of Dissent: Vietnam and the Conflict on the Australian Homefront*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney

Lewis, R (ed) 1991, *Voices of Vietnam*, History Teachers' Association of Victoria, Melbourne

Lunn, Hugh 1985, *Vietnam: A Reporter's War*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia

Murphy, John 1993, *Harvest of Fear: A History of Australia's Vietnam War*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney

Part B: Additional resources

The following resources may also be useful for students. Students should consider the viewpoint and expressed values of the writer when analysing and evaluating these resources. The Shrine of Remembrance encourages students of the Vietnam War to consider all perspectives and viewpoints before reaching a personal conclusion about the nature and validity of Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War and reaction to issues and events as they arose during that conflict both at home and in Vietnam.

Texts

Cook, Peter & Manning, Corinne 2002, *Australia's Vietnam War in History and Memory*, La Trobe University Studies in History, Melbourne

Miller, Karl 1995, *How the Vietnam antiwar campaign was built*, Green Left (A personal recollection of the anti-war campaign between 1965 and 1972.)

Saunders, Malcolm 1983, *The anti-Vietnam war movement in Australia: 1962-73*, Chatta (Includes its origins, the split between the moderates and the radicals in the peace movement, the success of the Vietnam moratorium campaigns and the movement's achievements and outcomes)

Saunders, Malcolm 1993, *The ALP's response to the anti-Vietnam war movement: 1965-73*, Labour History

See also the website based resource lists below.



WHAT RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

Articles

Democracy, Conscription, and the Vietnam War (National History Challenge, 1998), www.sths.nsw.edu.au/readingroom/Vietnam.asp

Duras, Tony, *Trade unions and the Vietnam War*, www.anu.edu.au/polsci/marx/interventions/workers.htm (Based on an honours thesis)

Harrant, Gerry, *Tales from the Vietnam Movement in Victoria*, www.takver.com/history/matteson.htm

Kuhn, Rick, *'The Australian left, nationalism and the Vietnam War'*, www.edu.au/polsci/marx/interventions/leftvietnam.htm (Originally published in *Labour History*, no 72, May 1997, pp 163-184)

Langford, Sue, *The national service scheme, 1964-72*, www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/viet_app.htm (Also printed as an appendix in Edwards, Peter, *A Nation at War*, op.cit.)

National Service, 1965-72 (Fact Sheet 164), www.naa.gov.au/Publications/fact_sheets/fs164.html

Photography, art and the war, www.awm.gov.au/events/travelling/impressions/aust_vietnam.htm

'Vietnam War 1962-1972', www.awm.gov.au/atwar/vietnam.htm

Websites

Australian War Memorial, www.awm.gov.au

Look under the 'Collections database' for photographs

Look under 'Encyclopaedia' for useful background information

Look under 'Australians at war' for general histories of the war.

This website has an extensive collection which can be accessed using general and specific searches.

Australian military statistics, www.awm.gov.au/atwar/statistics/vietnam.htm

Australian perspectives on the Vietnam war: A dialog from H-Asia list, www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/24/097.html (This is an extensive bibliography including writings by people with a range of viewpoints and political loyalties)

Australians in the Vietnam War: reading list, www.awm.gov.au/research/bibliographies/vietnam.htm

Australians in Vietnam: The Odd Angry Shot: Chronology of the war in Vietnam, www.britains-smallwars.com/Vietnam/Chronology.htm

Conscription (a South Australian perspective), www.diggerhistory.info/pages-conflicts-periods/other/conscription.htm

History Teachers' Association of Victoria, www.htav.asn.au (Includes an extensive list of publications and four new Webquests)

Vietnam War, www.awm.gov.au/atwar/vietnam.htm; reading list at www.awm.gov.au/research/bibliographies/vietnam.htm

Overview of Australian military involvement in the Vietnam War, 1962-73, www.awm.gov.au/events/travelling/impressions/overview.htm

P. L. Duffy Resource Centre: Vietnam: Australia's Involvement, <http://library.trinity.wa.edu.au/subjects/sose/austhist/vietnam.htm>



WHAT RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

Vietnam, Australia and New Zealand, www.awm.gov.au/journal/j32/rabel.htm

Vietnam: Conflict or War? <http://members.aol.com/Teachernet/Vietnam.html>

Vietnam Veterans Association of Australia, www.vvaa.org.au (For a bibliography including personal reminiscences see www.vvaa.org.au/books.htm)

Vietnam War 1965-1973 Timeline, www.vietnamwar.com/Timeline65-68.htm and www.vietnamwar.com/Timeline69-75.htm (An American perspective)

Vietnam War: reading list, www.awm.gov.au/research/bibliographies/old/b8vietnam.htm

Film, Video

Visit the Australian Centre for the Moving Image website at www.acmi.net.au and search for suitable titles. These could include the following with the order number bracketed:

Australia's anti-war movement 1965-1972 (303639), 1993 (Uses archival footage)

Casualties of war (305281), 1989, 113 minutes (For mature 15+ audiences, a moral dilemma of a soldier in Vietnam)

Frontline 1979, 56 minutes (Television footage shot by Australian Neil Davis. Uses archival footage)

Frontline: The search for truth in wartime (308025), 52 minutes (Video Classroom video)

SOS: Save Our Sons Movement (309380), 1996 (Uses archival footage)

Kits

State Library of New South Wales, *Australian attitudes to the Vietnam War*. For further information and how to purchase the kit, visit http://infocus.sl.nsw.gov.au/res/resdesc.cfm?res_code+433



THE VIETNAM WAR: TIMELINE 1965 AND 1970

Before 1965: Background to the VCE Study

May 1954	<p>First Indochina War 1946-1954:</p> <p>In May 1954 Viet Minh forces defeated the French army at Dien Bien Phu marking the end of France's Indo-China Empire.</p>
July 1954	<p>Under the Geneva Accord, Vietnam was divided at the 17th Parallel into communist North Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh and western-backed South Vietnam. The French withdrew from Indochina.</p>
1954	<p>South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) formed by the USA.</p>
1961 and 1962	<p>South Vietnamese government requested general aid from Australia.</p>
May 1961	<p>US President John Kennedy's administration concluded that the loss of Vietnam to communism would see the eventual fall of all Southeast Asia to communism (The Domino effect). Kennedy increased the number of US military advisers training the Army of the Republic of Vietnam.</p>
May 1962	<p>Australia, New Zealand and the US as the ANZUS Council approved the determination of the Republic of Vietnam to defend itself against communist insurgency and infiltration.</p>
24 May 1962	<p>Formal announcement that Australia would send 30 military advisers to South Vietnam. This was the largest commitment by any nation to South Vietnam other than the USA at that time. In 1964 the situation remained unchanged regarding countries committed to supporting South Vietnam with military personnel.</p>
31 July 1962	<p>The team leader of the Australian Army Training Team Vietnam (AATTV) arrived in South Vietnam. This signalled the beginning of Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War during the next decade. Thirty advisers were sent to Vietnam to help train army elements of the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam). They were under instructions not to accompany the Vietnamese on operations. The Australian Army Training Team Vietnam became our most highly decorated unit during the war. It received all four Victoria Crosses, the Republic of Vietnam Cross of Gallantry with Palm Unit Citation and the US Army Meritorious Unit Commendation.</p> <p>Australia's commitment would be predominantly Army personnel. However significant numbers of Air Force and Navy personnel and some civilians also took part. By the end of the war more than 59,000 Australians had served in Vietnam. 508 Australians died (478 Army, 14 RAF, 9 RAN, 7 civilians) This compares with over 3,000,000 Americans who served, peaking at over 540,000 in 1968. Nearly 58,000 Americans died in the Vietnam War; over 2000 are listed as Missing in Action.</p>
June-November 1963	<p>Relations between Washington and the Diem Government broke down irretrievably. In November the US Embassy in Saigon acquiesced in a coup led by General Dzung Van Minh against the Catholic Diem family.</p>
1964	<p>Growing political instability in Vietnam (Diem murdered, government of 'Big Minh' overthrown on 20 January in a coup led by General Nguyen Khanh).</p> <p>US President Johnson steadily increased US involvement in a covert war against North Vietnam through clandestine raids and attacks, The Gulf of Tonkin was patrolled by destroyers and air strikes were conducted in Laos. Being an election year in the USA, Johnson was not prepared to make any overt statement about escalating US involvement.</p>



THE VIETNAM WAR: TIMELINE 1965 AND 1970 (continued)

March 1964	The RSL presented Hasluck with a paper it had prepared arguing that Australia was now under greater threat than it had been under on the eve of World War II. It argued for compulsory military service to help overcome the shortfall in the Army's numbers. At this time the US was telling the Australian ambassador that Australia should be doing more in relation to defence. The Army told Hasluck there were planning and implementation difficulties if compulsory service was introduced. They saw no need for selective service in the current strategic position. The Army saw no imminent threat to Australia's own security.
29 May 1964	Australia agreed to US request to double the Australian Army Training Team Vietnam (AATTV) to 80 advisers. The team also served with US forces in the field. A small detachment of RAAF helicopters and crews was also agreed to by Australia.
17 June 1964	Australian Minister for External Affairs, Paul Hasluck on a visit to Thailand, South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos concluded that the main threat to Australia and the region would come from China and North Vietnam, not Indonesia. Hasluck told Menzies that while existing policies would be sufficient to protect Malaysia, Laos and South Vietnam were more urgent and more dangerous. Hasluck favoured an aggressive onslaught by the US against the North Vietnamese.
18 June 1964	The new Defence Minister, Paltridge, announced a number of defence measures: pay and allowance increases in the three defence services hopefully to attract new recruits, Citizens Military Force members were allowed to serve overseas in circumstances short of war. Volunteer emergency services for all three defence services were established. Labor endorsed the increased defence expenditure but opposed any introduction of conscription.
6 July 1964	Warrant Officer Kevin Conway became the first AATTV adviser killed in action.
Early August 1964	Gulf of Tonkin incident (North Vietnamese torpedo boats attacked the USS <i>Maddox</i> . This raised issues about the limits of territorial and international waters and legality of the American presence 28 miles off the North Vietnamese coast). On 4 August President Johnson decided to launch a retaliatory attack against North Vietnamese support facilities at Vinh.
August 1964	Menzies and Hasluck persuaded Cabinet to increase the defence budget. Menzies and Hasluck also agreed to reintroduce selective compulsory national service and to allow conscripts to serve overseas.
5 August 1964	Hasluck supported the US decision in the Gulf of Tonkin. Cabinet and Parliament informed.
14 August 1964	RAAF provided six Caribou aircraft as transport flight.
Autumn (Sept-Nov) 1964	The Khanh Government was disintegrating. The North Vietnamese and Viet Cong stepped up pressure on South Vietnam and the USA.
October 1964	The Australian Government saw Indonesia and New Guinea as higher priorities in relation to overseas defence issues. There was a belief that South Vietnam would eventually fall to the communists. Laos and Cambodia were seen therefore as more important focuses for Australian efforts. Navy and Air Force rejected conscription. The Army, after 25 October, came to a grudging acceptance of it with a highly selective scheme preferred.
11 October 1964	Viet Cong battalions attacked Tay Ninh province. Heavy South Vietnamese casualties.
1 November 1964	Viet Cong mortared the US airbase at Bien Hoa near Saigon (present day Ho Chi Minh City).



THE VIETNAM WAR: TIMELINE 1965 AND 1970 (continued)

10 November 1964	<p>Menzies told Parliament that the situation in the region was deteriorating and a significantly increased Australian Army was required for the Cold War and counterinsurgency attacks.</p> <p>Selective conscription of 20 year old Australian males by ballot under the National Service Act was introduced. Under the National Service Scheme 19,450 young men served in Vietnam.</p>
11 November 1964	<p>Minister for Labour and National Service, William McMahon, introduced the National Service Bill in the House of Representatives.</p>
23 November 1964	<p>David Weedon, president of the University of Queensland Union, wrote to McMahon asking about special categories of students in relation to national service including medical students and those bonded to government departments.</p>
29 November 1964	<p>Public meeting at Sydney Town Hall, addressed by Dr Jim Cairns. Youth campaign Against Conscription launched. Further autonomously organised groups organised in Melbourne, Brisbane, Canberra and Perth.</p>
4 December 1964	<p>US Assistant Secretary of State proposed dispatch of Australian and New Zealand combat troops to Australian and New Zealand ambassadors.</p>
5 December 1964	<p>Half Senate election in Australia. Government lost one seat (now holding 30 of the 60 seats), ALP remained at 27, one independent and the anti-communist, right wing Democratic Labor Party (DLP) increased to two seats. Menzies now needed DLP support to pass legislation through the Senate.</p>
18 December 1964	<p>Menzies informed President Johnson of Australia's support. He offered Johnson 'whatever diplomatic influence we may have in Asia' to persuade Asian nations to participate.</p>
24 December 1964	<p>A hotel in Saigon used to billet junior US officers was bombed and severely damaged. The Viet Cong claimed credit, though this was never proven beyond doubt.</p>
28 December 1964	<p>9th Viet Cong Division seized the Catholic village of Binh Gia, 40 miles east of Saigon. Two elite units, South Vietnamese 33rd Ranger Battalion and 4th Marine Battalion, were destroyed.</p>

By the end of the year both North Vietnamese Politburo and US realised that the situation in South Vietnam was terminal. By December 1964 US intelligence indicated that one Main Force regiment of the North Vietnamese Army was positioned in the Central Highlands of South Vietnam with two more regiments following. This marked a significant change in the war, from a guerrilla counterinsurgency war into a large unit, conventional war of divisions, corps, air forces and the navy. It also meant that neighbouring countries such as Laos and Cambodia would feel the impact of the war.



THE VIETNAM WAR: TIMELINE 1965 AND 1970 (continued)

1965:

United States poured troops in to support South Vietnam, which was crumbling under a communist insurgency supported by North Vietnam. 'The year 1965 saw the United States shift from "helping the Vietnamese people help themselves" to fighting a full-scale war on and over the land mass of Asia.' (Phillip B Davidson, 1998, *Vietnam at War The History: 1946-1975*, Sidgwick & Jackson, p.333)

By 1965:

- nearly 40% of the Australian population was under 20 years of age and therefore without personal knowledge of the Great War (World War I), Depression and World War II, which had shaped the outlook, views and aspirations of their parents and grandparents
- the number of universities and university colleges had almost doubled since 1945 to 11 and enrolments had increased from a post war peak of 32,453 in 1948 to 83,320
- there were a greater number of university courses in Asian Studies, balancing the previous almost exclusive Euro-centric focus
- Indonesia was the Australian Government's principal external concern but in early 1965 this 'threat' declined sharply and the situation in Vietnam was deteriorating.

January	Australian advisers increased to 100. Operation Game Warden began. US Navy patrolled South Vietnam's inland waterways.
1 January	Sydney Morning Herald editorial predicted 1965 would be Australia's most testing year since 1942 (the Battle for Australia, and the perceived threat of a Japanese invasion) with important strategic decisions to be made about New Guinea, Malaysia and South Vietnam.
January	Australian Government decided to send an Army battalion to Borneo to help Britain and the Commonwealth secure the Malaysian borders against Indonesia.
27 January	Australian federal minister Paltridge arrived in Saigon, his visit coinciding with another military coup in which Huong was removed by Khanh and others from the prime ministership. Buddhist agitation was now distinctly anti-American. Paltridge proceeded to announce additional aid to South Vietnam including a further 17 advisers for the Training Team, creating a total of 100.
February-April	France, Britain and Canada suggested that a need for a diplomatic solution existed. North Vietnam would only negotiate if the US withdrew. If this happened, it would lead to the eventual collapse of government in South Vietnam. Australia continued to oppose withdrawal.
7 February	Ten substantial attacks launched. Viet Cong attacked the US marine base at Pleiku in the Western Highlands. While not a significant strike, it came as the US was evaluating its position in relation to Vietnam following the November 1964 presidential elections, in which Lyndon Johnson had stood successfully for re-election as the 'peace candidate'. Foreign and domestic pressures combined to force Johnson to do something about Vietnam. Political instability was intense in South Vietnam. The junta of suspicious South Vietnamese generals plotted against the Khanh government while the government continued to surrender more and more of the countryside to the Viet Cong. Presidential military advisers were telling Johnson that something had to be done to bring pressure on the North. Johnson ordered an air reprisal against the North Vietnamese.
9 February	US President Johnson established 'Operation Rolling Thunder'. This involved the sustained strategic bombing of targets in North Vietnam. This practice continued throughout the war. The Australian government, and initially the Labor Opposition, supported the bombing. By 1973 the US had dropped on North Vietnam three times the weight of bombs dropped on Africa, Asia and Europe during World War II.
17 February	President Johnson's Address to the Nation reaffirmed the US commitment to South Vietnam.



THE VIETNAM WAR: TIMELINE 1965 AND 1970 (continued)

18 February	Military coup in Saigon. Khanh ousted by a new military-civil government led by Dr Phan Huy Quat.
23 February	Australia agreed to participate in proposed military talks in Honolulu at the end of March, but insisted in a cablegram that 'we need further information as to the purposes which would be served by the introduction of ground forces, the concept of operations and the role of such a force. The first task of our delegation would be to obtain greater insight into United States military thinking on these matters.' (<i>To Long Tan</i> , p.63)
26 February	<p>US President Johnson approved the dispatch of two marine battalions to Da Nang (as requested by General Westmoreland on 22 February). This was viewed as an isolated security operation. Only General Westmoreland viewed it as the first step in building up US ground forces. By early March thinking had changed, from the president downwards.</p> <p>Jim Cairns at this time took a moderate view, arguing that the chances of peace in the area would be improved by an American presence in the region. He told parliament he preferred the line of containment to be based offshore rather than on the ground in South Vietnam. The Australian government was pressuring the US, being prepared to commit combat troops to South Vietnam and to confrontation. It endorsed the US bombing of North Vietnam. Bipartisan Australian support was being given at this time.</p>
2 March	<p>Johnson sent General Harold Johnson, army chief of staff to Vietnam, to review the situation and report on what could be done to improve it.</p> <p>First Rolling Thunder raids. 100 or more US fighter bombers attacked targets in North Vietnam. Scheduled to last 8 weeks, the raids in fact continued for three years.</p> <p>First air strikes on Ho Chi Minh Trail, but repeated attempts failed to stop the flow of troops and supplies southwards.</p>
8 March	First US combat troops arrived in Vietnam. They joined the 23,000 US military advisers already there.
9 March	Johnson authorised the use of napalm bombs.
12 March	A group of Anglican bishops wrote to Menzies urging an honourable and peaceful settlement in Vietnam. Menzies replied twelve days later, defending his government's principled position.
23 March	Paul Hasluck made his first parliamentary statement on international affairs, nearly a year after becoming the Minister for External Affairs. Menzies and Hasluck at this time spoke in general terms, being again uncertain about the true position of the US regarding future directions in Vietnam.
30 March – 1 April	<p>US Conference in Honolulu. Australian delegation attended. The 'enclave' strategy was developed. US enclaves were to be established at important coastal areas and defended by US troops. They would also move outwards up to 80 kilometres on counterinsurgency operations. The strategy was opposed by General Westmoreland and joint Chiefs of Staff but supported by Johnson and Ambassador Taylor. By mid June it was a dead strategy.</p> <p>At this time Australia was trying to find out what the US was planning regarding future action in Vietnam. Intelligence was being sought in relation to political policy and military plans. It was suggested at the Honolulu conference that if the US went on the offensive an Australian battalion could operate in the Da Nang enclave under Marine command.</p> <p>During the early days of April, despite unclear information from the US in talks it held in Washington with Australian officials, 'first officials, then ministers convinced themselves that the United States had political and military aims that were clear and credible; that Australia had in effect been asked to send a battalion; and that it was in Australia's best interests to offer the battalion before a formal request was made.' (<i>Crises and Commitments</i>, p.361)</p>



THE VIETNAM WAR: TIMELINE 1965 AND 1970 (continued)

31 March	Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) president Albert Monk sent a telegram to Robert Menzies, urging him to join other world leaders who were pressing the Soviet Union and Britain to initiate peace talks.
April	It was becoming increasingly clear that Vietnam, not Malaysia, would be the more likely destination if national service men were sent overseas.
7 April	<p>US President Johnson spoke at John Hopkins University. He reaffirmed his commitment to an independent South Vietnam but also he was prepared to enter 'unconditional negotiations' with the North. He offered the inducement of an American development project for the Mekong Valley.</p> <p>The decision to engage US ground troops still stood and was supported by the Australian government.</p> <p>Cabinet's Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee decided to commit an Australian battalion to Vietnam. Both Australia and the US wanted the request to come from the Republic of Vietnam, not the US. A request for 150 instructors was denied at this time.</p> <p>Hasluck and McMahon advised caution since Johnson was about to make a major speech at John Hopkins University and several countries were making moves for peace negotiations. Menzies, Holt and the Cabinet generally felt Australia had to make its intentions known on the issue. 'The offer would be made essentially because Menzies and his senior ministers believed that it was in Australia's own security interests, as well as in the interests of good Australian-American defence relations, to help the United States to keep South Vietnam out of communist hands.' (<i>Crises and Commitments</i>, p.362)</p>
8 April	Labor attacked Menzies' position during the Adjournment Debate.
9 April	Bishop Moyes and colleagues sent a second letter to Menzies raising concerns about the war. Beginnings of divergent opinions amongst Anglican clergy. The Archbishop of Brisbane, Phillip Strong, supported Menzies' position on Vietnam.
21 April	The Australian Government's Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee reaffirmed its decisions of 7 April. This was done despite the fact that several countries and peace organisations were pursuing peace initiatives at this time.
21 April	USA decided the Australian battalion would be stationed in Bien Hoa with an American airborne brigade to defend the eastern flank of Saigon.
22 April	US troops had their first armed engagement with the Viet Cong guerrillas
27 April	Saigon agreed to the introduction of US troops. This request had been delayed because the Republic of Vietnam government believed that these troops could undermine its legitimacy as a national government.
28 April	<p>Saigon agreed that Australian troops could be included as part of a foreign force. The Government of Dr Phan Huy Quat agreed to make a public statement that it had requested the Australian battalion.</p> <p>There have been two differing interpretations of this request. One view is that this action is legitimate under international law because Australia was an ally coming to support a regional state (South Vietnam) against an external aggressor (North Vietnam). The second view is that Australia's intervention was illegal and improper since this was a civil war in an Asian state.</p> <p>Member of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee revealed the commitment to a journalist. The Committee member was possibly William McMahon but this is circumstantial, there being no concrete evidence. It is known that McMahon wanted the commitment deferred to a later date.</p>



THE VIETNAM WAR: TIMELINE 1965 AND 1970 (continued)

<p>29 April</p>	<p>Alan Reid leaked the story of the proposed battalion in the Sydney Daily Telegraph.</p> <p>Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies then announced the commitment of an infantry battalion to serve in Vietnam. The speech was general in character, with little that could be said about the role of Australian troops in Vietnam. The announcement was delayed until the Australian Government received official word from Saigon via David Anderson, the Australian Ambassador in Saigon.</p> <p>Australia's involvement in Vietnam was a gradual process of commitment. By April 1965 there were 100 members of the Australian Army Training Team Vietnam in Vietnam. This commitment of a battalion was a major step in Australia's involvement in the war. It precipitated further increases in the number of Australians serving in Vietnam until 1970 when the number began to be reduced.</p>
<p>May</p>	<p>Cabinet denied a passport to a Waterside Workers' Federation official to attend a meeting in Hanoi organised by the World Federation of Trade Unions. Four unionists who had already left Australia did attend.</p> <p>Australian Government decided to endorse Australian passports with the statement 'Not valid for North Vietnam'.</p>
<p>May</p>	<p>The Save Our Sons group was organised in Sydney by Mrs Joyce Golgerth. Other groups formed in Brisbane, Melbourne, Perth, Adelaide, Townsville, Newcastle. Membership mainly comprised middle-aged women with sons liable to be conscripted.</p>
<p>1-2 May</p>	<p>Most newspaper editorials supported the Australian Government's decision to send a battalion to Vietnam as 'grave but inevitable' (Edwards, <i>A Nation at War</i>, p.48)</p>
<p>2 May</p>	<p>Planning team arrived in Saigon to prepare for the arrival of Australian troops.</p>
<p>3 May</p>	<p>Federal Council of Waterside Workers' Federation sought ACTU permission to hold a nationwide or statewide stoppage to protest against the Government's decision to send a battalion to Vietnam, the time period to be determined by the ACTU.</p>
<p>4-6 May</p>	<p>Parliamentary debates following Menzies' announcement of a battalion being sent to Vietnam.</p> <p>Labor Opposition Leader Arthur Calwell told the House of Representatives that Australia was supporting an 'unstable, inefficient, partially corrupt military regime which lacks even the semblance of being, or becoming, democratically based.' At this time the Labor Caucus unanimously opposed the despatch of Australian troops to Vietnam although not all Labor members accepted Calwell's understanding about the nature of the war.</p>
<p>4 May</p>	<p>250 protesters from the Australian National University protested outside Parliament House. They were met by a rival group of about 30 university students supporting the commitment.</p>
<p>5 May</p>	<p>ACTU executive, in response to further pressure from the Waterside Workers' Federation and the Seamen's Union, recommended immediate peace talks and called for protest meetings on Sunday 23 May.</p>
<p>11 May</p>	<p>Viet Cong summer offensive began by attacking the Phuoc Long province. Intelligence suggested a further two North Vietnamese divisions were on their way south.</p>
<p>14 May</p>	<p>Morgan Gallup Poll reported in newspapers: 1700 people surveyed.</p> <p>52% supported the war, 37% opposed it and 11% were undecided.</p> <p>Men favoured the war, two to one. Women evenly divided.</p> <p>US bombing of North Vietnamese supported by 53% and opposed by 29%.</p> <p>64% indicated that the USA should stay in South Vietnam until its independence could be assured while 20% disagreed.</p> <p>64% believed that if the US left Vietnam then Thailand and Malaysia would be taken over by other countries. 16% disagreed.</p> <p>72% believed Australia would eventually be in danger from China if the US left Asia, 16% disagreed.</p>



THE VIETNAM WAR: TIMELINE 1965 AND 1970 (continued)

20 May	A vigil organised by the Committee for Canberra was held outside Parliament House, Canberra. Three hundred attended the hour-long prayer session and period of silence.
21 May	<i>The Australian</i> reported that the national conference of the Federated Ironworkers' Association had expressed strong support for the Australian-American alliance. It supported military aid to Malaysia and Vietnam to counter communist aggression.
25 May	Australian Student Labor Federation conference decided to make a public issue of Vietnam. About 30 students blocked a Canberra city street in protest against the war.
26-27 May	HMAS Sydney departed on its first voyage to Vietnam. The 1RAR embarked. Security was tight and departure was at night to avoid protests and publicity.
28 May	Australian Army Training Team Vietnam was awarded the United States Army Meritorious Unit Citation.
June-July	Menzies in USA and Britain: British Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.
June	Australian battalion established in Vietnam as the third battalion of the US 173 Airborne Brigade (Separate).
10 June	Viet Cong attacked the Special Forces camp at Dong Xoai.
27 June	Westmoreland conducted an offensive operation into War Zone D, northwest of Saigon; Australian battalion involved. The strategy of search and destroy was born. The US was locked into a ground force war in Asia.
30 June-1 July	Newspaper editorials continued to support the idea that, a year after the first intake of national service men had been conscripted, these men might have to go to Vietnam.
July	Conference of Commonwealth and state ministers responsible for Aboriginal welfare. They decided that Aboriginal peoples would no longer be exempted from registration for national service.
21 July	Cabinet established an interdepartmental committee to examine the issue of control over films, publications and other material inspired by communism. This followed the decision to ban the import of a film sent to a unionist by the National Liberation Front of Vietnam.
23 July	First significant Australian 'teach-in' at the Australian National University. Some 700-800 attended, two-thirds being students. Speakers included Professor C. P. Fitzgerald, Professor of Far Eastern History, author Morris West and Liberal backbencher T. E. F. Hughes.
26 July	US President Johnson sent a message to Menzies via the US Embassy in Canberra indicating that he was considering a major increase in the US force strength in Vietnam. He sought a non-specific increase in the Australian commitment.
29 July	Second teach-in at Monash University, organised by diverse political clubs. Some 2000 attended. Television and newspaper coverage followed. Speakers included Paul Hasluck and Dr Jim Cairns, academics Geoffrey Fairbairn and Owen Harries, journalist Denis Warner, Professor D. G. E. Hall, leading British historian specialising in Southeast Asia, and academics Ian Turner and Macmahon Ball.
29 July	Australian Government's Defence Committee recommended against any Navy or additional Air Force commitment. The committee proposed an artillery battalion, troop of engineers and ancillary forces, a total of 300 more troops, which was increased to 350 following discussion on 1-3 August with senior Army officer then in Vietnam. The Committee also indicated that an additional infantry battalion would be required in February-March 1966, bringing the troop commitment by Australia to 3500. To do this, the national service intake would need to be maintained at the 1965 level of 8400. It had initially been envisaged that this would be reduced to 6900.
31 July	ATN Channel 7 in Sydney televised a teach-in. On the following day four clergymen held a 'preach-in'.



THE VIETNAM WAR: TIMELINE 1965 AND 1970 (continued)

17 August	Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee considered the Defence Committee recommendations of 29 July. It decided to send 350 personnel, raise the battalion to a battalion group and maintain national service intake at 8400 at least until the end of 1966.
17 August	Australian Treasurer Harold Holt introduced the budget. It increased income tax and duties on petrol, tobacco and alcohol to help meet the 27% increase in defence expenditure.
18 August	Menzies informed Parliament of the Government's decision to send an additional 350 troops to Vietnam and maintain the higher national service intake of 8400. Hasluck made a statement to Parliament that initiated a major debate on foreign affairs.
September	The Australian battalion was expanded to 1400 plus supporting elements including reconnaissance flight and logistic support, engineers and artillery. They were based at Bien Hoa near Saigon. They carried out counterinsurgency operations with the combined US forces in the III Corps military area. They returned to Australia in June 1966.
September	Morgan Gallup Poll showed that 56% of Australians were in favour of Australian involvement in Vietnam, 28% favoured withdrawal and 16% were undecided.
1 October	Attempted coup in Indonesia. Six prominent generals were killed. Suharto gained control of Jakarta, the beginning of taking over effective political power from Sukarno.
16 October	Anti-war rallies in 40 American cities and in other countries including in the cities of London and Rome.
22 October	50-65 arrested at a Sydney demonstration organised by Vietnam Action Committee, who wanted Hanoi and the National Liberation Front to win the war.
30 October	25,000 march in Washington to support US involvement in Vietnam.
14 November	North Vietnamese disaster at Ia Drang Valley, the blunting of the communist attempt to subjugate South Vietnam. If the war had not been won, the Allies had prevented its loss – for now.
27 November	35,000 anti-war protesters circled the White House in Washington DC then held a rally at the Washington Monument.
27 November	Gregory Clark, a 29 year old diplomat who had recently resigned from the Department of External Affairs, wrote an article in The Australian denouncing the war.
29 November	US Secretary of Defence, Robert McNamara told the Australian Ambassador in Saigon, David Anderson that the US might ask Australia for a second infantry battalion.
December	Second demonstration organised by Vietnam Action Committee. About 100 demonstrators marched to the Town Hall from Martin Place, Sydney. 2000 attended a rally organised by the Association for International Co-operation and Disarmament.

1965- 1970

March 1966	Australian commitment expanded to an independent task force of two battalions with combat and logistic support. The task force totalled 4500 including 500 national servicemen from the first intake in November 1964.
18 August 1966	Battle of Long Tan.
30-31 1968	Tet Offensive launched by the People's Army of Viet Nam and Viet Cong.
16 March 1968	My Lai massacre.
January 1969	Peak of 8300 Australian service personnel in Vietnam including more than 7000 Army service personnel.
25 January 1969	Formal truce negotiations began in Paris.
8 June 1969	US President Nixon announced the beginning of American troop withdrawals.
August 1969	Morgan Gallup Poll: 55% of Australians favoured Australian troop withdrawal, 40% favoured continued involvement, 5% were undecided.



THE VIETNAM WAR: TIMELINE 1965 AND 1970 (continued)

14 October 1969	John Zarb became the first Australian found guilty of non-compliance with his call up notice. He was sentenced to two years gaol.
15 October 1969	Large scale anti-war demonstration in Washington DC.
25 October 1969	Gorton narrowly won the Australian federal election with foreign policy a major election focus. McMahon, previously Treasurer, became Minister for External Affairs (renamed Foreign Affairs in November 1970) and Malcolm Fraser became Minister for Defence. Andrew Peacock, James Killen and Senator Tom Drake-Brockman became ministers for the Army, Navy and Air respectively.
November 1969	News of the 1968 My Lai massacre reached Australia. ACTU executive condemned the Australian Government for not initiating the withdrawal of Australian troops, and supported the ALP's conference call for the repeal of the National Service Act. Waterside Workers' Federation refused to unload the <i>Jeparit</i> which had been carrying military supplies since February 1967. Government commissioned the boat as HMAS <i>Jeparit</i> . Service personnel now took over the loading and unloading.
25 November 1969	Rev John Lloyd, Victorian secretary of the Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament (CICD), convened a meeting in Canberra of protest groups: CICD, Association for International Co-operation and Disarmament, Committee in Defiance of the National Service Act, Campaign for Peace in Vietnam, and Save Our Sons groups from Victoria and NSW. Eleven Labor senators were also present. Cairns was at a meeting elsewhere.
26 November 1969	John Lloyd announced plans for an Australian Moratorium to force the withdrawal of Australian and other foreign troops from Vietnam and repeal of the National Service Act.
9 December 1969	Cabinet decided that Gorton should write to US President Nixon seeking an acknowledgment of the need to plan the withdrawal of Australian troops in tandem with the withdrawal of American troops.
14 December	Nixon responded through Marshall Green, Assistant Secretary of State, that Nixon was prepared to start 'meaningful discussions'. (Edwards, <i>Nation at War</i> , p.239)
15 December (American time)	Nixon announced a further reduction of the US troop ceiling by 50,000.
15 December (Australian time)	32 unions met in Melbourne and resolved to call for united trade union action to force repeal of the National Service Act. They called on conscripted 'conscientious objectors' to lay down their arms.
16 December	Prime Minister Gorton issued a press release indicating that following improvement in the military situation in Vietnam, some Australian troops would be included in the next withdrawal, subject to discussions with the Republic of Vietnam. Evening: Gorton attempted to dampen speculation, saying it was an in-principle agreement only. No decision had been made in relation to the timing or size of the troop withdrawal.

1970:

US policy had four main focuses: Vietnamisation, pacification, troop withdrawal, negotiation.

Late January	State Vietnam Moratorium Committees were established. Membership was mainly drawn from established and moderate anti-war groups.
February	Annual conference of the National Union of Australian University. Students resolved to form Moratorium Committees. The conference also called on unions, political parties, churches, the press, industry and political parties to support the Moratorium.
2 February	B52 bombers struck Ho Chi Minh Trail in retaliation for the increasing number of Viet Cong raids through the South.
21 February	Official peace talks in Paris reached a stalemate. US Henry Kissinger began a series of secret talks with North Vietnam's Le Duc Tho. These talks continued for 2 years.



THE VIETNAM WAR: TIMELINE 1965 AND 1970 (continued)

26 February	ALP federal executive supported the federal leader's approach. Whitlam wanted to pursue the issues through party and parliamentary channels.
27 February	ACTU supported the ALP position. Affiliated unions were able to support disciplined and orderly activities consistent with ACTU policies which included withdrawal of troops and repeal of the National Service Act.
March	<p>Malcolm Fraser made a major statement on defence policy. He was accused by McMahon of intruding into foreign policy. Nine days later McMahon responded with his own widely criticised statement.</p> <p>Fraser also prepared a Cabinet submission that noted that the US was expected to announce a further troop reduction in April. The first Australian troop reduction was to be in November, not May. Cabinet agreed to make its announcement to this effect in April when 8RAR, which was due to return home, would not be replaced. This was based on the desire not to reduce numbers in May because any subsequent American reduction might increase homegrown hopes for a second reduction in the number of Australian troops in Vietnam.</p>
March	Monash University students voted to strike on 8 May if staff did not cancel lectures and tutorials, at a meeting of 2000 students.
18 March	Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia deposed by General Lon Nol. Sihanouk aligned with the Khmer Rouge, led by Pol Pot, who would later oust Lon Nol and begin their program to reform Cambodia. 25% (2 million) of Cambodia's population died from starvation, overwork and systematic executions in the coming years.
25 March	Dr Jim Cairns called on Victorian workers and students to stop work and occupy Melbourne streets.
31 March	US Army charged Captain Ernest Medina with the massacre of Vietnamese civilians at My Lai in March 1968.
April	US and South Vietnamese troops ordered to cross the border into Cambodia. As a result of this invasion, large quantities of North Vietnamese arms were captured, bunkers and sanctuaries were destroyed and enemy soldiers were killed. It had disastrous results for Cambodia by driving many people to join the underground opposition, the Khmer Rouge. This weakened the Cambodian Government, leading to the eventual establishment of the Khmer Rouge in government. It was both cruel and repressive. The invasion of a neighbouring state added momentum to the anti-war movement in both Australia and the USA.
April	University of Melbourne student meeting attended by 1800. Over half voted not to cancel lectures, seeing it as the right of the individual to choose.
11 April	HMAS <i>Vendetta</i> returned to Sydney: HMAS <i>Vendetta</i> was the only one of three Australian Daring class destroyers to serve on the gunline in Vietnamese waters. The ship served one tour.
13 April	Cairns told University of Melbourne students that it was 'quite impossible' that the march would remain strictly within the law.
14 April	Attorney-General Tom Hughes made a parliamentary statement outlining the Australian Government's position regarding the forthcoming Moratorium. ASIO (Australian Security and Intelligence Organisation) had indicated that such activities lent respectability to Communist ascendancy. Hughes also was fearful that the Moratorium encouraged violence and lawlessness.
20 April	US President Richard Nixon announced that another 150,000 US troops would be withdrawn within the year, bringing the total to 265,500. The Australian government was caught by surprise.



THE VIETNAM WAR: TIMELINE 1965 AND 1970 (continued)

22 April	<p>Australian Prime Minister John Gorton announced the reduction of Australian forces in Vietnam: one battalion of the three then serving was not to be replaced when its tour of duty ended in November 1969. Press statement and parliamentary speech was made to this effect. Gorton's speech began with 'an uncompromising reassertion of the traditional arguments behind the commitment' (Edwards, <i>Nation at War</i>, p.244). Whitlam denounced the Government's policy, endorsing Calwell's speech of 4 May 1965 in a more resounding way now than he had done at that time.</p> <p>US President Richard Nixon came to the realisation that the South Vietnamese would have to undertake a serious offensive into Cambodia with US air support. Their target was the sanctuaries within the 'Parrot's Beak' area. US National Security Council agreed.</p>
27 April	William McMahon issued a long and detailed statement discussing developments in Cambodia and supporting Indonesia's approach which called for a conference of Asian and Pacific countries to support Cambodia's independence and neutrality. External intervention was to be discouraged. Cabinet endorsed his position on 30 April.
28 April	Having deliberated for six days, Nixon decided that US troops should become involved in Cambodia. The Parrot's Beak offensive was decided upon for 29 April. Troops attacked the 'Fish Hook' base area on 1 May. An unforeseen side effect was the increase in US antiwar dissent. Kent State University was one of the more publicised attacks by National Guardsmen (see 4 May).
30 April	Nixon announced proposed joint US-South Vietnamese incursion into Cambodia. There was a wave of protest in the US by politicians, clergy, students, press, business leaders etc.
30 April	National Union of Australian University Students newspaper produced a special moratorium issue. This was followed a week later by similar supplements in the newspapers of all three Victorian universities: La Trobe, Melbourne and Monash.
1 May	President Nixon called anti-war students 'bums blowing up campuses'.
1 May	Australian newspapers revealed that a plot to kill Dr Cairns during the Melbourne Moratorium had been uncovered.
2 May	American college protests were held against the incursion into Cambodia.
3 May	Protesters in Melbourne, possibly Maoists, threw stones through the windows of the ASIO headquarters and Honeywell, an American computer firm which had been publicly linked to the war.
4 May	At Kent State University protests, 4 students were killed and 9 wounded by National Guardsmen. Over 400 colleges and universities across the US shut down in response.
5 May	Gorton told Parliament that Australian forces were not and would not be involved in Cambodia. He defended the US-South Vietnam action and rebutted criticisms made by the Labor Opposition.
6 May	800 people marched from the city to Parliament House, Canberra. Whitlam, Cairns, Lionel Murphy and Arthur Calwell addressed the gathering.
8 - 10 May	Three days of Moratorium events were proposed. (1 May, May Day, the traditional day of radical working class protest around the world was rejected.) 8 May was also adopted as the day of protest/demonstration in other countries.
8 May	<p>Antiwar demonstrations in Australia (The Vietnam Moratorium). Up to 200,000 Australians participated in demonstrations against the Vietnam War. In Melbourne the March was led by ALP member Jim Cairns. Estimates of numbers vary from 30,000 to 100,000 in Melbourne. <i>The Age</i> suggested 70,000, the figure usually accepted as accurate.</p> <p>Other related events in all capital cities, Newcastle, Woollongong, Townsville, Fremantle, Launceston, Devonport, Burnie, the inner and outer suburbs of Melbourne and Sydney, Goulburn, Cooma and Narrabri.</p>



THE VIETNAM WAR: TIMELINE 1965 AND 1970 (continued)

End of May	Labor Government elected in South Australia, the only such government in Australia.
26-27 May	Cairns convened a meeting of the Vietnam Moratorium Committees in Melbourne. Few radical groups attended. The second Moratorium would be held on 18-20 September. Some moderates were in leadership roles but a shift to the left was evident in the attitudes expressed. They proposed the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops in Indo-China and support for the Saigon regime. The abolition of conscription in all forms was sought. More support for Hanoi and the National Liberation Front (NLF).
27 May	Cabinet approved Billy Snedden's proposal that evaders of conscription be made to perform civil labour. They also accepted Snedden's proposal, which would allow certain categories of non-compliers with the National Service Act to be regarded as being registered, while the minister would be empowered to refer others to the courts concerning conscientious objectors, even against their will. The joint Liberal-Country Party meeting rejected Snedden's proposal which had RSL support regarding a civilian alternative.
June	Annual Victorian State ALP Conference supported young Australians who refused to be conscripted.
11 June	Five women from Save our Sons and other anti-conscription groups in Woollongong chained themselves to the public gallery railings in the House of Representatives, Canberra.
12 June	Snedden announced that the Government would not proceed with a civilian alternative to national service. From September the birthdates of those selected for national service would be published.
16 June	Sydney Morning Herald published a letter written by the Reverend Douglas Trathen, Methodist minister and headmaster of Newington College, a Sydney independent school. Trathen called on 20 year-olds to defy the National Service Act. He was found guilty in December of breaching the Crimes Act.
20 June	Group of draft resisters met at La Mama Theatre in Carlton, Melbourne, and formed the Draft Resisters' Union. Its tactics indicated a substantial shift towards radical militancy.
22 June	US use of jungle defoliants ceased.
30 June	US troops withdrew from Cambodia.
August	Robert Askin's Liberal Government prepared a Summary Offences Bill to allow for easier prosecution of offences against morality and to prevent disruptions to public order such as sit-ins and demonstrations. Henry Bolte's Liberal Government in Victoria endorsed recommendations to counter violent demonstrations and prevent 'gross obstruction'.
August	30 protesters stopped the Gippslander Express by sitting on a Melbourne train line. This was a follow-up to the December 1969 protest against the imprisonment of Brian Ross, a conscientious objector serving in Sale Prison, Gippsland.
Early August	ALP federal executive gave in-principle support to moratorium demonstrations provided they were peaceful. The executive tacitly supported Whitlam's disapproval of invitations to NLF and Hanoi representatives while hostilities were still in progress.
11 August	South Vietnamese troops took over the defence of the border position from US troops.
Late August	Immigration officials in Washington noted an application by African-American comedian Dick Gregory to visit Australia. Gregory was anti-Vietnam and pro the anti-racist group, the Black Panthers. In Canberra, the Prime Minister's Department advised not to refuse the visa, but the Government rejected Gregory's application and that of another American.



THE VIETNAM WAR: TIMELINE 1965 AND 1970 (continued)

5 September	Operation Jefferson Glenn began in Thua Thien Province. This was the last US offensive in Vietnam.
12 and 17 September	Victorian police broke up two marches in Waterdale Road near La Trobe University, which now had a reputation rivalling that of Monash University as Australia's most radical student population.
15 September	Waterside Workers' Federation finally called on its members to support the moratorium.
18 September	Second moratorium. Over 100,000 marched in Australian cities; over 300 people were arrested. Some 50,000 marched in Melbourne; 15,000 in Sydney; 4000 in Adelaide; 3000 in each of Brisbane and Perth.
24 October	South Vietnamese began a new offensive into Cambodia.
12 November	Trial of US Lt William Calley, began concerning the My Lai Massacre.
November	8 th Battalion left Vietnam. Australian efforts concentrated in Phuoc Tuy province.
10 December	US President Nixon warned Hanoi that more bombing raids would occur if they continued attacks against the South.
22 December	Cooper-Church amendment (USA) forbade use of US ground forces in Laos and Cambodia.
Late 1970	Australia began to wind down its military effort in Vietnam.

Post 1970

30 March 1971	Prime Minister Sir William McMahon announced gradual withdrawal of 1000 Australian personnel during the coming three months.
30 June 1971	Third and final anti-war rally in Australia. Estimates of numbers marching vary.
18 August 1971	Australian Government announced the further withdrawal of Australian troops from Vietnam. This began with the withdrawal of the 1ATF before Christmas 1971. The withdrawal of the logistic support force was to follow shortly afterwards.
8 December 1971	Last major withdrawal of Australian troops from Vietnam.
12 August 1972	Last US ground combat troops withdrawn. 43,000 airmen and support personnel remained.
6 November 1972	The final Australian army units embarked at Vung Tai, Vietnam on the HMAS <i>Sydney</i> .
5 December 1972	Following election of the Whitlam Labor Government, conscription ended and imprisoned draft resisters/conscientious objectors were released.
18 December 1972	Almost all Australian troops withdrawn. Australian Embassy guard remained.
11 January 1973	Australian Governor-General Sir Paul Hasluck proclaimed the end of hostilities in Vietnam by Australian forces.
26 January 1973	While retaining diplomatic recognition of the Republic of Vietnam (Saigon), Whitlam announced the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Hanoi).
June 1973	Last Australian troops left Vietnam (US had left on 29 March 1973).

The following sources, both Australian and American, were used in preparing this timeline:

Australian War Memorial, www.awm.gov.au, 'This Month in History' and 'Australians at War', passim

Edwards, Peter (ed) 1997, *The Official History of Australia's Involvement in Southeast Asian Conflicts*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney. See especially *To Long Tan, Crises and Commitments*, and *A Nation at War*, passim

Australians in Vietnam: The Odd Angry Shot, www.britains-smallwars.com/Vietnam/Chronology.htm passim

Vietnam War 1965-1973 Timeline, www.vietnamwar.com/Timeline65-68.htm and www.vietnamwar.com/Timeline69-75.htm, passim (US perspective and events)



WHAT ARE SOME OF THE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS I NEED TO ASK MYSELF TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THIS EVENT AND THE WAY AUSTRALIANS REACTED TO IT?

By seeking answers to the following questions students will begin to develop a better understanding of the Vietnam War and the attitudes of Australians to it. Other questions will suggest themselves as students undertake their investigations.

- Why did Australia become involved in the Vietnam War?
- To what extent were the decisions made by the Australian Government influenced by events in Vietnam and to what extent by foreign policy considerations, particularly the Australian-American Alliance, the Cold War, and continuing belief in the domino theory?
- Was the Australian Government's position consistent between 1965 and 1970 (the two years of VCE investigation)? In what ways did it change and in what ways did it stay the same? How can you account for any changes?
- Did the nature of opposition to the war change over time and if so, how and why?
- Were the supporters of Australia's involvement and the opponents of that involvement each a cohesive group with a commonly agreed position?
- How and why did the views of Australians about the war change between 1965 and 1970?
- Who were the main supporters and the main opponents of Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War in 1965 and 1970?
- In what ways were viewpoints about the validity of Australian involvement in the Vietnam War and about the validity of conscription for overseas service separate and overlapping issues? Did this assist or cloud the debates about these issues?
- Did the media influence public opinion about the Vietnam War, and if so, how?
- In what ways did the presence of television change the way in which Australians received information and images about the Vietnam War? Was it radically different to the receipt of public information in previous wars?
- In what ways was Australian society changing in the period 1965-1970? Does this help you to understand the nature of support and opposition to the Vietnam War and to the National Service Act?

Teachers could use Bloom's Taxonomy of Cognitive Processes to develop further inquiry questions with students. A model is provided. It has been adapted from Department of School Education, Victoria, 192, *Extending Children's Special Abilities: Strategies for primary classrooms*, pp 31-32

Thinking process	Verbs that are useful at this stage	Start questions using these stems
Knowledge	Describe, find, list, locate, name, relate, state, tell, write	Can you name ... Can you tell why ... Describe what happened ... Find the meaning of ... How many ... What happened after ... What is ... Which is true (or false) ... Who was it that ...



WHAT ARE SOME OF THE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS I NEED TO ASK MYSELF TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THIS EVENT AND THE WAY AUSTRALIANS REACTED TO IT? (continued)

Comprehension	Compare, describe, discuss, distinguish, explain, interpret, outline, predict, restate, translate	<p>Find an example to illustrate ...</p> <p>Find an example to support your viewpoint ...</p> <p>How would you define ...</p> <p>In your own words write ...</p> <p>How can you distinguish between ...</p> <p>Write a brief outline ...</p> <p>What are the differences between ...</p> <p>What happened next ...</p> <p>What is the main idea ...</p> <p>Who do you think ...</p> <p>Who is the central character/historical figure ...</p>
Application	Calculate, classify, complete, construct, examine, illustrate, show, solve, use	<p>Could this have happened in ...</p> <p>Do you know of another instance when ...</p> <p>How does the information provided by X, help you to understand ...</p> <p>What questions would you ask of ...</p>
Analysis	Analyse, categorise, compare, contrast, distinguish, examine, explain, identify, investigate	<p>If X had happened, what might the outcome have been?</p> <p>In what ways was this similar to ...</p> <p>What was the underlying idea behind X's book/plan/battle of ...</p> <p>Why was there change in levels of public support for ...</p> <p>Can you explain what might have happened when ...</p> <p>What were some of the motives behind ...</p> <p>What was the turning point in ...</p> <p>What was the problem with ...</p>
Synthesis	Compose, construct, create, design, devise, formulate, imagine, improve, invent, plan, predict, propose	<p>Can you see a possible solution to ...</p> <p>If you had access to all the resources and information about X, how would you have dealt with ...</p> <p>What might have happened if ...</p>
Evaluation	Argue, assess, choose, debate, decide, determine, discuss, judge, justify, prioritise, rank, rate, recommend, select, verify	<p>Is there a better solution to ...</p> <p>Judge the role of ...</p> <p>Can you defend your position about ...</p> <p>Do you think that ... was the right or wrong decision to make about ...</p> <p>How would you have handled ...</p> <p>What changes to X would you recommend?</p> <p>Do you believe ...</p> <p>How effective were ...</p> <p>What do you think about ...</p>



WHO WERE THE DIFFERENT GROUPS THAT SUPPORTED AND OPPOSED AUSTRALIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE NATIONAL SERVICE ACT?

The two main issues that developed Australian attitudes to the Vietnam War, 1965-1970, were:

- the nature of the Vietnam War, and consequently whether or not Australia should be involved in that war
- conscription, particularly for overseas service.

To help you sort out the various groups who supported or opposed involvement and/or conscription, use the charts provided below. Broadly based groups or categories such as the media and trade unions are rarely uniformly in agreement about their viewpoint unless formed for a specific purpose. While it is easy to identify the Draft Resisters' Union as being opposed to conscription, it is more complex when you examine groups such as the media and the churches. For example, is there a common link between those newspapers opposing and those newspapers supporting a particular issue? Do matters related to media ownership have something to do with this?

Peter Edwards, in *A Nation at War*, identifies the following 'groups'. Use this as a guide to help you in this activity. Other reference materials may also identify additional groups who supported and/or opposed the two issues identified earlier. These groups are:

- Association for International Co-operation and Disarmament
- Australian Council of Churches
- Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU)
- Australian Labor Party (ALP)
- Australian Student Labor Federation
- Campaign for Peace in Vietnam (SA)
- Citizens for Freedom
- Committee for Peace in Vietnam
- Committee for Canberra Vigil
- Committee in Defiance of the National Service Act
- Communist Party of Australia
- Country Party
- Democratic Labor Party (DLP)
- Draft Resisters' Union
- Federated Ironworkers' Association
- Liberal Party
- Monash Labor Club
- National Civic Council
- National Union of Australian University Students
- Returned Services League (RSL)
- Save Our Sons (SOS)
- Seamen's Union of Australia
- Students for a Democratic Society
- Teachers of Conscience
- Vietnam Action Committee
- Vietnam Moratorium Committee
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
- Waterside Workers' Federation
- Young Australians for Freedom
- Youth Campaign Against Conscription



WHO WERE THE DIFFERENT GROUPS THAT SUPPORTED AND OPPOSED AUSTRALIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE NATIONAL SERVICE ACT? (continued)

You will need to identify groups for both issues in both 1965 and 1970 to help you to describe and explain changes and continuities over time. After sorting out these groups, develop general statements to describe the nature of support and opposition. When looking at the types of arguments advanced in support and in opposition to each issue, focus on a select number of these groups. For example, can you identify groups who either supported or opposed the issue and who had moderate views and groups who had extreme left or right views?

Should Australia be involved in the Vietnam War? Year: 1965

Main groups/categories	Supported	Opposed
Political parties (ALP, Liberal Party, Country Party, Communist Party of Australia, Democratic Labor Party)		
Media		
Trade Union Movement: ACTU and individual unions		
Churches (Anglican, Catholic, Protestant, Other)		
Returned Services League (RSL)		
University students		
School students and teachers		
Opinion polls		
Community and Special Interest groups (for example National Civic Council, Save Our Sons, Vietnam Action Committee)		
Other		



WHO WERE THE DIFFERENT GROUPS THAT SUPPORTED AND OPPOSED AUSTRALIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE NATIONAL SERVICE ACT? (continued)

Should Australians be conscripted? The National Service Act Year: 1970

Main groups/categories	Supported	Opposed
Political parties (ALP, Liberal Party, Country Party, Communist Party of Australia, Democratic Labor Party)		
Media		
Trade Union Movement: ACTU and individual unions		
Churches (Anglican, Catholic, Protestant, Other)		
Returned Services League (RSL)		
University students		
School students and teachers		
Opinion polls		
Community and Special Interest groups (for example National Civic Council, Save Our Sons, Vietnam Action Committee)		
Other		



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME?

Introduction

The following documents relate to several key events during your period of investigation. They are taken from newspapers and parliamentary debates (Hansard). Students may also be able to access these and similar publications in the State Library of Victoria, university and tertiary institution libraries, and local and regional libraries. For example, quoted parliamentary debates only cover major statements and not always the ensuing debate or questions asked during Question Time. In all instances copyright permission has been granted.

The newspaper selections are mainly editorials and a few feature articles for which copyright has been given. Copyright for the letters to the editor rest with each author. Letters have therefore not been included. Major libraries often have microfilm copies of newspapers that students can peruse. The dates of editorials and feature articles provide a useful key to locating relevant letters to read.

These primary sources are organised under two headings for each year:

1965

→ What was being said in Parliament?

→ What was being said in the press?

1970

→ What was being said in Parliament?

→ What was being said in the press?

Public opinion polls can also be useful indicators of broad public attitudes to issues and events. Find out what Australians generally thought about the Vietnam War, conscription and other associated issues by viewing these summaries of the Morgan Gallop Polls for 1965 and 1970.

→ Mar-June 1965

→ Sept-Dec 1965

→ Feb-Apr 1966

→ Jan-Mar 1970

→ May-Aug 1970

→ Oct-Dec 1970



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

1965

What was being said in Parliament?

Read Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies' statement to the House of Representatives announcing the Government's decision to send a battalion to Vietnam.

Some commentators have since said that the Leader of the Opposition Arthur Calwell's speech in reply was very prophetic about the turn of events in Vietnam. To what extent do you agree?

In 1965 several newspapers commented that Menzies' speech after Calwell completely demolished the Opposition Leader's speech. Do you agree with this assessment?

Read the following primary documents before you decide your personal viewpoint. Press comment that follows and a reading of secondary sources will also help you make up your mind as well as identify, classify and describe the nature of the different attitudes to the Vietnam War at this time.

29 April 1965: Prime Minister Robert Menzies announces Australia's intention to send a battalion to Vietnam.

Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives Volume 46, pp.1060-1061; 1102-1116.

Ministerial Statement by Sir Robert Menzies [pp.1060-1061]

The House in recent weeks has conducted an important debate on foreign affairs in which the situation in Vietnam was fully and anxiously discussed. My colleague, the Minister for External Affairs (Mr Hasluck) devoted a large part of his statement to Vietnam, explaining developments there and the critical significance of these developments for South and South East Asia as a whole. Nor of course do the implications end with South and South East Asia. Whether an externally directed Communist guerrilla subversion is to succeed or fail has world wide consequence. It has particular consequence for Australia.

In the first half of 1962 the Government decided, following upon a request from the Government of South Vietnam, that Australia should contribute militarily to the defence of South Vietnam. We sent at that time a group of some 30 military instructors to provide military training assistance. Since then additional military aid has been provided. The strength of the Army training team was, in the first place, doubled, and later still - comparatively recently - increased to 100. A flight of six Caribou transport has been provided. We have progressively increased our program of economic aid to South Vietnam so that it now runs at the rate of about 1 million pounds a year. A devoted body of Australian experts is at present at work in different parts of South Vietnam, experts in agriculture and the like. In addition to Australia and the United States, some thirty other countries are providing assistance or have undertaken to do so in the military or non-military aid fields. This includes assistance from a significant and important group of Asian countries, including the Philippines, Malaysia, Japan, Thailand, and the Republic of Korea, who are contributing either economic or military aid.

The Australian Government is now in receipt of a request from the Government of South Vietnam for further military assistance. We have decided - and this has been after close consultation with the Government of the United States - to provide an infantry battalion for service in South Vietnam. In case there is any misunderstanding, I think I should say, Sir, that we decided in principle some time ago - weeks and weeks ago - that we would be willing to do this if we received the necessary request from the Government of South Vietnam and the necessary collaboration with the United States. This is not to be regarded as something that has suddenly arisen out of more recent events.

There can be no doubt of the gravity of the situation in South Vietnam. There is ample evidence to show that with the support of the North Vietnamese regime and other Communist powers, the Vietcong has been preparing on a more substantial scale than hitherto insurgency action designed to destroy South Vietnamese Government control, and to disrupt by violence the life of the local people. The rate of infiltration of guerrillas from North Vietnam has been increasing and last year rose to some 10,000. The infiltration of a battalion of the North Vietnamese regular Army has recently been confirmed.



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We have not of course come to this decision without the closest attention to the question of defence priorities. We do not and must not overlook the point that our alliances, as well as providing guarantees and assurances for our security, make demands upon us. We have commitments to Malaysia which we are meeting. We have to bear in mind, and make preparations against, the possibility of other developments in the region which could make demands on our Australian defence capacity.

Assessing all this, it is our judgment that the decision to commit a battalion in South Vietnam represents the most useful additional contribution which we can make to the defence of the region at this time. The takeover of South Vietnam would be a direct military threat to Australia and all the countries of South and South East Asia. It must be seen as a part of a thrust by Communist China between the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The task of holding the situation in South Vietnam and restraining the North Vietnamese is formidable. But we are conscious of the magnitude of the effort being made by the Government and people of South Vietnam in their own defence. In recent months the United States has taken historic decisions to extend further military assistance to South Vietnam. South Korea has also committed substantial forces.

We have noted and welcomed the attempts to open the way to agreement which have been made, so far unsuccessfully, by President Johnson and by the Prime Minister of Britain through his representative, Mr Gordon Walker. We also welcome President Johnson's proposals for a wide-ranging economic programme. We will certainly continue to play our part in the economic development of the region.

I make it clear that the Government has no desire to have Australian forces in Vietnam any longer than is necessary to ensure the security of South Vietnam. In terms, that is practically what President Johnson said quite recently about the presence of American forces in Vietnam. We and our allies are not seeking to take over North Vietnam. The North Vietnamese must not take over South Vietnam by armed force or subversion.

Let me add one item to my statement. Arguments have been going on for some time, publicly and privately, about this matter. Some attempt has been made occasionally – I do not think in this House – to suggest that we are in some way at odds with the United States on this question. Therefore, I am happy to tell the House that today I received from the President of the United States of America a message which I have his full authority to make public.

MR JAMES - Oh!

SIR ROBERT MENZIES - Yes, I am like that. I never publish a message without having full authority to make it public. Therefore, the honourable gentleman may be interested to hear it. I do not assume for a moment that he will like it, but I think he ought to hear it, it is in these terms -

'Dear Mr Prime Minister: I am delighted at the decision of your Government to provide an infantry battalion for service in South Vietnam at the request of the Government of South Vietnam.

This action simply underscores the full co-operation and understanding that has existed between our two Governments, and between both and the Government of South Vietnam, in assisting South Vietnam to maintain its independence. Like you, we have no desire to maintain military forces in Vietnam any longer than necessary to ensure the security of South Vietnam. But we share your belief that we must both respond to the needs brought about by the aggressions being carried on from North Vietnam.

More broadly, this action proves again the deep ties between our two countries in the cause of world peace and security. As you know, my personal experiences in association with Australians during World War II have made this a particularly deep and abiding feeling for me. I am confident that our two nations, working together, can continue to make great contributions to checking the spread of aggression and to bringing about the peace that South Vietnam and South-East Asia deserve.

Sincerely yours
Lyndon B. Johnson.'

I present the following paper -
Vietnam-Ministerial Statement, 29th April 1965.



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Debate on the Ministerial Statement, 4 May 1965 [pp.1102-1116]

Reply by the Leader of the Opposition, ARTHUR CALWELL -

[p.1102] The Government's decision to send the First Battalion of the Australian Regular Army to Vietnam is, without question, one of the most significant events in the history of this Commonwealth. Why I believe this will be explained in the course of my speech. Therefore, it is a matter for regret that the Prime Minister's announcement was made in the atmosphere that prevailed around the precincts of this Parliament last Thursday. When one recalls that even two hours before the Prime Minister rose to make his statement it was being said on his behalf that there was no certainty that any statement would be made at all, it can hardly be said that the Government's handling of the matter was designed to inspire confidence or trust.

However, I do not wish to dwell on that unhappy episode. The matter before us is far too important to allow anything to obscure or confuse the basic issue before us. The over-riding issue which this parliament has to deal with at all times is the nation's security. All our words, all our policies, all our actions, must be judged ultimately by this one crucial test: what best promotes our national security, what best guarantees our national survival? It is this test which the Labour Party has applied to this Government's decision. We have, of course, asked ourselves other related questions, but basically the issue remains one of Australia's security. Therefore, on behalf of all my colleagues of Her Majesty's Opposition, I say that we oppose the Government's decision to send 800 men to fight in Vietnam. We oppose it firmly and completely.

We regret the necessity that has come about. We regret that as a result of the Government's action, it has come about. It is not our desire, when servicemen are about to be sent to distant battlefields, and when war, cruel, costly and interminable, stares us in the face, that the nation should be divided. But it is the Government which has brought this tragic situation about and we will not shirk our responsibilities in stating the views we think serve Australia best. Our responsibility, like that of the Government, is great but, come what may, we will do our duty as we see it and know it to be towards the people of Australia and our children's children. Therefore, I say, we oppose this decision firmly and completely.

We do not think it is a wise decision. We do not think it is a timely decision. We do not think it is the right decision. We do not think it will help the fight against Communism. On the contrary, we believe it will harm the fight in the long term. We do not believe it will promote the welfare of the people of Vietnam. On the contrary, we believe it will prolong and deepen the suffering of that unhappy people so that Australia's very name may become a term of reproach among them. We do not believe that it represents a wise or even intelligent response to the challenge of Chinese power. On the contrary, we believe it mistakes entirely the nature of that power, and that it materially assists China in her subversive aims. Indeed, we cannot conceive a decision by this Government more likely to promote the long term interests of China in Asia and in the Pacific. We of the Labour Party do not believe that this decision serves, or is consistent with, the immediate strategic interests of Australia. On the contrary, we believe that, by sending one quarter of our pitifully small military strength to distant Vietnam, this Government dangerously denudes Australia and its immediate strategic environs of effective defence power. Thus, for all these and other reasons, we believe we have no choice but to oppose this decision in the name of Australia and Australia's security.

I propose to show that the Government's decision rests on three false assumptions: an erroneous view of the nature of the war in Vietnam; a failure to understand the nature of the Communist challenge; and a false notion as to the interests of America and her allies. No debate on the Government's decision can proceed, or even begin, unless we make an attempt to understand the nature of the war in Vietnam. Indeed, this is the crux of the matter; for unless we understand the nature of the war, we cannot understand what Australia's correct role in it should be.



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[p.1103] The Government takes the grotesquely over-simplified position that this is a straight-forward case of aggression from North Vietnam against an independent South Vietnam. In the Government's view, such internal subversion is directed and operated from the North; that is to say, the Communist insurgents - the Vietcong - are merely the agents of the North, recruited in the North, trained in the North, instructed in the North, supplied from the North and infiltrated from the North.

The Government then takes this theory a little further by cleverly pointing to the undoubted fact that just as Communist North Vietnam lies north of South Vietnam, so Communist China lies north of North Vietnam. Thus, according to this simplified, not to say simple, theory, everything falls into place and the whole operation becomes, in the Prime Minister's words: part of a thrust by Communist China between the Indian and Pacific Oceans. And by this reasoning, the very map of Asia itself becomes a kind of conspiracy of geography against Australia. But is this picture of Chinese military aggression thrusting down inexorably through Indo China, Malaysia and Indonesia to Australia a true or realistic one? Does it state the true nature of the Chinese threat? Does it speak the truth of the actual situation in Vietnam? Does it tell the truth about the relation between China and North Vietnam? I believe it does not. I propose to show that it does not. If it is not true, then the Government is basing its entire policy on false premises, and I can imagine no greater threat to the security of this nation than that.

Let us first examine the case of South Vietnam itself. It is a gross and misleading over-simplification to depict this war in simple terms of military aggression from the North. That there has long been, and still is aggression from the North and subversion inspired from the North, I do not for one moment deny. But the war in South Vietnam, the war to which we are sending this one battalion as a beginning in our commitment, is also a civil war and it is a guerrilla war. The great majority of the Vietcong are South Vietnamese. The object of the Vietcong in the war - this guerrilla war - is to avoid as far as possible direct entanglement with massed troops in order that by infiltration, subversion and terrorism, they may control villages, hamlets, outposts and small communities wherever these are most vulnerable. This, like all civil wars and guerrilla wars, has been accompanied by unusual savagery. This war has a savagery and a record of atrocities, with savage inhumanity daily perpetrated by both sides, all of its own. We cannot condemn the atrocities of the one without condemning those of the other. We of the Labour Party abhor and condemn both, as we condemn all atrocities. I repeat: the war in South Vietnam is a civil war, aided and abetted by the North Vietnamese Government, but neither created nor principally maintained by it. To call it simply "foreign aggression" as the Prime Minister does, and his colleagues do, is to misrepresent the facts and, thereby, confuse the issue with which we must ultimately come to terms.

The people of Vietnam may, therefore, be divided into three kinds: those who support the present Government and are actively anti-Communist; those who are Communist and of whom the Vietcong are actively and openly engaged in subversion; and those who are indifferent. I have not the slightest doubt that the overwhelming majority of ordinary people of Vietnam fall into the last category. They watch uncomprehendingly the ebb and flow of this frightful war around them, and as each day threatens some new horror, they become even more uncomprehending. And because this is so, our policy of creating a democratic anti-Communist South Vietnam has failed. That failure can possibly be reversed, but it cannot be reversed by military means alone. Ten years ago, anti-Communism was fairly strong in Vietnam. For some years, the Late President Ngo Dinh Diem represented an organised resistance against Communism. When he had support, he was brought here, feted, and seated in honour on the very floor of this chamber. When his regime became increasingly corrupt and irrelevant to the needs of the people, lost that support, he was murdered. Not a word of regret, of sorrow or sympathy was said by members of the Australian Government in memory of him whom they once hailed as the saviour of his country, though, indeed some of the [p.1104] Government extremist supporters outside this parliament charged President Kennedy with having approved his murder, and Mr Henry Cabot Lodge, among others with actually planning it.

What support has the present Government, the eighth or ninth regime since the murder of Diem 18 months ago? It has no basis of popular support. It presumably has the support of the Army, or the ruling junta of the Army. It will fall and be replaced when it loses the support of the ruling junta, or when that junta itself is replaced by another. That has happened eight or nine times in the past year and a half. The Americans have supported four of the governments of South Vietnam and have opposed the other four. There is not one jot or tittle of evidence to support the belief that this is being sedulously fostered in this country that the local population cares one iota whether it happens again eight or nine times in the coming 18 months. The Government of South Vietnam does not base itself on popular support. Yet this is the Government at whose



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request, and in whose support, we are to commit a battalion of Australian fighting men. And we are told we are doing this in the name of the free and independent Government and people of South Vietnam. I do not believe it, and neither does anybody else who considers the matter with any degree of intelligence.

The Prime Minister points to increasing support from North Vietnam as being a totally new factor in the situation. I agree that the pace of North Vietnamese aggression - and that is the only term for it - has increased, though estimates of its extent vary considerably. The Prime Minister speaks of 10,000 infiltrators last year. The American White Paper on the subject put the figure at 4,000-odd certain, and 3,000 more estimated - at the outside 7,300. And yet I am bound to say that the evidence of that White Paper does not seem to bear out its own assertions. The thesis of the White Paper was that the war in Vietnam could be fully explained in terms of Northern aggression. Yet the report of the International Control Commission, quoted in the White Paper, listed as having being captured from the Vietcong between 1962 and 1964, three rifles of Chinese origin, 46 of Russian origin, 40 sub-machine guns and 26 rifles of Czech origin, and 26 weapons of all kinds of North Vietnamese origin. Other weapons are in proportion. All this for a force of some estimated 100,000 men who have waged war successfully for years against 500,000 troops.

Now this does not seem to support the theory that in past years the efforts of the Vietcong were mainly dependent on supplies from the North. And even if we accept the view that Northern support has been substantially increased in recent months, it cannot lend any credence to the belief that the Vietcong effort will collapse if this new, increased support is cut off. The more the Government relies on the theory of increased Northern support, as a basis for its actions, the more difficulty it must have in explaining away the successes of the Vietcong in the past when, as it maintains, Northern support was comparatively small. If it believes that it is simply a question of aggression from the North, and that all will be solved when that aggression is stopped, then it is deluding itself, and is trying to delude the Australian people as well.

Against the background of these facts, we can judge the true significance of the Australian commitment. The Government will try, indeed it has already tried, to project a picture in which once the aggressive invaders from the North are halted, our men will be engaged in the exercise of picking off the Vietcong, themselves invaders from the North and stranded from their bases and isolated from their supplies. But it will not be like that at all. Our men will be fighting the largely indigenous Vietcong in their own home territory. They will be fighting in the midst of a largely indifferent, if not resentful, and frightened population. They will be fighting at the request of, and in support, and presumably, under the direction of an unstable, inefficient, partially corrupt military regime which lacks even the semblance of being, or becoming, democratically based. But, it will be said, even if this is true, that there are larger considerations - China must be stopped, the United States must not be humiliated in Asia. I agree wholeheartedly with both those propositions.

But this also I must say: our present course is playing right into China's hands, and our present policy will, if not changed, surely and inexorably lead to American humiliation in Asia. Communist China will [p.1105] use every means at her disposal to increase her power and influence. But her existing military machine is not well adapted to that objective. It is not so at this moment and it may not be so for the next ten years. Therefore, she chooses other means. Yet we have preferred to look at China mainly in terms of a military threat and have neglected to use other, far more effective weapons at our disposal, or, because of our pre-occupation with the military threat, we have used those weapons badly and clumsily. We talk about the lesson of Munich as if we had never learnt a single lesson since 1938.

Pre-occupied with the fear of a military Munich, we have suffered a score of moral Dunkirks. Pre-occupied with the military threat of Chinese Communism, we have channelled the great bulk of our aid to Asia towards military expenditure. Pre-occupied with the idea of monolithic, imperialistic Communism, we have channelled our support to those military regimes which were loudest in their professions of anti-Communism, no matter how reactionary, unpopular or corrupt they may have been. Pre-occupied with fear of Communist revolution, we have supported and have sought to support those who would prevent any sort of revolution, even when inevitable; and even when most needful. Pre-occupied with so-called Western interests, we have never successfully supported nationalism as the mighty force it is against Communism. We have supported nationalism only when it supported the West, and we have thereby pushed nationalism towards Communism. Pre-occupied with the universality of our own Christian beliefs, we have never tried to understand the power of the other great religions against Communism.



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Each of these pre-occupations has worked for our defeat in Vietnam, and is working now for our defeat in Asia, Africa and South America. And herein lies one of the greatest dangers of the Government's decision on large-scale military commitments. It binds and obscures the real nature of the problem of Communist expansion. It lends support and encouragement to those who see the problem in purely military terms, and whose policies would, if ever adopted, lead to disaster. Here is the real risk of the world nuclear war feared by the Minister for External Affairs (Mr Hasluck). In his speech to the South East Asia Treaty Organisation yesterday he said the third world war could break out tomorrow in South Vietnam. If the idea of military containment is unsuccessful, as I believe it will surely prove in the long term, as it has already in the short term, it will contribute to that spirit of defeatism and impotence in the face of Communism. That is the greatest enemy we have to fear.

We are not impotent in the fight against communism. We are not powerless against China, if we realise that the true nature of the threat from China is not military invasion but political subversion. And that threat, if we believe for one moment in our own professions, and in our own principles, we can fight and beat. But to exhaust our resources in the bottomless pit of jungle warfare, in a war in which we have not even defined our purpose honestly, or explained what we would accept as victory, is the very height of folly and the very depths of despair.

Humiliation for America could come in one of two ways - either by outright defeat, which is unlikely, or by her becoming interminably bogged down in the awful morass of this war, as France was for ten years. That situation would in turn lead to one of two things - withdrawal through despair, or all out war, through despair. Both these would be equally disastrous. What could be the objective of an all out war? It could only be the destruction of the North Vietnamese regime. And what would that create? It would create a vacuum. America can destroy the regime, but it cannot conquer and hold North Vietnam, and into that vacuum China would undoubtedly move. Thus, if that happened, we would have replaced a nationalistic communist regime - in a country with a thousand years' history of hostility towards China - with actual Chinese occupation, and either we would have to accept this disaster or face the even greater disaster of an all out war with China.

This is the terrible prospect which people like the Prime Minister of Britain, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Prime Minister of Canada and Pope Paul have seen, and which they are trying to avert. They are all true friends of the United [p.1106] States of America, and they do not want to see America humiliated. That is why they have called for negotiations - negotiations while the United States remain in a position of comparative strength, negotiations while she is in position to influence terms. Yet at the very time when the great weight of Western opinion calls for a pause, Australia says there must be no pause for reflection, no pause for reconsideration. The role of Australia should have been to support the call for negotiations and help those who were working towards them. Nobody underestimates the difficulties and dangers of negotiation. That is why we understood and sympathised with American efforts to secure a stronger base for negotiations.

By its decision, the Australian Government has withdrawn unilaterally from the ranks of the negotiators, if indeed it was ever concerned about them. Our contribution will be negligible, militarily. But we have reduced ourselves to impotence in the field of diplomacy. We should have been active in the field of diplomacy for a long time. But we have done nothing in that field of affairs. It is true that President Johnson's cautious call for 'unconditional negotiations' at Baltimore has been rejected by Hanoi and Peking. But if we accept the Prime Minister's assurance that the decision to send a battalion to Vietnam was taken 'several weeks ago', then that rejection had nothing to do with the Government's decision. For the Prime Minister's own claim, the decision was made before both the President's offer and its rejection by the Communists.

This goes far to explain the Prime Minister's abrupt and brutal denunciation of the principle of negotiations three weeks ago. It explains his elaborate attempts to refute the bishops. Australia's aim should have been to help to end the war, not to extend it. We have now lost all power to help end it. Instead, we have declared our intention to extend it, insofar as lies in our power. We have committed ourselves to the proposition that Communism can be defeated by military means alone and that it is the function of European troops to impose the will of the West upon Asia. These are dangerous, delusive and disastrous propositions. The Prime Minister pays lip service to President Johnson's call for a massive aid programme, financed by all the industrialised nations, including the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. But it is clear that the right honourable gentleman's real thinking, and that of his Government, run along the narrow groove of a military response.



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The despatch of an Australian battalion of troops to South Vietnam is the outcome of that thinking. By this decision, we set our face towards war as the correct means of opposing Communism, and declare against the social, economic and political revolution that alone can effectively combat Communism. The key to the future of Indo-China is the Mekong River delta and valley. The Communists understand this well. But imagine the thundering reply we could give to Communism if, under the auspices of the United Nations, we were to join in a vastly increased programme for the reclamation and development of the Mekong. The work has started, and it goes on, despite the war. But how much more could be done if we were really determined to turn our resources from war to peace. This surely is the key to the door of hope which President Johnson spoke of in his Baltimore speech. But this Government has closed the door and thrown away the key.

I cannot refrain from making an observation about Australia's trade with China. It is obvious that the Government's decision, and particularly the grounds upon which the Government justifies its decision, raised in a particularly acute form the moral issue connected with this trade. The Government justifies its action on the ground of Chinese expansionist aggression. And yet this same Government is willing to continue and expand trade in strategic materials with China. We are selling wheat, wool and steel to China. The wheat is used to feed the armies of China. The wool is used to clothe the armies of China. The steel is used to equip the armies of China. Yet the Government which is willing to encourage this trade is the same Government which now sends Australian troops, in the words of the Prime Minister, to prevent 'the downward thrust of China'. The Government may be able to square its conscience on this matter, but this is logically and morally impossible.

Finally, there is the question of Australia's immediate strategic concern. It is only a few weeks since both the Prime Minister and the Minister for External Affairs spoke of the need for priorities, and they both made it plain that our first priority [p.1107] was the defence of Malaysia. A short time ago, the Government informed the United Kingdom and the Malaysian Governments that it was not possible to spare another battalion from our already strained resources. Now they have found a battalion for service in Vietnam. Thus, our troops are involved on several fronts. We are the only country in the world fighting on two fronts in South East Asia. America is committed to Vietnam. Britain is committed to Malaysia. Australia, with its limited resources, with its meagre defences, has obligations in Vietnam, Malaya, Borneo and New Guinea. The commitments are apparently without end, in size and in number.

How long will it be before we are drawing upon our conscript youth to service these growing and endless requirements? Does the Government now say that conscripts will not be sent? If so, has it completely forgotten what it said about conscription last year? The basis of that decision was that the new conscripts would be completely integrated in the Regular Army. The voluntary system was brought abruptly to an end. If the Government now says that conscripts will not be sent, this means that the 1st battalion 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. Or, if it has not changed its policy, the Government means that the 1st battalion is not to be reinforced, replaced or replenished from the resources of the Regular Army. Which is it to be? There is now a commitment of 800. As the war drags on, who is to say that this will not rise to 8,000, and that these will not be drawn from our voteless, conscripted 20 year olds? And where are the troops from America's other allies? It is plain that Britain, Canada, France, Germany and Japan, for example, do not see things with the clear-cut precision of the Australian Government.

I cannot close without addressing a word directly to our fighting men who are now by this decision, committed to the chances of war: our hearts and prayers are with you. Our minds and reason cannot support those who have made this decision to send you to this war, and we shall do our best to have that decision reversed. But we shall do our duty to the utmost in supporting you to do your duty. In terms of everything that an army in the field requires, we shall never deny you the aid and support that it is your right to expect in the service of your country. To the members of the Government, I say only 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 a dreadful responsibility, and you will have taken a course which you will live to regret.

And may I, through you, Mr Speaker, address this message to the members of my own Party - my colleagues here in this Parliament and that vast band of labour men and women outside: the course we have agreed to take today is fraught with difficulty. I cannot promise you that easy popularity can be bought in times like these; nor are we looking for it. We are doing our duty as we see it. When the drums beat and the trumpets sound, the voice of reason and right can be heard in the



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land only with difficulty. But if we are to have the courage of our convictions, then we must do our best to make that voice heard. I offer you the probability that you will be traduced, that your motives will be misrepresented, that your patriotism will be impugned, that your courage will be called into question. But I also offer you the sure and certain knowledge that we will be vindicated; that generations to come will record with gratitude that when a reckless Government willingly endangered the security of this nation, the voice of the Australian Labour Party was heard, strong and clear, on the side of sanity and in the cause of humanity, and in the interests of Australia's security.

Let me sum up. We believe that America must not be humiliated and must not be forced to withdraw. But we are convinced that sooner or later the dispute in Vietnam must be settled through the councils of the United Nations. If it is necessary to back with a peace force the authority of the United Nations, we would support Australian participation to the hilt. But we believe that the military involvement in the present form decided on by the Australian Government represents a threat to Australia's standing in Asia, to our power for good in Asia and above all to the security of this nation.

[p.1108] SIR ROBERT MENZIES, 4 May 1965 -

Mr Speaker, I have listened to the speech of the Leader of the Opposition (Mr Calwell) with acute depression. It seemed to me to demonstrate an approach to these great and vital problems that I would hardly have expected to hear described in this place. Indeed, he summed it all up in the second last paragraph of his speech. May I remind the House that he said - 'Let me sum up. We believe that America must not be humiliated and must not be forced to withdraw.'

Having said that by way of summary, he has said that in the clear view of his party, America should be required to go it alone with no assistance from us. That, really, is a pretty neat, short summary of the speech that he has made. I will come back to it because there are a few things that should be put straight on the record, if they need to be put straight.

... (Discusses procedural/party political matters)

I just want to say something about that (concealing intention to make an announcement from the Labour Opposition) because it will be useful for honourable members to become aware of the basis of discussions between governments, because these allegations display a woeful ignorance of how things are done between governments and between nations. The announcement of the provision of fighting forces by us for South Vietnam was not one that could be made without a great deal of preparatory discussion, not only on the military level but also on the political level where the last responsible decisions have to be made. It has to be remembered that Australia has commitments as a member of the South East Asia Treaty Organisation and that one of the protocol nations under S.E.A.T.O. is South Vietnam. We have commitments in respect of Malaysia which have been fully stated and debated in this House. We have joint interests with the United States of America and New Zealand under the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America, and we have, of course, a responsibility for the defence of Australia, including Papua and New Guinea. So we have a variety of responsibilities, each of them importing some contingency that may or may not arise.

I had some exchanges with President Johnson towards the end of last year in which the possibility of increased military activity was envisaged and in the course of which we agreed that there should be, at a suitable time, discussions on the military level. These took place, in fact, in March and the result of the talks was available to us early in April. We made our formal decision in principle on 7th April, that decision being that we would be willing to provide a battalion, should it be requested and should all the circumstances render its employment useful, fitting in with the general pattern of what was being done. So it was a decision in principle. But that was not the end of the matter. Before an actual decision could be announced discussions had to occur with the various governments with which we are associated and, in particular with the Government of the United Kingdom, the Government of the United States and the Government of South Vietnam. A great number of broad details had to be considered and certain more detailed arrangements made at the government level.

Very properly, I wanted to have all these matters quite clearly established before making any announcement to the House. I need not elaborate. All of us who are familiar with this kind of international discussion will realise that not one of us is entirely his own master in respect of the timetable. Statements have to be synchronised very frequently in one country and another, and any statement made would need to be made with the concurrence of South Vietnam, as the nation



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requesting our help, with the United States, with whose troops ours would be associated in South [p.1109] Vietnam, and with the United Kingdom, which has accepted great responsibilities in relation to Malaysia where we have already made a substantial contribution. So we have the three governments.

When on Wednesday of last week a story about a battalion broke in sections of the Press, I felt a great deal of embarrassment because the time had not quite arrived when I could feel that our relevant discussions had concluded. On Wednesday a rumour was circulated that I would be making a statement on Thursday night and that that statement would relate to the provision of an Australian battalion. At that time I literally did not know whether I could be ready by Thursday night. The Leader of the Opposition inquired at my office on Thursday morning at a time when I was heavily engaged on a matter of some urgency. He said he would like to know what was happening. That was a very reasonable request, I thought. He said that he had plans to go to Sydney in connection with the election campaign and could hardly change them. He added that he thought that any statement might be made or could be made on Tuesday night, that is, tonight. After this had been conveyed to me, the Leader of the Opposition was told that it was possible that I would be making a statement on Thursday night but that it was not certain and that when I knew definitely I would let him know. He was told that if I found myself in a position to make a statement I would hope to be in a position to give him the text of it by 5.30p.m. I follow these rules, if I may say so, very strictly... (Further detail follows)

The final international messages which I thought I should have before making a statement arrived at something after 5.30p.m. and I then decided that I would make the statement at 8 o'clock... The result of all this was that when I made my statement I was in a position to do so with the approval of the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Prime Minister of South Vietnam. I will not need to say to honourable members that, in view of the spread of newspaper headlines on this matter, I simply could not defer my statement until today, without acute embarrassment to myself and to the other governments concerned. Clearly, I could not have made my statement over the weekend because it is in this Parliament that such a statement ought to be made. This Parliament is entitled to hear all of these matters direct and to have the opportunity of debating them. Therefore, the choice was to make the statement on Thursday or to let all rumours flourish, to let the news go on breaking all round the word and then come along today and make the statement.

MR CLYDE CAMERON - How did the Press get the news?

SIR ROBERT MENZIES - I wish I knew, but I do not. The press certainly did not get it from me or the Government. For all those reasons I made the statement. The notion that either the Leader of the Opposition or the Deputy Leader of the Opposition was deceived or that something was concealed from them is really shown to be completely without foundation. Each of them knew that if I did make a statement it would be related to this question, because the dogs were barking around the premises. The newspaper stories had made that quite clear. Perhaps I have mixed up two notions in saying that. Notwithstanding these circumstances, the two honourable gentlemen opposite left the House - no doubt for very good political reasons - and they were competently represented by the member for Melbourne Ports who had a copy of the statement and heard it. Therefore, the grievance to which the Leader of the Opposition made a faint reference at the beginning of his speech, is without foundation.

[p.1110] I now turn, as he did, to the merits of this matter. Where does the Labour Party stand? I have been asking myself this question for some time. We heard the answer today. The Labour Party is against us on the merits. This is a clear cut issue of whether or not we should provide forces in South Vietnam. The Opposition says 'You should not do it', for a variety of reasons which I invite honourable members to study and to understand, if they can. I turn to the merits for three reasons. One is to establish the rightness of our position under all the circumstances that exist. I do not propose to repeat what I said in my statement to the House on Thursday, because I dealt with the substance of the matter and the merits of the case on that occasion. But I do want, once more, to remind the House that, when the 1954 Geneva Agreements had been entered into and they were reported in statements to the House, I myself made a statement relating to this matter right here. I said that the Government of Australia would view aggression in violation of the Indo-China settlement as a threat to international peace and security. That was a perfectly explicit statement. It is because we believe that there has been a breach of international law and a violation of the Charter of the United Nations that we have, in relation to the present matter, notified



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the President of the Security Council of our decision, adding these words -

'This decision has been made at the request of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam and it is in accordance with Australia's international obligations.'

That is the formal ground on which we stand. But this is not a matter that lends itself to decision with reference to formality only. Therefore, it is necessary to continue an examination of the merits of the matter. I must say that the Leader of the Opposition rather puzzled me because in the course of his speech... he made two statements of really splendid simplicity. One was -

'That there has long been, and still is, aggression from the North and subversion inspired by the North, I do not for one moment deny.'

Here is a proposition of fact which I thought would represent common ground on both sides of the House. I am very glad to have it stated by the Leader of the Opposition. I have said it in my statement and on other occasions. That there is aggression from the Communist North is not denied, and that there is subversion from within, fostered by the Communists of the North, is not denied now by the Leader of the Opposition. I have heard it denied in a sense, but it was not denied today. This is a very significant fact. It describes the origin of the whole of this business in which we find ourselves involved.

A little later in his speech the Leader of the Opposition made another statement which I will read. He said -

'I agree that the pace of North Vietnamese aggression - and that is the only term for it - has increased, though estimates as to its extent vary considerably.'

So, here is the admission that while all this is going on the pace of aggression from the North, the pace of positive action by the Communist North has increased. That is the state of affairs - it is now common ground between the Government and the Opposition - in which we have had to consider whether we should withdraw from the scene, whether we should make our contribution by words, whether we should leave the United States to go it alone, or whether we should, with all partnerships and involvements and all our risks in this part of the world, determine that we will play our part, although it may be a small one, in positive action. Broadly, that is what we have done and why we have done it.

I do not understand how my friend, the Leader of the Opposition, can delude himself on this matter. He used some fine words, some rather emotional words, towards the end of his speech. But does he really believe that Australia should walk out on this matter? This is the question. Does he really believe that the United States of America, of whose actions he has approved and re-approved, ought to be allowed to continue to carry this burden and that we, as one of the S.E.A.T.O. powers, with South Vietnam requesting our help, should say, 'Sorry; there is nothing we can do about it'? This is a very serious position, I venture to say, for the Leader of the Opposition to get into. It certainly is not a position that we want to get into.

It is in the continuing interest of this country - to put it on no higher round than that - to be regarded and to remain [p.1111] as a valued ally of the United States, which is, in this part of the world, our own most powerful ally. I would hate to be the head of a government which had to say to the United States on an occasion like this: 'Sorry; we can do nothing about it. We will help you with debate in the United Nations. We will offer some fine words and some good sentiments. But, as for practical action, no; that is for you. American soldiers from the Middle West can go and fight and die in South Vietnam, but that is not for us.' I think that is a disastrous proposition for any opposition to put forward.

I do not want to prolong this speech. The whole essence of the matter seems to me to be clear. The Leader of the Opposition may be right; perhaps I oversimplify it. I am a great believer, when it comes to determining international obligations, in simplifying a proposition so that it stands out stark and clear and so that we all know what we are debating, and what we are to do about it. From things that have been said one would think that this decision by the Government was not entirely consistent with statements repeatedly made by us in this House. Indeed, an attempt has been made here and there to suggest that this decision came rather as a surprise, a little bit out of the blue. May I remind the House - I am sure the Leader of the Opposition needs no reminding - that this approach of ours has been stated repeatedly in this place and from this table.



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I have just quoted what was said after the Geneva Agreements were entered into. Without labouring the matter, everybody knows that announcements have been made from time to time about sending military instructors to South Vietnam. The number has grown from a small 30 to a substantial 100 - very substantial, considering our own requirements in this field. We have provided aircraft: Caribou aircraft have gone there. We have provided a substantial amount of economic aid. We have supplied much appreciated groups of people of a military order, and equipment of a military order - not in large numbers, but very significant from their moral effects not only on the problem itself but on the feeling and opinion of the United States of America. Therefore, it is idle to say that this is something new and that we have a new approach. The Minister for External Affairs (Mr. Hasluck) made an extraordinarily able statement in this House comparatively recently in which he outlined the whole of our policies in these matters in the clearest possible terms. I have, in my own fashion, though not as well, tried to say very much the same kind of thing. I do not think anybody has any ambiguity in his mind as to where we stand. Certainly nobody in the America Administration has any; certainly nobody in the United Kingdom Government has any; certainly none of our friends and allies in these various places have any. Why should there be any existing in this place? It has all been completely clear.

And now the Leader of the Opposition criticises. I would say to him that he had better look at himself, at his colleagues and at his party. He has really, of course, disclosed their approach. He has not, I am happy to say, got down to the level of one or two of his supporters by suggesting that this was an indecent bargain for dollars, which I thought was a monstrosity of a proposal and which, as I have said, reveals only the murky recesses of the minds of the people who make it. The Leader of the Opposition has not said this: he would not dream for a moment of saying it. But he has put his case in the curious, evasive and defeatist terms to which we have listened today. I say defeatist, inactive. He says in effect: 'Kind hearted are more than coronets. Do not let us have actual forces used to repel force - to repel open Communist attack, to repel Communist aggression and subversion from the Vietcong. No, do not let us use force to meet force, because that is wrong.'

I noticed that the Labour Party - I suppose it is permissible to describe it in that phrase - issued a policy statement not long ago, on 18th February; I have been enriched with a copy of it and it has one or two interesting things to say. It states -

In its statement to the Security Council on February 7th, reporting the air strikes against military installations in the south of North Vietnam, America insisted that its object in South Vietnam, while resisting aggression, is to achieve a peaceful settlement maintained by the presence of international peacekeeping machinery and that it would not allow the situation to be changed by terror and violence.

Then it goes on -

This statement of American purposes is unexceptionable.

[p.1112] The Australian Labour Party starts by saying, 'Yes, that is right. You say this is what you are doing. This is the object of the exercise. You are going to repel the aggressors. You are going to attack their lines of communication. You are going to do everything you can to produce stability and get rid of civil war in South Vietnam.' Then it says: 'It is all right if the Americans do it, but it is no good to us. God made the United States our protectors and we ought to leave it to the United States.'

Now Sir, this is a matter which, I venture to say is unarguable, but the last point that the Leader of the Opposition undertook to make was that in South Vietnam there was a poor government - a corrupt government. This word 'corrupt' comes tripping to the tongue. Every government of this kind is 'corrupt' or it is 'Fascist'. I know of no evidence that the Quat Government in South Vietnam is corrupt. I certainly have had no evidence that the government of Ngo Dinh Diem was corrupt. I thought he was a brave and honest little man, and a patriot. But to say, 'They are corrupt. They do not have ordinary elections in South Vietnam', what sort of nonsense is this? On the honourable gentleman's own showing, South Vietnam is torn apart, torn to pieces, by the activities of the Vietcong in all their little pockets around the country. In those circumstances there cannot be the peaceable processes of election, there cannot be what we call a democratic self governing system if people are in that position.



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Why are they in that position? It is through no fault of their own, and no-one suggests it. They are in that position because the Communists have set about two tasks. One is to make life intolerable for the South Vietnamese along their northern frontier and to cross over thousands of people to help the Communist forces, and the other is to maintain a system of Communist subversion which is designed to overthrow, by force, the Government of South Vietnam and to substitute for it a government which will never be elected by the people but which will be a simple Communist dictatorship corresponding to that of Ho Chi Minh in North Vietnam.

Therefore, I venture to say there is a good deal of humbug in talking of South Vietnam as though it were exposed to criticism because of the manifold difficulties it has had in securing stability, just as there is more than a shade of humbug in saying that what we ought to be doing is getting on with the work in the Mekong Valley. I ask members opposite to get on with, to go along pretending that there is no fighting going on - pretending that the Vietcong are not there and pretending that there is no North Vietnam. Really, Sir, this is the height of absurdity.

I recognised the somewhat pathetic note in the honourable member's speech when he turned to his own people and said, metaphorically and literally, 'We will be unpopular but we will stick to it. You must remember that we are ready to suffer in an unpopular cause.' All I can say is that I wish he were willing to suffer in a good cause of his own, because I have not the slightest doubt that on the merits not only we in Australia, but also all those governments and people with whom we are associated in this tremendously important exercise which is so significant for the security of our own country, are on the side of the great majority. If I may end on a horribly political note, it is a good thing occasionally to be in a big majority.

DR J. F. CAIRNS [Note: Cairns was one of a number of members of parliament who participated in the debate. His speech is provided here because of his prominent role in the Moratorium Movement in 1970.] -

The issue that divides the Government and the Opposition in this debate is a moral one. It is the issue of whether we are right in despatching troops to a country 7,000 miles away on the ground that the interests of our own people or the people of that other country are at stake. That is the question on which the decision will eventually have to be made.

The debate we are commencing this afternoon is one that will go on for a long time in this country. It is a debate that will determine the relationships between the Australian people and the peoples of Asia for possibly a century or two. The question involved in this debate will be decided on the facts; it will be decided on the facts considered in relation to the moral issue involved. The moral issue involved is whether the Government's course of action is right, proper and justified, whether in respect of the interests of the people of Vietnam or in respect of the interests of the people of Australia. We have a right to defend ourselves if we are attacked. We have a right to come to the aid of other people if questions of self determination are involved. [p.1113] Those are the matters with which we must be concerned.

The Prime Minister (Sir Robert Menzies) began his speech by referring to what he called a faint reference by the Leader of the Opposition (Mr Calwell) to the fact that on Thursday he, the Leader of the Opposition, was not told whether the Prime Minister was going to make a statement on Thursday night or whether he was not. The Prime Minister took exactly 12 minutes to deal with that faint reference...

I said that this matter involved a moral issue to be determined in the light of the facts and the circumstances. We are being told that we are justified in sending Australian troops to Vietnam and that there is justification for American troops to be there. I remind the House that the country concerned is many thousands of miles from the homeland of the men sent there both from the United States of America and from Australia. When you have to justify sending your troops 6,000 or 7,000 miles you have a difficult task if you try to do so on the grounds of self defence. If you are attacked at home you have a good case for justifying retaliation in self defence. But when you are sending your troops on an expeditionary adventure 6,000 or 7,000 miles a heavy burden rests upon you to justify doing so on the grounds of self defence.

MR CHIPP - Does the honourable member think American troops should be there?

DR J. F. CAIRNS - The case put for the United States when it extended the war into North Vietnam was stated in a document which I have before me now. It was published by the United States Department of State and is called 'Aggression from the North'. This document was brought into the House by the Minister for External Affairs (Mr Hasluck). I still have to see evidence that any other member on the Government side of the House has even read the document, let alone analysed it.



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The evidence of aggression produced at that time consisted of two things. First, there was the report of the International Control Commission established under the Geneva agreement because of many complaints that had been made of interference by North Vietnam with South Vietnam and also many complaints of interference by the South with the North. The complaints by the North against the South were far more frequent. Most of the complaints on both sides were neither proved nor disproved, and the Commission was unable to make decisions about them. The Commission did find, however, that both sides had frequently broken the Geneva Agreement. On 15th February this year came the case for aggression from the North made out by the United Nations in the document to which I have referred.

The Prime Minister said that when he spoke on this question the other day he considered the matter in substance and in detail. The right honourable gentleman has never at any stage considered the substance of the case concerning aggression at all. He has never given his attention to any of the details, examined them or submitted them to this House. At all times he had merely made assertions that here is aggression from the North. He has at no time endeavoured to demonstrate that this is a fact. Now it remains for us to examine the question once more. We must give careful attention to the facts, because it is on the facts that we will have to determine the merits of one side or other of this moral issue that divides the House and divides the nation.

The case for aggression from the North consists of three parts, the infiltration from North Vietnam, the supply of arms and equipment from the North, and [p.1114] the overall control by the North of the revolutionary forces in the South. The document gives the number of men who it is alleged have moved from the North to the South since 1959. The International Control Commission and the report more or less agree in respect of the total. It is said that 19,550 men had come from the North to the South in the space of six years. These were the number of confirmed movements from the North to the South.

There are two matters we must keep in mind when we consider this. North Vietnam and South Vietnam are two parts of the same country. People move quite frequently in normal circumstances between the two parts of the country. It is as if New South Wales and Victoria had been one country which it was decided to divide at the Murray River. Obviously there would be a lot of people coming and going over that border as a matter of normality. The second point is that in 1955, at the end of French occupation, fighting in Vietnam came to an end. Ninety thousand men and women went from the South to the North because they did not like the prospect of the government in the South. Similarly, many thousands of people moved from the North to the South for like reasons. Many of the 90,000 men and women who went to the North later came back to the South, and this had nothing to do with the civil war that was going on.

MR JESS - You're kidding.

DR J. F. CAIRNS - Even the report itself - and I refer this to honourable members opposite who are interjecting and who, I am sure, never looked at his document until recently - says at page 3 -

'To some the level of infiltration from the North may seem modest in comparison with the total size of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Vietnam.'

Of course it is modest in comparison with the total size of the forces. It is not true to say, as the Government says, that everything that has happened in the South has been dependent on what has happened in the North. The facts show quite clearly that 90 per cent of what has happened in the South has been caused by people living in the South and has not been the result of aggression from the North.

If there had been aggression from the North one would have expected that weapons used by insurgents from the North would have been captured in the South from time to time. Weapons have been captured in this way, but I ask the Minister who will follow me in this debate to consider the insignificance of the number of weapons of foreign manufacture captured and to explain why the number is so small if aggression from the North is as strong as the Prime Minister says it is. These figures are taken from the details given in the concluding pages of the document to which I have referred, 'Aggression from the North'. First I will deal with weapons of Chinese origin. In 1962 there were 4 rifles captured. In 1963 there were 18 and in 1964 there were 91, giving a total to 13th February 1965 of 113 weapons that had, in the space of four years, come from China and had been discovered in South Vietnam.

DR MACKAY - Captured.



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DR J. F. CAIRNS - Captured in South Vietnam. If China was practising aggression would it not have sent in more than 113 weapons that should have been captured in the South in that space of time? In the case of weapons of Soviet Union origin there were... a total of 588. In the case of Czechoslovakia there were... a total of 179 to the end of 1964. As to East German weapons, there were only five, which were captured in 1964. If there had been aggression from North Vietnam we would have expected that weapons manufactured in North Vietnam would have come into the South in larger numbers and been captured in larger numbers. But 16 were captured in 1962 and 10 in 1963 - a total of 26 in the years we are examining. In 1964 three unspecified weapons were captured. So the total in 1962 was 24 weapons, 163 in 1963 and 728 in 1964 - a total in the four years of 914. If it was not possible to discover in South Vietnam more than 914 weapons in that four year period, then I say that the evidence of aggression to which the Prime Minister has pointed is vastly and irresponsibly exaggerated. In addition to the weapons to which I have referred, it is reported that between 1962 and 1964 there were 15,100 weapons captured from the Vietcong. In [p.1115] other words, weapons captured from the North only represent a small fraction of the total weapons captured from the Vietcong. This is a measure of the contribution of the North by way of weapons to the fight in the South.

When we come to the third aspect of aggression we find that it is claimed that the northern government and its army were in control in the south. But the only evidence which the documents give us in relation to this matter is the repetition of revolutionary slogans such as -

'Our Army, that of the North, is an instrument of the class struggle in carrying out or two strategic tasks - to establish socialism in the North and get rid of American imperialism in the South.'

If the army of the North did no more than supply these few weapons to which I have referred it was doing very little to give effect to its revolutionary slogan. Honourable members opposite and the people of Australia must not begin to confuse these highly inflated revolutionary slogans that from time to time come from revolutionary parties with statements of fact. Only one class of person exaggerates more the statements made by a party of that kind, and that is its opponents. They both agree in exaggerating these things out of all proportion. There is no evidence of any particular activity on the part of the North to spur on the movement in the South. The evidence is quite the reverse. From time to time the South states that it is in a difficult situation and that practically nothing has been done to assist it. From time to time the South states, 'We know what to do and we need assistance.' From time to time the North states, 'You have to be pretty careful or you may run into a great deal of opposition.' The evidence tends to show that the North has been endeavouring to slow down what has occurred in the South.

What about China? China is only 500 miles away from Vietnam, yet not one Chinese has been discovered in South Vietnam during these times and only 113 weapons from China have been discovered. If this is an example of Chinese aggression and the threat that exists to Australia, there is not much aggression and there is not much threat in it. If the moral issue that is to be determined in this debate is to be determined at all, it is to be determined on these facts. In my opinion, the facts on which the Prime Minister justifies his actions have not been proved. My opinion in this matter is shared by a number of other people. Recently Professor Hans Morgenthau, consultant for the United States State Department and the United States Defence Department, described this document to which I have been referring as a dismal failure. He said -

'The discrepancy between its assertions and the factual evidence adduced to support them borders on the grotesque. The document is most disturbing in that it provides a particularly glaring instance of the tendency to conduct foreign and defence policy not on their own merits but as an exercise in public relations.'

What we have had from the Prime Minister this afternoon has not been a careful factual examination of the situation facing this nation at a time of enormous responsibility. The right honourable gentleman, instead, conducted an exercise in public relations - an exercise in the use of glib and slick word, which he thinks can continue to deceive the people as it has done in the past.

If we look at the situation and the facts with the responsibility that that is due from all of us, I suggest that what is happening in South Vietnam and other places in Asia is not something which, like an avalanche, is flowing full of Asian aggression and Communism towards Australia. That is not the correct interpretation of what is happening. In that sense there is not a threat to Australia. The present situation does not compare with the situation in relation to Japan in the 1940s when, within 17 days, Japan was able to sink, 5,300 miles from Tokyo, two of the largest capital ships in the world. We do



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not face today an expeditionary force of the kind we faced in those years. We face today a situation which, in each country, has a tendency to turn round and round in itself in the process of change, due to the force of vigour and terror that is in those places. This is an inevitable condition that comes out of decades of poverty and suppression. That is the inevitable condition that flows from the lives of those people. There is nothing that can be done by military force, the exercise of public relations or the glibly spoken word of the Prime Minister in this Parliament, to stop those things happening. These changes will go on because the people cannot live in their present circumstances. If we look with a sense of responsibility at the facts we will see that it is not as a [p.1116] result of aggression from the North that these things are happening but because of the conditions under which the people are living. I suggest that we will find that each of those things is mainly and significantly indigenous. A great deal depends on the economic and political conditions in the area concerned. Substantially, the same situation would exist if there were no Communist countries to the north seeking to control it and to express revolutionary slogans about it. Manpower and arms from the North have been no more marginal and have been less than could be expected in the circumstances. The revolutionary process of which I am speaking is slow, not fast. There is no bushfire of revolution. Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and other countries have been undergoing this process of change for half a century or more. The astonishing thing is that the poverty and suppression that exist in these countries have provoked so little feeling in the past. All the evidence shows clearly that this process cannot be stopped by military suppression. Once military methods are adopted, rapid escalation, with terror, bombing and casualties is inevitable. Use of these methods and the overpowering atmosphere of anti-Communism mean that not even the slightest real political or economic changes are possible. Without these changes the situation cannot be stabilised and in the circumstances no alternative to Communism can be found. Use of military methods means that the war will escalate and nothing finally will stop it. That is the choice we must face today.

With respect to these processes of change that are going on in Asia, South America, Africa and elsewhere, the first thing to realise is that they are not directed at Australia. Those involved in them do not sit up at night thinking of Australia and how they might come to this country for all the good things that are here. For them, Australia is not the pot of gold at the foot of the rainbow. They probably think of Australia only when we deport some coloured person under our immigration policy or when we send troops to Vietnam or elsewhere. They think of their own country and their situation. Their situation has never related to Australia and hardly ever to the country next door. The difficulties facing them in these revolutions are enormous. They struggle hard for a better life. It is not a pushover. They have no time to take part in any thinking about what happens in this country. Their minds are filled with their own problems. I submit that the method we have tried to adopt for 25 years in Vietnam has now proved to be a failure. It is not enough simply to think in terms of the general and glib assertions of aggression that the Prime Minister makes in these circumstances. We must look closely at the facts.

Ten further pages [pp.1116-1126] of debate follow with other members of parliament contributing. You may be able to find copies of Hansard in your local library, universities or at the State Library of Victoria.



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1965

What was being said in the press?

The following articles generally express the opinion of editors and political or social commentators. Letters to the editor about the government's decision to send a battalion to Vietnam were not found in the three newspapers represented here nor in *The Sun* which made no editorial comment or other responses to the issue beyond news reportage:

The Age

The Australian

Sydney Morning Herald

Reflect on the ways the Government and Opposition positions are presented. Decide to what extent this might have influenced public opinion at the time.

The Age

New Tasks in Vietnam

The Age, 30 April 1965, p.2, (Editorial)

The decision by the Australian Government to send a battalion to South Vietnam is a grave one and commits Australia to a more direct role in this cockpit of war where the conflict of power between Communist China and the West in South-East Asia has been joined. It also extends our military commitments on more fronts in South-East Asia than any other Commonwealth country. We are supporting the British in Malaysia, the Americans in Vietnam, the ruling house in Thailand and we have our perimeter defences to man in New Guinea.

These are inescapable obligations which fall on us because of our geographical position, our treaty commitments and our friendships. They cannot be sidestepped if we are to give any meaning to our place in ANZUS, SEATO and the Commonwealth of Nations.

The Vietnam commitment was accepted in 1962 when military aid was given by sending a small group of instructors. An R.A.A.F. transport squadron followed. This new commitment has been made in response to the formal procedure of a request for more help by South Vietnam and accompanied by an assurance of American co-operation.

There is clearly a United States call to share, even in a small way, more of the burdens. In fact, now stand in the company of 30 other countries, including important Asian friends and allies. There was no alternative but to respond as we have.

The Prime Minister has stressed that the decision to increase our military aid was made some weeks ago and this is not challenged. But there has been something of a breakdown in communication between the Government and the nation. Two months ago, Government sources were explaining that any involvement of a second battalion in Malaysia would upset the needed balance between Australian forces committed and forces in reserve.

Presumably the gravity of the situation in South Vietnam - and the political responses - have required more adventurous decisions. The Parliament should be told in more detail during the debate to come.

In his statement to Parliament, Sir Robert underlined the assessments made earlier in the year by Mr Hasluck when he nominated Vietnam as the primary area of danger in South-East Asia. He sees it as "part of a thrust by Communist China between the Indian and Pacific oceans", and warns that a take-over of South Vietnam would be a direct military threat to Australia and all the countries of South-East Asia.

Sir Robert this time recognises and supports President Johnson's remarks on "unconditional negotiations" and welcomes his recent proposal for a "wide ranging economic programme". This should appease the bishops and other critics and it was necessary that it should be said. What remains now is the continuing challenge to increase our defence capacity as rapidly as possibly because the front line grows longer and the pressures increase.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

The Vietnam Debate

The Age, 5 May 1965, p.2 (Editorial)

The Labor party has made a significant decision with its outright opposition to the Government's agreement to send Australian troops to Vietnam in a combat role. It has, in the past, professed support for the United States' role in South Vietnam and it has affirmed our membership of SEATO and ANZUS. It has not quarrelled with the military commitment, which began in 1962 when army instructors were sent to the Saigon area. It has not protested at the despatch of an R.A.A.F transport squadron.

What Mr Calwell now quarrels with is the decision to share a small part in the ground fighting and to make a political as well as a military gesture which will demonstrate to friends as well as to enemies, that Australia is ready to discharge the obligations of its treaty arrangements without waiting for others to lead the way.

Mr Calwell made an eloquent and emotional appeal in Parliament yesterday and when he spoke of the horror of the long war in Vietnam, he spoke for most Australians. He did not challenge the United States' decision to resist aggression and subversion in South Vietnam, but he did challenge the idea that we should take part in a more positive way than we had in the last three years. He had, unhappily, no alternatives to suggest and the logic, the brutal logic of the Prime Minister's reply, left his arguments in disorder.

Mr Calwell wants negotiations for peace - as everybody does, including the Government - but the Communist North Vietnam and its powerful supporters have rejected the invitation. Until they respond otherwise the conflict must remain joined at military level.

Mr Calwell wants to negotiate with an enemy which will not negotiate, just as he persists in wanting a direct military alliance with Malaysia when Malaysia does not want it. On both fronts, Vietnam and Malaysia, the Labor party seems to want "all care but no responsibility". The Prime Minister spelled out why this new commitment has been made and whether we like it or not we cannot have it both ways. We are committed to the American policy in South Vietnam - and have been for a long time - and cannot withdraw from the first real encounter or side-step the first political test of our integrity as an ally.

It may be drawing a long bow to project the idea that Australia is directly menaced by the Communist pressures in Vietnam. But Vietnam is the point of collision for those who seek the balance of power in South-East Asia and Australia cannot stand aside while others fight the battle.

It has been asked why Australia should be first to range itself - in a modest way - alongside the United States in the front line. It could also be asked why Australia should be the last. It would not be to our credit if we were.

Note: Teachers could also encourage students to read letters to the Editor in *The Age* on:

22 and 30 April 1965

3, 5 and 7 May 1965

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WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

The Australian

Letters to the Editor

The Australian, 4 May 1965, p.8

Vietnam: a cynical deal in lives for dollars

Sir - With ruthless clarity, it is now apparent that one or other of two propositions is true. Either the United States has used its proposed economic sanctions against Australia as a bargaining point to force Australian troops into Vietnam; or alternatively (and more likely) the Australian Treasurer has used Australian participation in this bloody conflict as a bribe to stave off the American sanctions, and prop up our foreign-bolstered economy.

Whichever be true, what cynicism is revealed and, on the Australian side, what stupidity! This Government is prepared to incur the enmity of a large proportion of Asia in the futile and cruel gesture of throwing 800 Australian lives into pawn in the swamps and mountains of a land about which we know little and think less.

For once in our lives, let us face the facts. Eight hundred Australians are going to make no difference to the ultimate result in Vietnam, nor are they going to change the balance of power in Asia. This will be decided between the colossi of the United States and China, with Japan and Indonesia exerting some influence on the ultimate result.

Here is another unpalatable fact. Eight hundred Australian lives are not going to assure automatic American aid to Australia if we are attacked, nor are they going to affect the economic policies of a country as huge as the United States, to whom Australia is - and must logically be - a minor consideration.

The Menzies Government has made a tragic blunder, the effects of which, incalculable at this point in history, will yet be felt for years to come.

- Ian Lasry, Glyndon Avenue, Brighton Vic

Australia out on a limb

If a battalion of Australian troops is sent to South Vietnam, generations of Australians will rue the decision. Without materially affecting the course of the war, it will lead to the permanent isolation of this country.

Already we are "out on a limb". Not one Asian SEATO country has sent a single soldier: Pakistan, the Philippines and so far even Thailand know better how to look after themselves. Anti-communist Burma does not believe her national independence depends on propping up a ludicrous colonel [sic] clique in Saigon, pretending that it serves the defence of freedom. Japan, India and Ceylon as well as New Zealand are not putting their heads in the noose.

Only Australia, a small white nation which, unlike America, is forever anchored to Asia, is committing herself to this fateful blunder. What makes it more scandalous is the timing: designed to strengthen the Government's hand in financial negotiations with the United States. Our sons may have to pay a high price to assure a continued flow of investment.

The theory that our frontiers are on the Mekong looks plausible to some, but is false. With a determined effort (on a far larger scale than the Government is willing to make) Australia, because of her geographical position and national resources, can make herself inviolable to attack.

We cannot assure our survival by challenging the world's largest nation on her very borders. All that Sir Robert Menzies is likely to achieve is to sabotage the search for constructive solutions which is supported by Britain and growing numbers of Americans, to divide the country, to make our name a by-word in history and to prepare the way for long casualty lists.

- David Martin, Huntington Grove, East Coburg, Vic.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

Harking back to Genghis Khan

As a Christian who is partly Jewish, and who has spent five years behind the racists' barbed wire, I weep for the folly of Australia's leaders. They have learnt little from history: for them, it seems, the struggles of mankind begin and end with the framework of American-style diplomacy - beyond which nothing else matters.

They talk about freedom and communism, but the arguments employed to support their case, morally and politically, were also used by Genghis Khan, Napoleon, and even by Palmerston in Queen Victoria's reign - and, with modifications, by Adolf Hitler himself. The same pattern of selfish interests forms the common denominator across the centuries.

Only now armed might is no longer the monopoly of a few chosen nations. Now, all peoples, everywhere, including the despised Africans, Asians and other have-nots, all these have a moral and political right to possess such weapons and to use them accordingly. The Western pilot who bombs women and children is no better, and no worse, than the African who chops off an imperialist's head. One method may be cruder than the other, but motivation is identical.

We have just left one Dark Age, which reached its moment of truth in the gas chambers: are we destined to enter another? With due respect to our leaders, I submit they examine a few pages of history, and then gaze into the future before deciding to wage a war.

- Bernard Durrant, Tusculum Street, Potts Point, NSW

Devil and the deep blue sea

Walter Lippmann (in *Newsweek*, April 12) makes statements which are a cogent commentary on the letter from Nguyen Hoan, Second Secretary and Press Officer, Embassy of the Republic of Vietnam (in *The Australian*, April 26):

"The theory... was that with enough arms, more money, and some American military advisers, the South Vietnamese could create an army able to subdue the Viet Cong rebellion..."

"The theory has not worked. Our side has been losing steadily the control of the countryside. It has failed to win the allegiance of the peasants, who are not only the majority of the nation, but are the one and only source of manpower... The South Vietnamese army has not surrendered, but it has so little will to fight and such a high rate of desertion that we can no longer count on South Vietnamese soldiers even to supply sentries for American air bases and installations."

Water Lippmann concludes with a statement which will command the earnest attention of every responsible and decent person of whatever political persuasion.

"... we may find ourselves with choice between the devil of defeat in South Vietnam and the deep blue sea of a much wider water in Eastern Asia. The choice could perhaps be avoided if we remember in time that when there is no military solution to conflict, there must be negotiations to end it. In such a situation only fools will go to the brink and over it."

- Wallace Pratt, Church Street, Parkes, NSW

No U.S. right in Vietnam

It is a long time since I have read such good sense as Mr Sturney's letter (April 29). When a democratically elected government, with the consent of people, asks for help in its country, then and only then is there justification for intervention. The United States has no right to be fighting in Vietnam.

Apart from this, I have yet to read in the daily papers of any reliable statistics on what proportion of the Viet Cong are North Vietnamese, and how much military support they get from North Vietnam and China. There are too many vague and emotional statements floating around and, after all, we don't want to blow ourselves off the face of the earth without good reason, do we?

For both of these reasons, Australia should take immediate action to stop its asinine and gullible Prime Minister from leading us further towards that mushroom cloud.

- Susan Blackburn, Allinga Avenue, Glenunga, SA



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

PM shows contempt for public

The Australian, 1 May 1965, p.8 (Editorial)

Whatever the implications of Australia's intention to fight in Vietnam - and they are grave indeed - there can be no excuse for the deplorable manner in which the Government announced the decision.

It is impossible to escape the impression that the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, has once more shown his contempt for public opinion.

The conduct of the Vietnam War has split the nation; and the specific question of whether Australian combat troops should be embroiled in it has been the subject, quite rightly, of intense debate among all people, young and old, especially since the United States began its air attacks on North Vietnam.

The Prime Minister has been aware of this. The volume of correspondence in the Press and the unprecedented letters he received from the bishops could have left him with no doubts about the strength of public opposition.

But throughout all this he has demonstrated a lofty reluctance to engage in the debate, so encouraging the suggestion that he was against negotiations. This he eventually tried to explain away. But at no time did he give any hint that he was considering the necessity of taking the most important Australian military decision since Korea.

No explanation

Yet it has clearly been on his mind for weeks. And it will not do to say that the Government has just received a request for help from the Government of South Vietnam.

There is now a suspicion that the move was agreed within the Government and signalled to Washington long before President Johnson's envoy, Mr Cabot Lodge, made his short enigmatic trip to Canberra; and that this visit was little more than a call to say thank you.

In the circumstances, it would have been fair to have attempted to prepare the public for the decision, to have explained why an Australian involvement might be essential. As it was, both the public and members of Parliament were taken by surprise - MPs so much so that only half of them were in the House of Representatives to hear the announcement.

Compounding this typical dismissal of other people's attitudes is the fact that the Americans and British heard the news before us. They were able to read about it in their newspapers before we had an inkling.

Once again the Australian public has learned of a vital decision second-hand; once again it has not been kept informed.

Differing with our friends

The Australian, 5 May 1965, p.8 (Editorial)

Critics of the Government's decision to send a combat unit into the Vietnam war can be divided into two broad classes: those who sympathise with the communist cause, wherever it is manifested, and who love to sow dissension between Australia and her allies; and those who genuinely believe that this latest military venture runs against the policy of enlightened nationalism this country must embrace.

The Australian lines itself up with this second group. It believes our long-term interests have been badly served by a politico-military gambit of the Vietnam type at this time.

We have already made out our case against the Government's decision actively to intervene. We hold that it will have only insignificant military value, that it deploys our small forces beyond our clear Malaysian commitment, and that it tends to widen the war at a time when many of our friends are seeking to bring it to negotiation.

We wish now to relate this distaste for the Government's calculating indiscretion - a distaste shared by a substantial cross-section of the Australian community, irrespective of party - to the sort of foreign policy in these anxious times we think Australia should steadfastly pursue.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

That policy is based firmly on the American alliance, as indeed it now is, through inclination and faith as well as self-interest. There is no alternative, even if we wanted one, according to the terms of power in the Pacific today.

U.S. sense of duty

It follows that Australia is genuinely sympathetic with the Americans in their Vietnam dilemma and thinks their cause is a just one even when it is clumsily pressed - though they themselves increasingly have misgivings, as Senator Morse's article in *The Australian* today so forcibly demonstrates.

We know they are not on the South-East Asian mainland for conquest or repression or for motives of commercial imperialism.

They are in Vietnam out of a sense of duty and a brave acceptance of the responsibilities of their power.

This is the view of government and responsible opinion in Australia, and it is the foundation, too, of the policy *The Australian* and the Government's present genuine critics demand.

It is on the interpretation of the means of fulfilling our faithfulness to the alliance that this newspaper differs with Sir Robert Menzies and his colleagues.

Our independence

Uncritical subservience has no place in Australian policy. Convenient for the Johnson Administration our petty military gesture may now be, but it cannot carry with it the guarantee of unalloyed respect. It is too much the act of a toady.

This is demonstrably the case, in purely military and strategic terms, in view of this country's demanding commitment to Malaysian defence (which throughout has earned America's approval). It is suspiciously the case in political terms - especially at this unfortunate moment of Austral-American financial embarrassment.

Australia is not called on to perform like a lap-dog whenever it suits the State Department or the Pentagon, to disperse her modest strengths for political or propagandist reasons, to shove herself always into the foreground when room is left to manoeuvre in Asian and, for that matter, African situations.

Australia needs a good, healthy dose of independence in her relations with her 'powerful friends'.

We are a white nation in an Asian world, and no ocean divides us from the seat of present unrest. And while our only true defence is recognised to lie in the strength of our friends, we need not convert those friendships into immutable contracts.

Sydney Morning Herald

Our Stake in Vietnam

Sydney Morning Herald, 2 May 1965, p.48 (Editorial)

The Australian decision to commit a battalion to South Vietnam is likely profoundly to affect our relations with Asia and our standing in the world.

Like most fateful decisions, it is bound to be controversial. It will be disliked even by those who approve.

It cannot be enjoyed for two reasons. One is that in the Vietnam war the issues are clouded by atrocities on both sides and by the unattractive nature of the Government of each side. Few in Australia can admire the undemocratic Government of South Vietnam or pretend that any of its cliques command full support.

The second reason is that the dispatch of even one battalion seriously reduces our own defences.

Target for Peking

Peaceful countries are rarely able to choose the battlegrounds on which they must fight. It is the aggressor who chooses.

All that is distasteful about the Saigon regime has helped to dictate the choice of South Vietnam as a main Communist target.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

It is against this aggression - a sustained and inflexible campaign by Hanoi encouraged and supported by Peking, to impose a Communist regime in Saigon - that we are fighting; not to shore up cliques and certainly not to conquer North Vietnam itself.

Resistance to the Communist aggression is imperative - in part because here is the opportunity to convince China, before it becomes a thermonuclear power, that aggression is impracticable as a policy; but also because a Communist victory in South Vietnam would open the whole of South-East Asia.

Target for Djakarta

It is to prevent this catastrophe that America is fighting; and, since America is our ally, our increased contribution to the deteriorating Vietnam struggle is not merely needed but is inevitable.

The second complaint, that we are stripping our own defences, is unanswerable except in terms of self help. With one battalion in Borneo, another in Vietnam, two more need to reinforce these, and the remaining two still being trained or formed, New Guinea - an obvious diversionary target for Indonesia - is more vulnerable than ever.

This does not invalidate our decision. It does mean we need urgently to expand our defence forces.

Mr Calwell and the Choice We Face

Sydney Morning Herald, 5 May 1965, p.2 (Editorial)

The debate ably if wrongheadedly launched yesterday by the Leader of the Opposition on the Government's decision to send an infantry battalion to Vietnam was more than usually vigorous and interesting. But Australians conscious of the importance of the issues involved will deeply regret that it took place in the form that it did. Here surely was an occasion on which the country was entitled to expect that the Opposition would face the hard realities of the situation and accept the validity of the reasons which led the Government to act as it did.

Most thinking Australians, indeed, will be as disconcerted as the Prime Minister expressed himself by Mr Calwell's apparent inability to comprehend that, in the given circumstances, Australia has no practical option. His speech was an excellent debating speech, delivered with force, clarity, and emotion, but it was a speech which altogether ignored the situation in which Australia stands today. Sir Robert Menzies was able to demolish Mr Calwell's whole argument with one succinct phrase - that it was in Australia's continuing interest to remain a valued ally of the United States.

The Prime Minister pointed out perfectly correctly that what Mr Calwell was saying was that there was Communist aggression against South Vietnam, that "the United States must not be humiliated or forced to withdraw", but that as far as Australia was concerned the United States must "go it alone". For a country faced with such perilous prospects and as dependent for its protection on the United States as is Australia to take such an attitude would be utter folly. What claim would we have on American help when our hour of need struck if we stood aside from the United States now? That is the crux of the matter in terms of the plainest national self-interest. The outcome of the war in Vietnam will affect Australia far more directly and immediately than the United States and it is therefore logical and proper that Australia should play as full a part as it can in ensuring that the war is not lost and the last practical defence against Communist expansionism breached. But it is even more important that Australia should not, by holding back, forfeit its claim on America's consideration, but should on the contrary do everything it can to strengthen and reinforce that claim.

Mr Calwell spoke as if Australia had a choice. There is indeed a choice for Australia. It is the choice between accepting, by the abandonment of our greatest ally, a position of isolation in the trials which surely lie ahead of us and binding that ally firmly to us by the honourable acceptance of our obligations. Does Mr Calwell want Australia's name to "become a term of reproach" in the United States?



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

'Our gravest decision since 1939'

Sydney Morning Herald, 1 May 1965, p.2 (Feature article)

Why Australian Troops Are Going to Vietnam: DENIS WARNER answers some questions

The Australian Government's decision to send a fighting unit to Vietnam is without doubt the gravest decision this country has taken since we joined Britain at war with Nazi Germany in 1939.

South Korea was remote and justified by a demonstrable act of overt aggression by North Korea. We also had the comfort of United Nations support.

In Borneo, the Indonesian confrontation and repeated public statements by President Sukarno that he intended to crush Malaysia, a Commonwealth neighbour, left little room for doubt that we were right to give defensive help to a small friend in obvious need.

In the minds of many Australians and other people throughout the world - including influential Americans - the Vietnam war is much more murky. It is also dirty, tough and hard. Some profess to see it purely as a civil war.

Is it?

Yes, in part it is. It was conceived, raised and set in motion by North Vietnam. But the greater part of the Vietcong are South Vietnamese.

Aren't the Americans, then, just trying to crush an indigenous revolt?

It's not nearly as simple as that. North Vietnam has been giving the Vietcong all the support and key manpower they need to win the war. Direction comes from the north. So do the cadres, many of the top fighting men and more and more of the guns.

You call this aggression?

I would call it aggression by seepage, but yes, aggression.

How did the Americans come to be involved in the first place?

When the French moved out in 1954 and 1955 the Americans began to give economic aid to the South Vietnamese and to train their armies.

Wasn't this in violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreement?

No.

What about the elections that were supposed to unify the country in 1954? Surely by refusing to participate in the elections the South Vietnamese violated the agreement and forced the North Vietnamese to take other measures to achieve what was rightly theirs?

This raises several points. The South Vietnamese refused to sign the Geneva Agreement. To everyone's surprise Ngo Dinh Diem succeeded in rallying enough support to form what at that time was a reasonably stable Government, and in driving out the French. Paris couldn't make him hold elections. He argued correctly that there would be nothing free about elections in more populous North Vietnam and that, therefore, to talk about free elections was nonsense.

NO ONE PRESSED

If we accept the principle of self-determination, it is difficult to argue that the South Vietnamese did not have the right to decide for themselves. Moreover, at the time the elections were due to be held a particularly brutal land reform program had precipitated a revolt in Ho Chi Minh's home province. No one on the Communist side was anxious for elections at this time. No one really pressed for elections.

But why on earth does this all involve us?

Alliances and self-interest. When it was first set out SEATO specifically cast what Mr Dulles used to call "a mantle of protection" over Indo-China, including South Vietnam.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

SEATO is pretty sick these days, but the obligation remains, especially if we accept - as we do - the interpretation that we have individual as well as collective responsibilities under the treaty.

Then there is ANZUS which is the key to our defence.

Under Article 5 we recognise that an armed attack in the Pacific area on the United States or New Zealand would be dangerous to peace and we are committed to meet it. Since "armed attack" is defined to include assault on any of the treaty members, armed forces, public vessels or aircraft in the Pacific we do have a very real commitment. And since we also have American assurances that ANZUS will apply if we run into serious trouble in Malaysia and New Guinea, this is not an obligation we can afford to quarrel about.

Do you think the American effort in East Asia generally has been worthwhile?

But for the power of the Seventh Fleet and American economic aid, I'm sure all of Asia would have collapsed into Communism or chaos long ago.

The war in Vietnam has been described as a war that can't be won. Is anything happening to indicate the United States thinks it can be won?

I've said it can't be won on numerous occasions in the past. I still believe this to be true. But that's just where misunderstanding so often seems to arise.

The United States isn't trying to win the war at this point. It's trying desperately to get it to the conference table. The Russians support this, but Peking is not interested in negotiation, only in victory, and Hanoi, too, seems determined to push the war through to the end.

Can our 800 troops give the U.S. anything more than a boost in morale?

If they were to be thrown into the melting-pot and into the fearful hit-and-miss actions in the Mekong delta, or even into the mountains, our force would make a negligible contribution.

This does not appear to be the intention. There is a real need for effective and aggressive defence of vital installations. United States Marine battalions and our own battalion can make a very effective contribution in just this way.

You don't think it would be a good idea to have our battalion integrate with the Vietnamese Army and to do our hunting of the Vietcong in regular routine operations?

No, I don't, and I'm relieved that it isn't going to happen.

Why is it all necessary, anyway? Why can't the U.S. do something about it?

Three of the countries principally concerned, South Vietnam, North Vietnam and Communist China are not members of the U.N. Communist China has bluntly told U Thant in his peacemaking efforts to keep his hands off.

Which is more important to us – Malaysia or Vietnam?

Both are equally important. If the United States cannot hold out and negotiate an honourable settlement in Vietnam, then there is little hope for Malaysia or the rest of South-East Asia. But if Sukarno crushes Malaysia we will be in real trouble too.

"A TINY ARMY"

We have only a tiny army. Can we afford to have troops on two fronts in this way?

For a long time, the Australian Government has been negligent in defence. When the battalion goes to Vietnam, we will have half our goods in the shop window.

We may hope and pray that South-East Asia doesn't explode into full-scale war and there are reasonable prospects that it won't. But quite clearly, our own defence is going to cost us more in men and money than we have been prepared to spend in the past.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

1970

What was being said in Parliament?

In 1970 signs were appearing that the US and Australian levels of involvement in Vietnam were being reduced. Different reasons or explanations were given for this by those supporting Australia's involvement and those critical of conscription and that involvement in the Vietnam War.

The Moratoriums held in May 1970 and with reduced numbers in September 1970 were major events held to demonstrate public opposition to the War. The debate, as the selected extracts illustrate, confused the issue of opposition to the War with support for the Communist government of North Vietnam. Debate also focussed on the right to demonstrate, to interrupt public activity and whether or not citizens had the right to disobey a law they could not in conscience accept.

Ministerial Statement, Vietnam: Australian Government decides to reduce Australia's commitment by one battalion

Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives, Vol.4, 22 April 1970

[p.1456] MR GORTON (Higgins - Prime Minister) -

Since 1965, Australian ground formations have been engaged with our allies in resisting armed attacks on the Government of South Vietnam. Since that time, the question of whether Australian forces should have helped resist that attack has been debated in Australia. This Government, as previous governments, has approached this question in the spirit which was crystallised in one sentence by the right honourable member for Melbourne (Mr Calwell) when he was Leader of the Opposition. That sentence is -

'The overriding issue which this Parliament has to deal with at all times... must be judged by this one crucial test: What best promotes our national security, what best guarantees our national survival.'

The Government believes that judged on this standard, our engagement in Vietnam is right and that it does best promote our national security, and we believe that for these reasons: It is surely incontrovertible that in Vietnam aggression is taking place and is being resisted. It is surely incontrovertible that the war there is only being sustained because large numbers of troops from North Vietnam are constantly dispatched to invade and subjugate the South, and that if that troop flow stopped the war would stop. Resistance to such aggression does best promote our national security, because we must strive to ensure that history is not repeated and that invasion and aggression is not allowed to be successful. For if it is successful, then the short span of history through which many of us in this chamber have lived shows that once successful, it is repeated and repeated until it becomes insufferable and has to be stopped - but stopped at a cost in blood and treasure infinitely greater than would have been the case had it been stopped at its initiation.

Surely something of what happened in the last generation can be taken as experience by the present one. We saw Fascist and Nazi aggression raging unchecked and subjecting one small country after another to conquest until it had to be stopped - at the cost of a world war - which need not have happened had the aggression been stopped at its beginning. I thought that these lessons, which - let us never forget - are of [p.1457] more import to small nations than to large, had been learned. Because for some years after the close of the Second World War, resolute action was taken to resist and defeat subversion in Malaya as it then was. This took some 12 long years or more - years when civilians were murdered by terrorists - when bands of guerrillas with grenades and Sten guns sought to overthrow by force a government the people in Malaya wanted. Australians were there, with British and local forces, resisting that aggression. We were told then - and the words are strikingly familiar today: 'Australia should not be in Malaya. The war will go on forever. It cannot be won.' But it was won. That aggression was not successful and Australia's national security was best promoted because of that lack of success.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

Then we saw aggression in Korea. We saw the people of the North sweep across the frontiers of the South in armed formations. Because the prevention of aggression, then, was the basic concept of the United Nations, we saw United Nations forces moving to defeat that aggression. Australians were there. And the aggression was defeated. And Australian national security was best promoted because it was defeated. We saw, and the principle is the same, Malaysia threatened during the confrontation and armed incursions into Malaysian territory. Australia helped repel this aggression. And our national interest was best served by this. And then we saw the pattern repeated in Vietnam. It is Communist aggression there as it was in Korea and Malaya, but the source of the aggression - significant though it may be - is not as significant as the fact that it was aggression. For the Government believes that if small nations are to survive and prosper, then aggression from whatever source - whether it is inspired by Communism, Fascism or old fashioned nationalism - must not be allowed to succeed.

The one consistent thread of principle - that small nations are best rendered secure if other small nations are not allowed to be overrun - has distinguished our policy through the post-war years. That is why we are in Vietnam, and that we should be there is a proposition supported by three of the significant political parties in Australia and opposed by one - the Labor Party. I put it to the House that Australian security is bound up with seeing that aggression does not succeed. I put it to the House that it is immoral to launch aggression but not immoral to resist it. This is a proposition which has been twisted and turned inside out by those who cry that this is an immoral war. So it is - but the immorality is in those who began it, who continue to invade, who will not negotiate for peace, who are bent on conquest and nothing but conquest.

We have said that successful invasion of South Vietnam by the North would lead to further attempts at conquest in Laos, in Cambodia and on the frontiers of Thailand. This was scouted and denied by those on the ranks of the Opposition who support the case of the invaders. But the history of recent days shows, I submit, how dangerously wrong they were. Sir, I have thought it necessary to speak of this background in discussing the latest decisions on our participation in Vietnam. It was and is right for us to help to stem aggression. It was and is in our national interest - and that of all small nations - for aggression to be defeated. It is in our national interest to help to secure by negotiation peace with self-determination for the people of South Vietnam. And in the meanwhile, while the invader will not negotiate, it is right to help resist him. Against this background, I speak to the House of the Government's decision.

Following a review of the situation in Vietnam which led to the earlier United States' decisions to reduce the level of its forces by 115,000 by the middle of this month, President Nixon yesterday announced his decision to introduce a new and long range programme of United States troop reductions involving the withdrawal of 150,000 men over the next 12 months. On 16th December last I announced the Government's decision that when the military situation in Vietnam permitted a further substantial withdrawal of allied troops, then some Australian units would be included in the numbers scheduled for withdrawal. Since then we have, with South Vietnam and the other allies, continued to keep developments and prospects in Vietnam under close study. The Communist side maintains its intransigence and continues to set its face against a negotiated settlement. There is no progress to report as regards peace talks.

[p.1458] As the President has stated, there has been some overall decline in enemy force levels in South Vietnam in the last few months although their actions in Laos and Cambodia must give us all cause for concern. The development that gives encouragement is the progress in what has been called 'Vietnamisation' - the movement towards South Vietnamese self-reliance. We see one result of this in the progressive reduction of allied forces. But it must be understood that 'Vietnamisation' means much more than the assumption by South Vietnamese forces of a greater share of the combat burden. Behind it lies a massive programme of expanding and modernising those forces. And behind that again is the progressive assumption by South Vietnam of the responsibility of all aspects of the war - a war fought across the widest fronts, embracing a complexity of military, political, psychological, social and economic factors. In all these areas much still remains to be done by South Vietnam, assisted by its allies across a wide civil and military spectrum. Yet progress has been such that important qualitative changes are being made, and will continue to be made, in regard to the assistance required by and given to the Government of South Vietnam in pursuit of the objective shared over the years by that Government and its allies.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

I reiterate that the objective is to establish the circumstances in which South Vietnam can determine its own future without fear. There can be no thought of abandoning that objective by a precipitate withdrawal of allied forces. But in continuing to give assistance to South Vietnam, our intention will be to take account of their own growing strength and to strike the most appropriate balance between an Australian military contribution and other forms of Australian assistance to Vietnam. We are mindful particularly that the process of 'Vietnamisation' obtains no less in Phouc Tuy Province than in other parts of Vietnam and that it is both desirable and feasible for Australia to undertake, as the circumstances permit, qualitative changes in the shape of our overall contribution towards the goal we seek.

Accordingly, I now announce to the House that after consultation in recent weeks with the governments of Vietnam and the United States, who understand and accept our approach, the Government has decided that one Australian infantry battalion and some supporting personnel will be withdrawn from South Vietnam. This reduction to our force in Vietnam will be effected by withdrawing, without replacement, the 8th battalion Royal Australian Regiment, which at present is scheduled to complete its tour of duty in November next. This will require a modification of the role at present played by our forces - a modification made feasible by the forces of Vietnamisation and national acceptance of responsibility by the Vietnamese themselves in Phouc Tuy.

But let no-one say that because there is a modification of the role we play therefore we should play no role at all. Reducing our forces because the Vietnamese are able to assume more responsibility is one thing. Totally removing our forces before the Vietnamese are able to accept full responsibility for replacing them is quite another.

The timing of the battalion's departure from Vietnam remains to be determined. It will be governed by general circumstances within the area in which Australian forces are operating and by the progress of Australian projects to assist the growth of greater capability in the South Vietnamese forces, and I shall touch on those later. Whether or not the battalion's departure may be brought forward from the November date will depend on developments in these fields.

After the initial withdrawal, should the progress of pacification and Vietnamisation succeed as the President hopes and believes that it will, then at some stage during the 12-month period, we will consider phasing additional troops into the planned withdrawal. But the future situation is so uncertain and the future strategical situation so unpredictable that it is impossible to be any more definite than this. In co-operation with the Government of South Vietnam, in pursuit of our basic objectives, we are actively examining further ways in which we can contribute to the growth in South Vietnamese self-reliance.

Following consultations with the Vietnamese Government, we have decided to provide a number of small mobile Army teams, totally some 130 men, to work with the regional and popular forces in Phouc Tuy Province. The teams will have [p.1459] a liaison and training function and will operate on a pattern similar to that developed by some members of our existing Army Advisory Training group, which will continue its work. We are also developing a further proposal that Australia provide instructors and other assistance to a South Vietnamese training centre for junior leaders - leaders of the popular forces and regional forces - planned for establishment on the site which will be vacated by the Australian battalion to be withdrawn from Vietnam. It is envisaged that courses at this centre, which would accommodate 400 to 500 students at a time, would give particular attention to instruction in jungle warfare which have been developed by Australian forces.

In addition, Cabinet will give urgent attention to the results of comprehensive studies now being made of other forms of assistance which might be offered to Vietnam. Sir, I am glad to be able to tell the House and the people of Australia that the situation has been reached when withdrawal of some Australian forces can be made. I would be yet happier when all Australian forces could be withdrawn, provided that our object is in no way endangered. And I believe that history will show that Australia in Vietnam was right, as she was right in the other instances of which I have spoken, not to stand idly by and refuse to lift a finger to help a small country attacked from without. For whenever one small country loses its freedom let us not ask for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for all. I present the following paper.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

Reply by the Leader of the Opposition, MR GOUGH WHITLAM -

I was unable to study the speech of the Prime Minister (Mr Gorton) before he delivered it but I was able to anticipate it. I was not able to study it because of a breach of the understanding which applies when leave is to be given for ministerial statements. The understanding is that leave will be given to Ministers to make statements if the statement is given to the Opposition 2 hours beforehand. This was not done on this occasion. However, I am not complaining about any lack of courtesy in this but it does show how this country is governed. Thirty six hours ago President Nixon delivered a speech on this subject. It was ready for delivery a week ago but the delivery was postponed because of the Apollo XIII mission. If there had been any consultation previously this statement could have been prepared many hours ago. Furthermore, if the Government had had a responsible anticipation of this matter, which concerns not only thousands of Australian men in Vietnam but also families in Australia and the whole standing of this country, then better preparation would have been given.

The Prime Minister chose to introduce his speech by a reference to the speech 5 years ago by my predecessor. He should have quoted it in its entirety because he would have read in it an accurate prophecy of everything that has subsequently happened in Vietnam. Nothing the Prime Minister has said can disguise the extent of the debacle which the policy pursued by his Government for the past 5 years has reached. Simply, its South East Asian policy is in ruins. The whole rationale of that policy has crumbled. The premises on which it was based have been exposed as false and untenable, and its avowed objectives unattainable. It will be 5 years next week since Sir Robert Menzies announced the first commitment of combat troops to the war in Vietnam. Nothing better illustrates the extent of the failure of the policies he then propounded than the changed reactions of honourable members opposite. We have none of the war whoops of those days. For the past 2 years each statement by the Prime Minister on Vietnam - each of them a response to statements by Presidents of the United States - has been heard by honourable members opposite in sullen silence. These counsellors are now most still - most grave. The Prime Minister's statement exemplifies the unreality which has distorted all Government pronouncements and policies on Vietnam.

Five years ago Sir Robert Menzies justified [p.1460] the commitment on 1 great ground: The war in Vietnam, he claimed, was part of the downwards thrust of China between the Indian and the Pacific Oceans. Subsequently the justification has been narrowed to 'teaching North Vietnam that aggression could not succeed'. All along it has been these false interpretations of the nature of the conflict in Indo-China that have trapped us into false responses foredoomed to failure.

Tonight the Prime Minister has done nothing to dispel the aura of unreality which has for so long vitiated his Government's policies. In particular, there is the same refusal to grasp the implications of President Nixon's statement yesterday that characterised his refusal to admit the full implications of President Johnson's crucial statement of 31st March 1968. The crux of President Nixon's statement is that, irrespective of military events in Indo-China, irrespective of progress in Paris, American disengagement is irreversible. Despite the deterioration of the situation in Indo-China the process of disengagement is being speeded up. The kernel of the President's statement is this plain, specific fact that a further 150,000 combat troops are to be withdrawn within a year. The manner the President chose to present this fact to the American public does not alter its meaning, and the full impact of its meaning can be measured when set against the terrible and tragic events in other parts of Indo-China in the past month. What the President has admitted by his action transcends his explanation of his action. He has admitted that the whole Vietnam venture has been a terrible and tragic mistake - that is the real meaning of his statement. The whole and sole purpose of American policy is to extricate the United States from that mistake.

The situation in Indo-China is far too serious for the injection of exercises in self justification such as the Prime Minister indulged in tonight. It is all very well for him to state that our policy in Vietnam has succeeded: Let those believe it who choose. Yet there is a real menace in these efforts to depict Vietnam as a success. It is not just a distortion of history; it is a refusal to learn the lessons of Vietnam. If you claim that you have succeeded in Vietnam, if you assert that your objectives are being achieved, then you are in fact justifying in advance a repetition of Vietnam. Why would one choose to abandon successful methods? This is a dangerous delusion. God knows, the United States, the people of Indo-China, have paid, are paying a terrible price for the lessons of Vietnam. Are we to refuse to learn them in order to save somebody's political skin? It is time to end trying to save face and start trying to save lives.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

There is a fearful symmetry about the 5 years of Government pronouncements about Vietnam. They began with pretences and they are ending tonight with pretences. On 29th April 1965 we had the pretence that our involvement was required by our obligations under the South East Asia Treaty Organisation. We had the further pretence that our commitment was a simple response to a simple request from the then Government of one Dr Quat, the tenth Prime Minister to succeed the assassinated President Diem. Tonight we have the pretence that the reduction in our commitment is related to developments in South Vietnam and in particular in the province of Phuoc Tuy where our troops have been engaged for 4 years. Yet everyone knows that what was said in Canberra tonight was contingent solely on what was said at San Clemente yesterday. Let us drop the pretence that this is an independent decision reached on the basis of the military situation in Phuoc Tuy or the political situation in South Vietnam as a whole. This announcement has come not because we are 'Vietnamising' Phuoc Tuy but because we are following America in de-Americanising Vietnam. The Minister for External Affairs (Mr McMahon) himself twice gave the show away when he was overseas last week. In Bangkok he said -

'Australia will announce a partial pull-out of its troops in South Vietnam if President Nixon gives a specific withdrawal figure on Thursday.'

He continued -

'If the United States does not pull out Australia will follow the negative move.'

Then he went to Saigon itself where the following exchange occurred -

'Question: Did South Vietnamese leaders bring up the question of Australian troop withdrawals?

Answer: No, they did not.

Question: Did you volunteer your views?

Answer: I did have a long talk, a very long talk, with President Thieu and I did inform him [p.1461] that I was not aware of President Nixon's decision. I didn't know. But I did confirm and he already knew it, so it wasn't necessary for me to confirm it, that we would take action in certain contingencies. He accepted that fact. He knew about it.'

It is only if we grasp this fact - that the decisions by this Government have nothing to do with the real situation in Indo-China - that we can explain why the Government now thinks it is possible to reduce the commitment piecemeal when that was supposed to be totally impossible and irresponsible only a few months ago. Right up to the eve of the October election the Prime Minister held to the line that 'when and if an Australian withdrawal occurred it would be 1 out all out'. In his last television broadcast before the pre-election shut-down, he said -

'The size and composition of the Australian ground forces in Vietnam is such that it would not be possible to have a phased withdrawal.'

The Prime Minister had developed and reiterated this argument throughout last year. On 6th July he said, also on television -

'I think that the suggestion of phasing down the Australian contribution of infantrymen and artillerymen and people driving tanks which is somewhere around 8,000 - not quite 8,000 men - I think the suggestion of phasing that down is scarcely tenable. The force was built up to 3 battalions with its artillery and with its tanks because that was a viable force. You could have 2 battalions in the field and 1 resting and that gave you much more capacity than if you only had 2 battalions there because you could only have 1 in the field and 1 resting. Although it may mathematically sound as if it is only twice as good, in fact it is better than twice as good. So you would be very much cutting down the military capacity of the force there and of course, I would think you would be increasing the danger to the ones that remained there if you didn't have a self-contained viable force.'

MR MORRISON - Who said that?

MR WHITLAM - The Prime Minister on 6th July. He went on to say -

'So the question would rather be, if it arose, whether we should have troops - ground troops - there or whether we should not.'



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And then he was asked: 'Would we scale down comparably, that was really the question', and he replied, 'I think not scale down. I think a time would have to come I don't foresee it - but it would have to come when if there was a great and continuing American withdrawal, we would have to decide whether we left troops there or not.'

Now all the things that the Prime Minister said were hypothetical last year are happening this year. These events have been set in train irreversibly. The time has come. The people of Australia, not least Australia's armed forces in Vietnam, are entitled to know why the untenable last year is now not only tenable but, according to the Government, desirable. Conversely and more directly, why is the undertaking of one out all out not being honoured? Some are to come out. Why not all? The question further arises of the Prime Minister's integrity in making the statement that he did last year. Was it the considered view of the Cabinet? Was it the view of the Chiefs of Staff? Was it the view of our commanders in Phuoc Tuy? Or was it merely a cheap riposte to Labor's proposal to achieve a phased withdrawal in 3 stages by June this year using the method of non-replacement as the serving battalions completed their tours? Whatever his motives, the people were entitled to believe, presumably did believe, that it was meant seriously and sincerely. So were the troops and their relatives entitled to take it seriously. It was a statement of policy - not just a single statement but statement after statement by the Prime Minister of this country. What has invalidated it? Why has this undertaking been dishonoured? It is just part and parcel of the deceit and deception that has characterized the Liberals and particularly the Liberal leadership throughout this tragic and disastrous chapter.

There is indeed only one bright feature in the whole of that commitment and that is the conduct of the men of the armed forces themselves. They have done their duty - have done it in the first war in Australian history opposed always by a substantial section of the Australian people and now by a majority of the Australian people. In the light of the undertakings given by the Prime Minister last year and in the light of his statement tonight it is intolerable that they should be called upon for further sacrifices in so discredited and disastrous a cause.

So far as Australia is concerned this has become solely the war of a political Party - the Liberal Party. It is no longer possible to depict or defend this war in [p.1462] terms of the freedom of the Vietnamese people or the people of Indo-China, a war for freedom or for democracy, a war against China or a war to maintain the American alliance, or any of the other definitions which have been used to extenuate and extend our commitment. It is the war of a party; it is not the war of this nation.

The untenability, the intolerability of the Government's position is intensified by its refusals to back negotiations, to which the Prime Minister did not refer. The Prime Minister instantly rubbished the French proposals. The President of the United States welcomes not only the French but the Russian proposals. It is part of a pattern of performance by this Government over 5 years. Sir Robert Menzies wanted to be the last Prime Minister to denounce negotiations. His successor supported the elements in the Johnson Administration who insisted on continuing the bombing. The present Prime Minister has disparaged peace talks time and time again. The Government has backed every move for the escalation of the war and resisted every move to limit it or end it. The result of its policy of prolongation has been that the whole of Indo-China is now engulfed in civil and racial war.

Tonight the Prime Minister said that Hanoi was responsible for the failure of negotiations. It is idle, in the context of what is now happening in Indo-China, to think that one has solved the problem by apportioning blame. The blunt unpalatable fact is that you cannot talk to North Vietnam as if she were on her knees. None of us like the fact, but fact it is, that we are not in a position to stipulate prior conditions. The difficulty of bringing about meaningful negotiations is not an argument for refusing to try. Geneva in 1954 and 1962, and Panmunjon in 1954, took months and years. We have to face the fact that any negotiations will be about a war in which there are no victors, no vanquished, only survivors. War is hell but the longer this war is prolonged the further it expands, the more certain it is that the peace, too, will be held because it will be the peace of death.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

Set 3: Vietnam Moratorium, 8 May 1970

Question Time: Vietnam Moratorium Campaign, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. H of R 67, 6 May 1970, pp 1674-1675

MR FAIRBARN - I desire to ask the Attorney-General a question. Is it a fact that there are some woolly minded people who believe that the so-called Vietnam Moratorium is a spontaneous demonstration on the part of some Australians opposed to the war? In order to make clear to the House the origins of this movement will the Attorney-General inform me whether the organisers and sponsors include, as well as most parliamentary members of the Australian Labor Party, members of peace front organisations and other sympathisers with the causes of the Communist Party? Is it a fact that there are a number of hard core card carrying Communists among the sponsors? If so, who are these people?

DR EVERINGHAM - I rise to a point of order, Mr Speaker. My point of order is that the question is out of order because it asks the Minister about something which is not within his jurisdiction or competence and which has no relevance to the matters for which he is responsible to the parliament.

MR SPEAKER - Order! I believe that the matter is within the administration of the Attorney-General who is the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, not of a particular state. This matter is within his ambit.

MR BRYANT - Speaking to the point of order, Mr Speaker, I point out that you did state that knowledge of whether these people are members of the Communist Party or are known hard core Communist Party members, etc., was in the province of the Attorney-General. Which order of the 'Gazette' which was issued the other day regarding the administrative responsibilities of Ministers places the Attorney-General in this responsible position?

MR SPEAKER - Order! No point of order arises. I did not say that at all. I referred to the ambit of the question asked by the honourable member for Farrer. I did not make the statement attributed to me by the honourable member.

MR HUGHES - May I be permitted to say firstly that I regard the rather frantic protests that have been made by the 2 honourable members who have just spoken as somewhat -

MR WHITHORN - Who are they?

MR HUGHES - The honourable member for Capricornia and the honourable member for Wills. I regard those protests as curiously inconsistent as I understand it to be common ground and accepted ground between the Government and the Opposition that 75 members of the Parliamentary Labor Party - and here are some honourable exceptions whose names I mentioned the other day - are standing in a common cause in this so-called Moratorium Campaign with members of the Communist Party of Australia. I therefore find the protests curiously incongruous, because the honourable member for Wills himself said in the debate that followed my ministerial statement a few weeks ago that he - and I am quoting the substance of what he said - was not ashamed to stand alongside members of the Communist Party in a cause like this one.

I come to deal with the specific question put to me by the honourable member for Farrer. In answer to the first part of his question, unfortunately there are still some woolly minded people who believe that this Moratorium Campaign is some sort of spontaneous campaign. There is not very much about it that is spontaneous. The second part of the honourable member's question should be answered in the affirmative, and I do so. As to the third part of the question, in which the honourable member asks whether members of the Communist Party are engaged in prominent positions as sponsors of the Campaign, the answer to that part of the question in my belief should be in the affirmative. It is very obvious, of course, that the Opposition does not like the facts, but honourable members opposite will have to take them because they have adopted a certain attitude and the public is entitled to be told about their attitude and about its implications. In the last part of his question the honourable member asked whether I would name the people involved as sponsors of the Campaign who are members of the Communist Party of Australia.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

MR COPE - What about your uncle?

MR SPEAKER - Order! I suggest that the honourable member for Sydney should cease interjecting.

MR COPE - I was only asking -

MR SPEAKER - order! The honourable member will cease interjecting.

MR COPE - He asked me -

MR SPEAKER - Order! If the honourable member offends again I will name him.

MR NICHOLLS - But who is his uncle?

MR SPEAKER - Order! The House will come to order.

MR SCHOLLES - Mr Speaker, I rise on a point of order. The Attorney-General has not, at this stage, dealt with the members of the Nazi Party who are handing out pamphlets on behalf of the Government.

MR SPEAKER - Order! There is no substance in the point of order. The honourable member should be careful about the way in which he treats the House in raising frivolous points of order.

MR HUGHES - The honourable member for Corio has a rather curious sense of relevance, if I may be permitted to say so. I come to the last point of the question, which obviously is rather hurtful from the Opposition's viewpoint. As the honourable member for Farrer put the question to me I considered for myself whether, in all the circumstances, it would be proper for me to name in the House, under cover of absolute privilege, the various people - and they are numerous - whom I believe to be sponsors of or closely connected with this Campaign and who are members of the Communist Party of Australia. The point I make, firstly, is that the number is quite substantial. My knowledge comes from reports I have read in various articles in the Press. If I may be permitted to say this without being at all discourteous to the fourth estate, my confidence in the accuracy of all aspects of Press reporting is not so unbounded that I would feel justified in stating in this House categorically under cover of parliamentary privilege the names of all the people who are sponsors and whom I believe to be members of the Communist Party of Australia.

Adjournment Debate, 6-7 May 1970, pp 1752-1759

[p.1752] I ask what right has the Leader of the Opposition, the honourable member for Lalor or any other member of the Australian Labor Party to prevent a group of people from marching in a procession because they think these people are unfit persons to march but to regard them as being fit persons to be sooled on to the Australian public on an occasion such as Moratorium Day? Members of the Opposition say that they take no responsibility for what will happen; they do not want violence, yet they will sool these people on to the public. If anything does happen they have no alternative but to accept full responsibility. The Australian Labor Party, which was once a great Labor party and a great party, is no longer anything in the eyes of a majority of Australians.

MR HAYDEN (Oxley) - The honourable member for Griffith (Mr Donald Cameron) was in a confused and rambling state tonight; so his performance was easily recognisable with past ones... (Questions aspects of Cameron's delivery and lack of concern for social problems in his electorate, before continuing as follows)

I suggest quite genuinely to the Government that it has contributed more towards guaranteeing the success of the Moratorium than has the effort of any other organisation or person in the Australian community because of the ridiculous way in which it has performed in haranguing the public and indicting the character of [p.1753] everyone who has in some way been associated with the support of this Moratorium. It has ensured that a great number of people who are fairly passive in their interest in this matter have suddenly been aroused. I will be quite candid: My interest was reasonably passive on the Moratorium mainly because the Moratorium had not been particularly vigorously promoted in the State from which I come. But I become outraged at the vindictive and baseless way in which so many members of the Government and supporters of the Democratic Labor Party have impugned the character of decent people in the Australian community because they are genuinely opposed to this disgraceful war in Indo-China.



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Honourable members opposite - several of them tonight, not only the honourable member for Griffith - have said: 'We are the Government of this country.' They have implied this if they have stated it explicitly: 'We speak for the majority and the rest of the community must accept our decisions. If they do not accept the decisions we make they are a threat to democracy.' This is not democracy. This is a tyranny of the majority - a complete denial of the rights of the minority within a democratic society. That is on the basis of the statements they are making. But the implications of what they say go further than this because they are denying the feelings of the great silent majority of Australians.

The national opinion polls show that more than a majority of the Australian public want withdrawal of Australian troops from Vietnam. Several members of the Government find it more convenient - and certainly it is a much easier exercise - come into this House and try to kick the Communist tin once again. People who are supporting the Moratorium - people who are opposed to the involvement of Australian troops in Vietnam - overwhelmingly have no truck at all with the Communist Party of Australia. Let me put the proposition to honourable members on the Government side. Not all members would subscribe to the base views and crude indictment and impugning of other people's character which has been the performance of so many tonight and on other days in this House - the impugning of the character of people who support the Moratorium.

Do honourable members opposite believe that we are Communists because a few Communists happen to be present at these demonstrations, or because a Communist happens to endorse some of the views or even all of the views of this party? Communists have a perfect right to do these things in a democracy, indeed even to operate within a democracy - especially ours - as a political party. There are no laws against the existence of the Communist Party. If honourable members opposite believe this they ought to be Nazis. I do not believe they are. I believe they find the concept of Nazism as abhorrent as I do, but if they always impugn supporters of the Moratorium and people on this side of the House in the way in which they do because a few Communists happen to express similar views on some lines, to be consistent they must accept the responsibility of being identified as Nazis because members of the Australian Nazi Party today were standing outside this House expressing views completely consistent with the views of the Liberal Party.

(Debate continues along this line for a few minutes)

[p.1754] This is what I am talking to honourable members about and when we oppose the war in Vietnam and when we talk about the withdrawal of foreign troops from Vietnam what we are doing is recognising the complex historical, political and international legal issues involved in that war. Let me conclude on the subject of Cambodia... It has taken them 5 years to discover that there is a Communist influence from North Vietnam and the Vietcong within Cambodia and now they are talking as though they had always been opposed to this. But the former Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, in 1965 or 1966 when Australian troops were committed to Vietnam said that we were morally bound to oppose this conflict there because it was a downward thrust of Communism between the Indian and Pacific Oceans. If honourable members opposite believe that and they are honest, which they are not, then they would be committing troops to Cambodia and Laos. But they do not do it because they are not big enough bloody fools to do that sort of thing. They know they made a mistake then and they do not want to repeat it. They want to go on with this humbug and misrepresentation of the situation.

MR SPEAKER - Order! The honourable member will withdraw that remark.

MR HAYDEN - I withdraw.

Thursday 7 May 1970

[p.1755] MR JESS (La Trobe) - ... I am sorry that the right honourable member for Melbourne is not present because the matter on which I wish to speak is not concerned so much with criticism of the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign as with bringing to the notice of the House some of the risks which are run in the conducting of moratorium campaigns. It is quite



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

interesting to note that in America moratorium campaigns are being wound up. They are being wound up because those concerned with them feel that they have gone as far as they can go. Those concerned are \$120,000 in debt. Moratorium campaigns are finished. The point that I wish to make is that when such issues are generated by people with good intent or bad intent certain risks are involved. At a time such as this we should do everything possible to see that nobody is able to use such campaigns for the purpose of violence. Although the honourable member for Lalor (Dr J. F. Cairns) did suggest in the early stages that the law should be broken and that certain things were quite acceptable in demonstrations, he is now very concerned that the wrong type of people may have glued themselves onto this campaign and may glue themselves onto the demonstrations on Friday next. . .

[p.1756] DR EVERINGHAM (Capricornia) - I rise in response to some outworn and repeated material that has been brought up on the subject of the Moratorium. I wish to start with the remarks of the honourable member for Maranoa (Mr Corbett) who said at the beginning of his speech that attached to the Moratorium movement and particularly in the Australian Labor Party there are people who claim the right to break any law that they dislike and to incite other people to do likewise. That is not the fact. To my knowledge, nobody in this party or in the Moratorium movement has ever made any public statement to the effect that anybody has the right to break any law he dislikes.

The point that I made in my last speech in an adjournment debate, which was not very long ago, was that just men have the duty to break an unjust law when that is the only way to get that unjust law changed and particularly when breaking that law does less harm than the law itself is doing. There are several laws to which that applies in connection with the Moratorium. I went into them in detail in that speech. . . The laws that I stressed were, firstly, the National Service Act which requires a man, whether it is against his conscience or not, to take up arms and, in fact, to swear loyalty to something which he believes is totally evil, against all laws of humanity and against all international law. The war in Vietnam has been fought from the side of Australia and her allies in repudiation and in violation of the United Nations Charter, the Nuremberg principles and the Geneva Accords. What is more, the International Control Commission, which is the only impartial body that has studied and made public statements on the matter, has found, as the honourable member for St George (Mr Morrison) also has detailed in a speech in this House, that the graver breaches of the Geneva Accords were made first by the South Vietnamese and American forces and not by the forces of North Vietnam and the Vietcong.

DR MACKAY - That is a total distortion of the facts.

MR SPEAKER - Order!

DR EVERINGHAM - We have heard, of course, the interjection that this is a terrible distortion of the facts, but the honourable member for St George was simply quoting the reports of the International Control Commission. In the course of pointing out these facts from the International Control Commission the honourable member for St George also made it clear that ministers of the Australian Federal Government had been guilty of distortion of the facts in their quoting of the International Control Commission reports by selecting from those reports the parts that suited their case and ignoring the parts which the honourable member for St George then put alongside them. If that is distortion of the facts, let us have more of it, because with all the facts one cannot distort.

There are plenty of precedents right through history for the breaking of unjust laws in the cause of a higher law. I am going to refer to another one besides the international law I have mentioned. I refer to the documents of Vatican II and if any of the honourable members opposite wish to say that I am distorting the facts I will be happy to show the full volume of the documents of Vatican II. Under the heading 'The Church Today' these documents say that governments must improve and not only observe the laws on the treatment of prisoners of war. I have repeatedly put questions to the Minister for Defence (Mr Malcolm Fraser), the Minister for External Affairs (Mr McMahon), the Prime Minister (Mr Gorton) and every Minister who has any say on this matter, but they have repeatedly refused to make any statement or express any opinion as to whether our allies in Vietnam have broken the laws concerning the treatment of prisoners of war. They say that it is not their pigeon and [p.1757] they cannot vouch for the reports that I have quoted to them. They could not care less because they go on supporting these allies.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

The documents of Vatican II say that governments have a responsibility to give the right of alternative service to any person who cannot in conscience take part in a war. Not one person opposite supported the Opposition's move to have such an amendment made to the National Service Act. They all voted against the amendment where we specifically asked for the very thing that Vatican II asked for - a civil alternative to military service on conscientious grounds. These are the laws we object to. These are the unjust laws. Honourable members on the Government side bring up some quibble about somebody who sits down in a street for a couple of hours and might block a bit of traffic. Yet they are breaking the most sacred rules of human nature, the laws of any religion which one might like to espouse, and of the religion to which I imagine some of them pay lip service because I can hear the whispers on that side of the House when the prayers are read every day in this House. The founder of that religion - I am referring to the Christian religion - was himself indicted for breaking laws and he paid the penalty. The honourable member for Lalor (Dr J F Cairns) has said in this House he is prepared to pay the penalty for breaking the unjust laws of this country. A lot of us have said this. We fixed our names to a statement in defiance of the National Service Act. We have not yet been shoved into gaol or fined for doing this. We have asked young men to do the same; that is, young men who are asked against their conscience to take part in an unjust war.

The honourable member for Maranoa said the Australian Workers' Union did not mention the Moratorium Campaign. Yet he quotes the AWU at great length as proof that it opposed the Campaign. He quoted the AWU as saying: 'Communism is the most totalitarian system that exists in the world.' He did not mention all sorts of right wing governments which are equally totalitarian, equally oppressive and equally intolerant of their oppositions and, in fact, of religious opposition. These Governments put people who disagree with them publicly in goal, or worse. The honourable member for La Trobe (Mr Jess) said that if we are sincere, if we are genuine, we will occasionally say that perhaps some of the fault is on the other side and that perhaps some of the right is on the side of those fighting the Communists. I have said that in this House. Many of us have said that. Tonight I repeated what I said a week ago in the adjournment debate that there are faults on the other side. I said that the faults were earlier and bigger on the side of our allies, that people who started the war in Vietnam, the war that is going on now, comprised the Saigon puppet regime which America set up and are murdered off. They are the people who started the fighting. The rebels were rebelling against an intolerable totalitarian regime equally as oppressive as that in North Vietnam. This is all in the history books if one likes to read about that stage of history. Will the honourable member for Latrobe, just once, say in this House that perhaps there is sometimes a bit of right on the other side and that sometimes there is a bit of wrong on his side? Because if we have to say that to be genuine and sincere, so has he.

MR KEVIN CAIRNS (Lilley) - Tonight represents a very sad event in the politics of this country. Over a number of years honourable members on this side of the House have witnessed attempts by the Opposition to pursue a policy in Asia cloaked in an attitude of peace. We acknowledge that Opposition members sought an attitude of peace in a mistaken way. But nevertheless their policy, be it in regard to Vietnam, Indo-China or Malaysia was always cloaked as part of an attitude of searching for peace. Nobody will deny that. We said their attitude was wrong. The Opposition argued that it was not wrong. But now in searching for that attitude it has turned full circle. It is now in the position of not searching for an attitude of peace but of supporting, by its actions and by the adoption of the Brezhnev doctrine a Vietcong and North Vietnamese victory in Cambodia. [Those] that repress the real tragedy in Australian politics and members of the Opposition dare not deny it. They have even underpinned their present position by stating - a leading member of the Opposition has stated this - that this policy is now defensible because North Vietnam has a right to see that she has friendly countries on her borders.

[p.1758] The Opposition and its principal spokesmen on foreign affairs have imported into their attitudes an adaptation of the Brezhnev doctrine on Asia, and any country such as Australia that would look at such an alteration as that and not be concerned about it would be recreant to its duty if it did not make these things known to the Australian public. But then we look a little further to see how this has come about. It has come about in a number of ways. The first example of this convolution of policy occurred a fortnight ago when the honourable member for Lalor (Dr J. F. Cairns) proposed that the sitting times of this House should be altered to serve acts of civil disobedience on the part of members of the Opposition. If honourable members opposite have had any experience in the Labor movement or know its history they will know that the Australian Labor Party in the past - the honourable member for Sydney (Mr Cope) knows this - under leaders such as Theodore, Curtin, Chifley and Ryan never made its activities in this place or in any Parliament subservient to self confessed acts of civil disobedience. That represents real change in the attitude of the ALP in this place.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

But then we look further to see why this has happened. It has happened for a number of reasons. Some of the reasons are obvious when we look at the nature of the organisation associated with the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign. Evidence has been adduced in this place to show that here is unity in purpose and unity in action between leading members of the Opposition, in fact the leading member of the Opposition, and bodies containing a significant number of Communists organising at the top. The honourable member for Griffith (Mr Donald Cameron) produced evidence tonight concerning the activities of the Leader of the Opposition (Mr Whitlam) in Queensland. That accusation has never been refuted because it cannot be refuted.

(Point of order by Tom Uren that Whitlam had refuted the allegation on a previous occasion)

I think that the honourable member for Reid (Mr Uren) has misunderstood the accusation made by the honourable member for Griffith and that he has in turn misunderstood the application of his own leader's explanation. (Debate continues along these lines with claim and counterclaim.)



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

1970

What was being said in the press?

The press took up many of the arguments being put forward in Parliament, but there was also a significant focus on the right to disobey laws a person could not in conscience accept, as well as the issue of civil disobedience and possible violence during the Moratorium.

The following newspapers were examined for articles:

The Age

The Australian

The Sun

PART A: THE MAY MORATORIUM

The Age

Offices stoned as Cairns says: Viet march critics 'stir fear'

The Age, 4 May 1970, p.3 (News item)

The chairman of the Vietnam moratorium campaign, Dr Cairns, MHR, yesterday accused his critics of causing "fear and hatred of the campaign".

He named the Prime Minister (Mr Gorton), the Premier (Sir Henry Bolte), the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne (Dr Knox) and the president of the National Civic Council ((Mr B.A.Santamaria).

"These men have played a special role in the possibilities of violence in Victoria", he said.

Dr Cairns was addressing 2000 marchers at a May Day rally on the Yarra Bank yesterday afternoon.

The people who had been anticipating violence during the moratorium on Friday should not be allowed to escape the consequences of their action in the way that they had built up tension in Australia in recent weeks, he said.

"I call upon them to denounce violence among their own followers, not the possibility of it among others", he said.

ASIO stoned

Marching students pelted the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation's Melbourne headquarters with stones after leaving the Yarra Bank rally.

Three of the 400 demonstrators were arrested during the mile-long march, which ended with a sit-in outside the American consulate in Commercial Road.

The demonstrators carried North Vietnamese flags, portraits of revolutionary Che Guevara, and slogans like 'Stop Nixon's War'.

The sit-in lasted about 15 minutes - until two trams made a pack of youths leap to their feet.

Police, under Assistant Commissioner R. Braybrook, diverted traffic and called on the demonstrators were used [sic], and batons were drawn at one stage.

Student leader, Albert Langer called on the crowd to back Friday's Moratorium and said there would be up to 30,000 demonstrators.

"Let's make the moratorium as militant a demo as this one", he said, before calling for three cheers for China's Chairman Mao.

'Sack teachers'



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

Mr Santamaria on his Point of View TV programme last night said teachers who encouraged school children to take part in the moratorium should be sacked.

“Teachers are not entitled to manipulate the children of others without specific parental authority”, he said.

Teachers who tried to do this ceased to be teachers and became political manipulators.

“It is simply not ‘on’ that any extremist group - left or Right - should take over the teaching of humanities and force their political convictions down the throats of children.”

“That is not teaching, that is political manipulation. The consequences are written clearly in pre-war Europe and in contemporary America.”

‘Provocation’

The Federal President of the A.L.P (Senator Keefe) last night accused the Federal Government of planning to provoke violence at the moratorium.

He said provocative actions by those who opposed the campaign must be ignored and appealed to demonstrators to avoid violence unless it became the final resort in self-defence.

“Property damage must also be avoided. The violence that is Vietnam is enough.”

“The moratorium is an opportunity for the silent masses who have opposed the war to come forward and publicly participate in what might well be the greatest mass demonstration against the forces of evil this country has ever seen”, he said.

Voice of the people demands a hearing by Bruce Grant, Public Affairs

The Age, 7 May 1970, p.6 (Feature article)

A strenuous effort has been made to devalue tomorrow’s Vietnam Moratorium. Yet events of the past week have amply justified it.

My own view before Mr Nixon decided to move into Cambodia was that the moratorium was likely to be more trouble than it was worth. As a gesture of concern, a demonstration of this kind is always appropriate. The Vietnam war is a human tragedy.

But as a political weapon to end the war, the organisers of the moratorium seemed to me to have lost sight of the fact that the United States and Australia had begun to withdraw from Vietnam. The rate of withdrawal was too slow for some critics, but it was attuned to the capacity of the South Vietnamese to take over the war with Hanoi and the Viet Cong.

It was a responsible policy, understandably, if inaccurately, presented by Mr Nixon as the fruit of successful intervention by the U.S. A fragile consensus formed around this policy. It appeared as if the U.S. had substituted for its earlier objective - to force North Vietnam to leave South Vietnam alone - another objective, which was to disengage from Vietnam, leaving the Vietnamese to decide their own fate.

In all the circumstances this was a sensible policy. For the empty core of all the fighting speeches about our right to be in Vietnam is that a right that cannot be enforced is not a sound basis for a military commitment.

Events in Cambodia have changed this assessment in one important respect - Mr. Nixon has shown that, like Mr. Johnson, he is tempted to victory. He has been unable to resist the temptation to believe that the change of Government in Phnom Penh gives America the opportunity to “clean out” the communist sanctuaries in Cambodia, thus weakening Hanoi and bringing it to the negotiating table.

To do this he has deceived Congress, destroyed public trust in his intention to “Vietnamise” the war, scared the stockmarket and put himself in the hands of his military advisers.

It is fair to say Mr. Nixon’s motives are obscure. Is he merely protecting the rear of the retreat from Vietnam? It would be easier to believe this if he had not spoken so passionately of his refusal to allow America to be humiliated. It would be easier to believe if the whole history of the Vietnam war had not shown that precise and reasoned responses in search of a settlement only escalate the war.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

In short, there is room for honest doubt about Mr. Nixon's intentions, or the intentions of those advising him. The grounds for doubt were given by the Secretary of State (Mr. Rogers) in his admission to Congress before Mr. Nixon's statement that "if we escalate and we get involved in Cambodia with our ground troops" the "whole (Vietnamisation) programme is defeated". The response of Mr. Gorton and his spokesmen to the Cambodian predicament has been standard. The argument runs like this: "It's done. It had to be done. Support it. Or are you supporting the communists?"

The case for tomorrow's demonstration is more fundamental. It is that the pursuit of military advantage in Vietnam is a lost cause. It is that the war is destroying the fabric of society in Indo-China and making the triumph of communism more total and more brutal. It is that the war is destroying the world's greatest democracy and damaging our own. It is that the spirit of opposition to the war must be kept alive if we are to come to terms with the inevitable result in Vietnam.

There is the problem of violence. It is true that mass demonstrations are crude and emotional. They are opposed to the politeness of dialogue on which democracy thrives. But it is also true that at times of national crisis and rejoicing the crude and emotional voice of some of the people demands to be heard. (The silent majority can speak for itself.)

The clear lesson for tomorrow's marchers is that if violence occurs it will harm the case against violence in Vietnam.

Beattie, Max, 'Moratorium: A matter of conscience or anarchy?'

The Age, 7 May 1970, p.6 (Feature article)

Moral laws come first

JIM CAIRNS was tired. For a moment, he spoke like a disillusioned romantic.

He harked back to the lusty days of the Eureka Stockade - and how up to 100,000 people are said to have filled the Melbourne streets when Peter Lalor was tried.

"We'd get it at a football match now - provided they were able to take cans", he said.

The gloom was momentary. Dr. Cairns, who once challenged strongly for the leadership of the Labor Party, believes that he and his helpers can fill Bourke Street with demonstrators tomorrow afternoon.

They call it the Vietnam Moratorium. Its purpose is to bring home to the authorities the feelings of people who oppose the war. Its working philosophy, according to Jim Cairns, is clear:

"I believe that if we get a large number of people, we get the voice of the people."

But what of the law? Dr Cairns and other organisers want this large number of people - he hopes for 50,000 - to sit down for 15 minutes, to block the traffic and so break the law.

On this point, too, the Cairns philosophy is clear enough:

"The war has now become contrary to the moral order. Not only are you obliged to oppose it - it is not binding on your conscience.

"The law is not binding."

The sentence was chilling - but Jim Cairns quickly qualified it.

The law that happens to say that people are not allowed to sit down and block traffic in Bourke Street on a Friday afternoon was not binding, he explained. Far bigger issues were involved.

But, he said, the crowd must stop short of violence.

"They are entitled to explain their feelings - but violence is totally unacceptable."

Dr. Cairns' desire for a big crowd, an act of civil disobedience, is not just about Vietnam and the war, which he now calls "the methodical extermination of a people".

He admits that he wants also to waken Australians from what he calls their general apathy to public affairs.

"There's a widespread feeling that you can't do much about the Government of their own country - so why bother to try?", he said.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

He believes the moratorium - it is nation-wide - will help to jolt Australians out of this feeling.

And the risk of violence? Dr Cairns, the chairman of Victoria's Vietnam Moratorium Committee, isn't giving any guarantees. No body can. But he says: "I don't rate the risk very high." He says he will be marching near the front.

This is how he expects things to go on Friday:

Around 12.30 he and other organisers - people like Sam Goldbloom and Mrs Jean McLean - will speak to 400 "marshals" in the Assembly Hall in Collins Street. The marshals will be issued with armbands.

By two o'clock the crowd will have massed in the Treasury Gardens. Many, he hopes, will be singing a newly written moratorium song. There will be speeches.

Then, about three o'clock, a phalanx 30 or 40 wide will move along Spring Street and down into Bourke Street.

The great wave of people will go no further than Elizabeth Street. Sometimes [sic] between 3 p.m. and 4 p.m. they will sit.

The rest is only detail. Jim Cairns expects the whole thing to be over by about 4 p.m. He says he believes its effects will last far longer.

Dangerous viewpoint

"It'll take almost a miracle for there not to be a blue", said BARTHOLOMEW AUGUSTINE SANTAMARIA.

It was a fairly untypical lapse into the colloquial for his nimble little man who heads the National Civic Council.

But, lawyer-like, he also marshalled his objections in formal language.

"However mistaken I believe they are - and I believe they are very greatly mistaken - this is a democratic country and I believe they have the right to organise demonstrations", he said.

["They", of course are the Cairns people and the Left generally.]

"But there are two rights they haven't got.

"They don't have the right to organise demonstrations of a character which - however much they are meant to be non-violent - are conducted in such a way that violence is almost inevitable.

"And I think that it is an extremely dangerous view to take in a democratic country that a man should break a law that he finds objectionable."

Mr Santamaria sees tomorrow's likely events as a logical sequence.

The police will be there. They have a duty to keep the streets clear.

They are likely, therefore, to approach some demonstrators, if the demonstrators block the street. There may be physical contact - and so a flashpoint.

"The police will be called fascist pigs and so on - and then it will be on", Mr Santamaria predicted.

"If that sort of thing happens it will be totally unrealistic to say that people really meant it to be non-violent."

For the purposes of the moratorium argument, Bob Santamaria divides demonstrations into two types.

Those calculated to be peaceful, but which could accidentally lead to violence. He says these are justifiable.

"Another type" - those which by their nature will probably lead to violence, however much the organisers may wish to avoid it. He says these are unjustifiable.

He claims Dr. Cairns and the Vietnam Moratorium Committee know all this - "I know and they know."

"I'd like to make sure that every one of the moratorium opponents is out of the city" the NCC chief said.

"That way, there can be no evasion of responsibility if something happens."



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

Keep politics off streets

PATRICK MORGAN, a 29-year-old Monash academic, dislikes to be thought of a political activist.

He also dislikes the idea that demonstrators should take over the streets to express their attitudes.

The very act of taking to the streets, moratorium-style is, he says, undemocratic.

"The argument is not between violence and non-violence, but between going to the streets and not going to the streets", he says.

He feels that the violence will come almost inevitably once the street take-over - a "Leninist tactic" - is adopted.

He thinks the "tactic" is undemocratic because violence and punch-ups almost always loom.

"Intimidation and not persuasion hold sway", he says.

Patrick Morgan was once vice-president of the Melbourne University A.L.P. Club.

But his dislike of street politics extends even to affairs like the farmers' march.

He was only mildly critical of this, however, because he felt the farmers were not trying to change the system by a show of strength.

He believes that some of the moratorium organisers are considerably more ambitious.

His alternative to the political demonstration: the conventional political meeting, the dialogue of debate.

Whole system needs change

Strictly speaking, TONY DALTON ought to be in gaol. This, at least, is his belief and the facts seem to back him up.

Last October he refused to go into the army. Before that he had been fined twice and gaoled once (seven days) for disobeying the draft laws.

Now he says he is liable to two years' imprisonment - like 10 or so other young men throughout the country.

And, inevitably, he favours the moratorium. He plans to be there on Friday.

"I'm prepared to break the law", he told me. "It is a principle of non-violent disobedience that one is forced into the position of breaking a small law in order to highlight a bad breach of the moral law."

Mr Dalton is 21 and he works as an assistant architect for a Carlton firm.

He is not a communist. His formal affiliations - if "formal" is the word - are with the Students for a Democratic Society, and the Labor Club at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology.

For Tony Dalton the moratorium is not just about Vietnam.

He believes the whole Australian political system should be changed - but without violence.

He sees no prospect of blood in the streets. "I don't think we have a revolutionary situation in Australia," he says.

Tony Dalton sees himself as a liberal socialist and a pacifist. He would like to see a "participatory" Australia in which the workers had a big say in the running of the factories and the teachers in the running of the schools.

'To Moratorium Day'

The Age, 8 May 1970, p.7 (Editorial)

To Moratorium Day

The people who will demonstrate in Australian streets today, and the people who do not, are facing a test of their political and social maturity. The Vietnam Moratorium is based in a burning dissension that sometimes defies reason and demolishes ordinary human tolerance. Today's risk is that a lack of reason and intolerance might take hold of a large group of sincere people, lead to anger and violence, undercut the effect of the Vietnam protest movement and strengthen the hand of the large group of people who bitterly dispute the dissenter's right to take his dissent into the streets. There is another, perhaps greater, risk: the active efforts of the idiots who actually seek violence. If Dr Cairns and any of his Moratorium supporters are not aware of this last risk then they are more foolish than even their critics believe.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

A few matters should be declared. "The Age" believes that citizens have an inalienable right to demonstrate in public in support of political principles. We believe the war in Vietnam is a proper matter for such demonstrations. We believe also that the lives and property of individuals and organisations are inviolable. If today's demonstration of political dissent leads to violence, if it produces injuries to people or damage to property, it will deny its own motives and reflect on the sincerity of all those who take part.

First responsibility for the outcome today rests with those who organised the Moratorium. By decision and action, they have created the potential for violence. This potential is present in any large crowd but is highly magnified by the emotionalism of the Vietnam debate and even more so by the events in Cambodia of the past fortnight. The majority of Australians will accept that Dr Cairns and many of his supporters are propelled by conscience in what they attempt today. In return Dr Cairns and his supporters must amplify their consciences and accept first responsibility for the results.

A special responsibility also rests with the police force. In Victoria, the weight of evidence is that the police have behaved with forbearance and moderation during past demonstrations. They will need that forbearance today as the Moratorium organisers have shown a strong anti-police prejudice in many of their recent statements. In the inevitable tensions between demonstrators and police, between spectators and demonstrators, the police will be the men in the middle. It is not a comfortable place to be during a demonstration but it is where the police must stay.

The Moratorium march is being conducted in the name of humanity. Whether it will advance that cause or not is, in any circumstances, arguable. But it is absolutely certain that humanity in general, and the humane qualities of Australian life in particular, will retreat a step or two if those who believe they lead a path to peace resort today to violence.

Moratorium march

The Age, 9 May 1970, p.15 (Editorial)

It was, without doubt, the most impressive demonstration seen in Melbourne. The sheer weight of numbers alone was staggering; at least 70,000 people packed in close marching rows across Bourke Street and stretching from Elizabeth to Spring streets. More significantly, the demonstration was non-violent: there were neither broken heads nor broken windows to mar the pleas of the marchers for peace in Vietnam. It was an admirable achievement - especially in view of the size of the crowd and the diverse elements which comprised it.

The demonstration was a forceful reply to those MPs who described intending marchers as "bikies who are pack-raping democracy". The marchers showed their concern was human agony. Whether we believe their tactics effective, useful or even sensible, they renewed democracy, rather than raped it. By taking PEACEFULLY to the streets, the demonstrators showed that they understood the importance to democracy of effective public expressions of opinion by the people - who are, after all, the ultimate rulers in a democracy. Yesterday's march cannot be written off by the Government as the antics of communist-influenced fools. It was a legitimate expression of opinion by a substantial expression of the population.

Obviously, the potential for violence was present during yesterday's demonstration. It was prevented by four factors. First, the professional organisation of the Vietnam Moratorium campaign (whose pamphlet "Tactics to Avert and Minimise Violent Incidents" should be compulsory reading for all demonstrators); second, the responsibility displayed by the marchers themselves; third, the excellent supervision of the marchers by their radio-controlled marshals; fourth, the sanity and understanding displayed by the police. The Victorian Police Force deserves high praise for its performance: it handled a most difficult situation with restraint, good humour and unflappable calm.

The successful demonstration virtually guarantees that more mass demonstrations will be attempted, perhaps in support of causes other than Vietnam. The Vietnam Moratorium Committee has given enlarged meaning to the notion of peaceful public dissent - a right which is basic to free people everywhere. It has also shown that Victorians can bear all the responsibilities attached to this right with maturity and good sense. Yesterday's demonstrators advanced their cause.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

The Australian

Letters to the Editor

The Australian, 6 May 1970, p.8

SHOULD THEY GO?

Since it was announced our troops were going to Vietnam argument has raged...

Sir - I deeply deplore the decision of the Australian Government to send an Australian infantry battalion to fight in Vietnam. It not only contributes nothing to the solution of the problems of South-East Asia but makes the finding of such a solution more difficult. It is fraught with very grave consequences for future generations of the Australian people.

I am in agreement with the vast body of public opinion throughout the world which recognises that the struggle in South Vietnam cannot be resolved by military measures and that only a negotiated settlement can bring an end to the insensate slaughter of many innocent people.

The emphasis placed on military measures by the decision of the Australian Government has made the initiation of negotiations more difficult, in that firstly it will help to destroy any hope that North Vietnam could continue to maintain its independence from China and thus will strengthen China's hand (it is nonsensical to think that a battalion of infantry sent by a nation numbering 11 million people will "soften up" a dictator who can command the military potential resident in a nation numbering 700 million close to the combat area); and secondly it will still further reduce the possibility of Russia's using its influence in furtherance of a negotiated settlement. The Australian Government's decision will therefore prolong the agonies of the people of South Vietnam.

The inability of the United Nations to take a lead in the negotiations is in some measure the consequence of the Australian Government's refusal to support to that body the admission of the People's Republic of China.

The sooner our Government reverses its attitude in this respect, the better will be the chances that China will become less intransigent than she is at present.

- John H Dedman, Denman Street, Yarralumla, ACT. (Note: Dedman was Minister for Post War Reconstruction in the Curtin-Chifley Governments)

The enemies of freedom

A general meeting of the ANU students was held today (May 2) for the purpose of condemning the decision to send troops to South Vietnam.

I say "for the purposes of condemning" as the organisers obviously had that purpose in mind and were just as obviously amazed and disappointed when the decision of the students went against them.

It was an extremely heartening sign to see that a majority of those attending recognise our moral obligations to the defence of South-East Asia.

To those who charged that a token force was worse than no force at all, the obvious answer was given - that we are now indeed actively supporting, for the benefit of others, that freedom which we have fought hard for and now cherish so highly in our own nation.

Small though this support may be, it accomplishes our aim of demonstrating to allies and opponents alike that we will resist the enemies of freedom - by force if necessary - thereby strengthening our friendships with the former and commanding the respect of the latter.

I am proud to be able to say I am a member of a university that possesses the moral fortitude and foresight to realise the necessity for sending of Australian troops to a country which is urgently requesting help to continue its fight against the imposition of government by a terrorist oligarchy.

- Robert J. Tyson, Burton Hall, ANU, Canberra.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

The bottomless barrel

I have always held the view that one is bound to abide by the decisions of the government of the day for which one is, by and large, actively or passively responsible. However, I also believe that there are times when one must voice objections, and such time has now come

I object to the sham of Australian troops being sent to Vietnam "at the request of the South Vietnamese Government". I object to Australians being sent anywhere to support interrogation under torture. I object to the notion that a battalion is "the most useful contribution" Australia can make to an ideological conflict.

I ask the Federal Opposition, and those members of the Government who have retained their critical faculties, to insist in Parliament that Australia support the endeavours of U Thant.

If indeed we have need to defend ourselves, one man of reason and decency at the conference table will be a better defence for us than 800 men thrown into the bottomless barrel of military intervention.

- F. Shelley, George Street, Sydney. (Note: U Thant was Secretary-General, United Nations).

The tragedy of support

The disastrous consequences of unquestioningly following America's foreign policy are now painfully clear. Australian soldiers are to risk their lives in a war the U.S. escalated because her diplomacy failed.

So this mighty ally that we supported because, so the theory went, she would "save" us, has got us involved in fighting that need never and should never have concerned us.

This cannot be stressed too much: This war in Vietnam is America's war that Australia is now helping to fight. The closer we follow the U.S. in Asia the greater Australia's tragedy.

Has the Menzies' Government no shame? Do the Australian people care about the humiliation of our troops being sent to fight at the behest of a foreign power?

- L. Cleary, Wattletree Road, East Malvern.

Prestige or people?

Sir Robert Menzies' decision to send troops to Vietnam is very unwise. Such a severe decision should only be made when my country is directly involved. In this case however it is far off from being in such a position. The responsibility for the people in my country should be more important than their prestige in the eyes of the world. And yet, in Sir Robert's decision, the prestige of his country is more involved than the welfare of his people. Apart from the fact that Australia's military role in Vietnam will only be a minor one, Sir Robert's decision will change nothing in the outcome of this war.

If America wins this war, it will be with or without the help of Australia and if America loses, it also will be with or without Australia. But because of being involved, it could have very grave consequences for the Australian nation.

- Rolf Fendel, Melbourne.

Obligations and responsibilities

How can *The Australian* possibly justify its recent editorial comment that the Vietnam situation is one in which Australia has no responsibility whatsoever?

The absence of formal obligations does not exonerate us from our responsibilities. In the event of an attack on Australia would you then maintain that only those who are previously committed to our defence need feel moved to come to our help?

I believe you answered this question in your somewhat contradictory editorial on the following day in which you stated, "We have an obligation to attempt a positive contribution to international peace and stability whenever it is possible."

- Daryl B. Kidd, Potts Point, Sydney.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

Letters to the Editor,

The Australian, 7 May 1970, p.8

Still the battle rages

Sir - Your anti-American line really gives me goose-pimples.

I am an Australian and mother of four teenagers. Do you really believe that if America withdrew from Vietnam this would solve anything? Even the most rabid appeaser knows this is not so.

Look at the present position in Tibet and Hungary - without outside aid. The dissenters were killed off and the rest are slaves.

If America walks out of Asia, then Thailand, Malaysia, Australia and New Zealand will suffer the same fate.

I really doubt if you have the welfare of this country at heart - if you do, then you too, have your head in the sand.

- Mrs L. Martin, Collins Street, Melbourne.

Why not have a referendum?

Once again Australia stands at the crossroads between peace and war and unfortunately opinion seems to be fairly divided as to which course should be followed.

It is of the utmost importance that we should all understand both the short-term and long-term consequences likely from a decision to stand or not to stand with our American allies in Vietnam.

This may involve, for many of us, a conflict between what we believe to be right and what we know to be expedient.

Whichever way the decision goes it must be supported by all loyal Australians. Nothing is worse than a country trying to prosecute a war when its people are divided on the justice of its cause.

I would urge a referendum be held immediately to decide this vital issue.

- George Jones, Air Marshall (ret), Mentone, Vic.

(Note: Discuss with students the difference between a referendum to change the Constitution and a popular vote or plebiscite.)

Let them get on with it

The decision to send Australian troops to Vietnam is to be deplored. I consider it reckless and militarist-inspired because it will further complicate and inhibit a peaceful cessation of the war.

The Australian troops, because of lack of numbers, will never decide the issue for the Americans, but will instead have the nuisance value and psychological effect of stiffening the Viet Cong resistance.

No country has a right to cash in on a civil war as the North Vietnamese and Americans are doing in South Vietnam, much less invite friends in to help them plunder the country.

Since neither the Viet Cong and its supporters nor the Americans will leave the country alone, through mutual distrust, and since both have the potential to remain in South Vietnam indefinitely, then the rest of the world can quite profitably dissociate itself from the war and avoid the degradation inherent in fighting a war.

- Christopher Opie, McKinley Avenue, Malvern, Victoria.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

The Sun

'Moratorium Day... What does it mean to you?'

The Sun, 30 April 1970, p.8 (Feature articles)

Moratorium Day... What does it mean to you?

More than 10,000 people are expected to take part in the Vietnam Moratorium Day March in Melbourne tomorrow week, May 8, the anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe.

The demonstration will begin with a rally in the Treasury Gardens at 2 pm and then demonstrators will march down Bourke Street.

The protest will end with a 20 minute sit-in in Bourke Street.

The meeting stems from a meeting of more than 400 anti-Vietnam war protestors in Richmond Town Hall on February 1.

The meeting chaired by Dr Cairns MHR endorsed a proposal for a "moratorium" campaign, similar to that in the U.S. last year. In mid-November last year more than 250,000 Americans marched down Pennsylvania Av., Washington, in protest against the Vietnam war, and big demonstrations were held in other U.S. cities.

The word "moratorium" is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as a "period of legal authorisation to debtors to postpone payment." The term first came in to general use in the 1930s when President Hoover of the U.S. proposed a "freeze" on international debts while the World Depression was solved.

On March 25, Dr Cairns called on students and workers to occupy the streets in the Melbourne march next week.

He said the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign hoped to bring industry, commerce, offices, traffic, schools and universities to a standstill.

Support for the march came from 27 unions numbering among their members about 230,000 Victorian workers.

Later the Prime Minister, Mr Gorton, accused Dr. Cairns of engaging in storm-trooper tactics and called on the Labor Party to disavow Dr Cairns for "anarchy".

And the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, Dr Knox said the march "could well become a threat to public order."

The Sun invited Dr Cairns to put his case - and particularly to defend his proposition that "the citizen has the right to break an objectionable law".

Dr Cairns made that statement after telling 1000 university students that he did not believe the march "must necessarily be within the law as it is."

Tomorrow the Sun will give equal space on this page to the view of Senator Ivor Greenwood, a lawyer and a strong opponent of the moratorium campaign.

Cairns, Jim, 'Come - Help us to win peace'

The Sun, 30 April 1970, p.8 (Feature article)

COME - HELP US TO WIN PEACE by J. F. Cairns, MHR for Lalor

The message of the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign to the Australian people is: Stop, think again and realise what is being done in Vietnam in your name and for which you are responsible.

Since Australian troops were sent to Vietnam, nearly one million Vietnamese, mostly civilians, have been killed, as many maimed for what life is left for them. South Vietnam has been bombed and burnt halfway back to the Stone Age, and many of its people have been corrupted or turned into prostitutes.

The killing and devastation is not declining. It is spreading and increasing.

Troops are being withdrawn, but they are being replaced by electronic devices that detect by sound, substance and temperature, feed the data into computers which direct bombs, shells and napalm on target. The war is being automated, not de-escalated.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

Why have we done all this? Because we wanted to hold and control South Vietnam.

Why do Vietnamese fight? In 1945, Vietnam's Emperor told his French masters: "You have suffered too much in four deadly years not to understand that the Vietnamese people can no longer support any foreign domination or administration."

The French did not understand. They killed nearly a million Vietnamese before their surrender and defeat at Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

Then the Americans came. They did not understand. They are foreigners too. They - not the Thieu Government in Saigon - rule South Vietnam. Enough Vietnamese reject this to mean that the killing and devastation has to go on if the objective of holding Vietnam, which has been accepted in YOUR name, is to be achieved.

Many people in Australia are convinced the war is an atrocity. They are convinced there is a better way of winning security for Vietnam. They are convinced the war must stop.

It is then their right and duty to do something to try and stop it.

They believe, too, they have a right to do something that may cause others to take notice of what is happening in Vietnam and that then they, too, may say: Stop the war.

They believe that national questions like this are more important than business or entertainment. They believe democracy is important and that you can't have democracy unless you do something about things you believe are important. The "I'm-all-right-Jack" philosophy hasn't done much for democracy.

They believe they have at least as much right to use a busy city street for a short time, once in a while, for their purpose as we all have to use it all the time for business and pleasure. They believe we will have little democracy unless more people understand and accept this.

They believe more people will lose faith in democracy and parliament, as they are doing, until they are prepared to do enough to stop parliament being used as a rubber stamp by men who [are] still elected as Premiers and Prime Ministers.

I have said this "occupancy" of a street may be treated as a breach of the law - an obstruction. Obstruction is occupying space in a public place. You can be arrested for it at any time. But rarely is anyone arrested. People are allowed to assemble in thousands for business or pleasure. They are allowed to occupy space with trucks and cars until the city is choked almost to death.

What I am asking now is that people to whom a political or moral stand is even of more importance should be allowed to occupy even a busy street for a short time to try to achieve their purpose.

This should not be treated as a breach of the law any more than handing out a leaflet in the streets of Melbourne should have been treated as a breach of the law.

It will surely be the intention of the police to recognise this on May 8 and organise to regulate both it and the city so that the demonstration can be peaceful and in good order. It is certainly the purpose of the Victorian Moratorium Campaign to achieve a controlled, peaceful demonstration.

But there are some who have a vested interest in violence on May 8. Sir Henry Bolte is sure that if violence occurs it will help him in the election on May 30. Government spokesmen, like Senator Greenwood, are sure that if violence occurs it will be easier for them to accuse us of being Communists and anarchists and thereby silence people and deter them from any action about politics. Senator Greenwood and his friends in Parliament in Canberra can then continue to run Parliament as though it was a factory or department store they happen to own.

But for all of us who are convinced that people must take action, at least now and again, if we are to have democracy at all, there could be nothing but loss if there is violence on May 8.

Let those who profit from violence be identified by their motives and their interests. Our interests are for peace - peace in Melbourne on May 8 as well as in Vietnam.

I appeal to you. Come and help us to get it.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

Greenwood, Ivor, 'What of the rights of others?'

The Sun, 1 May 1970, p.8

What of the rights of others? By Ivor Greenwood, Senator for Victoria.

The Moratorium Campaign is dangerous futility. It will disrupt community life and inconvenience thousands of citizens. It will achieve nothing.

The Government will not be persuaded to abandon the South Vietnamese, nor to pull out all Australian troops immediately. Nor should it.

Its policy, which has received support at two successive elections, is based on support for US and Vietnamese resistance against aggression. Our resolution to resist aggression will not weaken.

No Government deserving of the respect and confidence of the Australian people will make its decisions under the pressure of mass demonstrations involving the denial by a few of the rights of the many.

Australians should weigh carefully the many dangers involved in the tactics of the moratorium program.

Dr Cairns claims that Parliament is not democracy. He asks for recognition of what he calls "formation of the will of the people" outside Parliament by meetings, by demonstrations, by sit downs or by civil disobedience.

His philosophy puts the rule of the streets along with - or in place of - the representative Parliamentary democracy under which we are governed.

National decisions are made and should be made by responsible Governments elected at regular, free elections by the majority of the people.

We should be careful not to substitute the decision-making of demonstrating minorities for the rule of elected representatives of the majority.

Street demonstrations and massive civil disobedience are potentially violent.

No matter what "peaceful" intentions are proclaimed there are always a few to take advantage of the many, and who create violence, provoke incidents and afterwards claim "police brutality".

Why did the Victorian moratorium campaign meeting of February 1 delete the "non-violent" objective?

Was not the July 4, 1968, demonstration at the American Consulate supposed to be "non-violent"?

What did the Communist Tribune of February 4 mean when it said that Communists opposed "any limitation on activity" for the moratorium?

Those who claim the right to sit down in the streets, to stop work and to stop others working do so because they claim it as their right. What about the rights of others?

Those who go about their daily vocations are entitled to do their jobs, earn their full wages and do their business and shopping as usual.

The moratorium is aimed at these people - not at the government.

Mass demonstrations are essentially undemocratic. They are made up of people with closed minds who engage in a high-pressure one way sell.

They forsake debate and discussion for the publicity of noise and nuisance - and encourage the habit in impressionable school children.

If people congregate in a park, or in an orderly march which causes no disruption they can justify their action in the name of protest.

No one in Government denies - or has denied - the right to protest, but where the objective is the calculated inconveniencing of people, the tactic cannot be claimed as a right.

It is incipient lawlessness.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

When people who congregate in the streets sit down and generally promote civil disturbance and claim to do so as a right, they must recognise the same right in others who hold different views.

What would happen if two groups each claiming the same right met in the same place, in the same way, at the same time?

That sort of confrontation carries the seeds of destruction for democracy and even citizens' rights.

Mass demonstrations become potential dangers when they are associated with the doctrine that citizens do not have to obey an objectionable law.

All Australian citizens have an obligation to obey the ordinary laws of the land, because law is the rule under which the rights and freedoms of individuals are protected.

Laws which protect personal liberty and personal and public property and the rules of the road are examples of the laws under which people can live with and move among others.

To destroy respect for the law is to destroy something of everyone's rights and freedoms.

History has proved that some laws have been changed because of their non-observance.

Sometimes, the non-observance was a positive disobedience.

But, if for reasons of moral scruple people disobey a law, they must pay the penalty. They cannot escape scot free.

If the sanction which is part of the law is taken away, the law itself is taken away. Destroy the sanction and the law is destroyed.

Who is to say what laws are objectionable? In the end it is the law-breaker himself.

What sort of society does this produce? Is it an objectionable law to drive on the left of the road?

There is no end to a law-breaker's "objectionable" laws.

To assert positively, as Dr Cairns is alleged to do, that no citizen is obliged to obey a law which he regards as objectionable is to make a rule of what - if we are to retain respect for the law - cannot be made a rule.

If the doctrine of ability to break a law is associated with the circumstances of mass demonstrations and disruptions, this is an invitation for people in the mass to ignore the law.

This is the area where a mass without any law - or without respect for law - becomes a mob.

Therein lies danger - not only for innocent people's rights, but for democracy itself.

Dr Cairns and THAT sit-down

The Sun, 1 May 1970, p.8 (Editorial)

On these pages, over the last two days both sides of the Moratorium Day march controversy have been aired.

Dr Cairns has argued that demonstrators should occupy a city street next Friday to express their opposition to the Vietnam war.

Senator Greenwood claims that such action will disrupt community life, inconvenience thousands, and achieve nothing.

Our view is that Dr Cairns, like any citizen, has every right to protest against the Vietnam war - the morality of which must be debatable.

But that is not the issue. To us, it seems that Dr Cairns is acting wrongly, and with unaccustomed lack of logic, on three counts.

1. He advocates the right of a group of people, motivated by conscience, to stage a sit-down protest in Bourke St.

But what about other groups ... other consciences?

By this reasoning, any group of people - possibly extremists, maybe even Nazis - who are motivated by their own brand of conscience, have the same right.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

The possibility

And what about the rights of other people... the people who simply want to go about their business in Bourke St. during the period of its "occupancy"?

2. Dr Cairns has discussed the possibility of violence, suggested darkly that Liberal leaders have a vested interest in violence, and disavowed any responsibility for violence.

Nobody can doubt Dr Cairns's sincerity when he says he deplores violence - but his kind of reasoning suggests a double standard.

By his own statements, particularly those in which he has advocated "occupancy" of a street, he MUST have increased the possibility of a violent confrontation between police and marchers.

3. Dr Cairns has put forward the remarkable proposition that a citizen has the right to break "objectionable" laws.

But who decides what is objectionable? Or is such a right possessed by only some people? The possibilities are dangerous.

For any major political leader to advocate disrespect for the law is surely irresponsible.

Dr Cairns is a man of considerable quality.

Just now, it is possible that he is regretting statements that might have been made with the objective of focusing early attention on the events of next Friday.

M-Day pack-rape: Snedden

The Sun, 8 May 1970, p.13 (News item)

Government members continued their attacks in Federal Parliament yesterday against today's Vietnam Moratorium.

The Minister for Labor and National Service, Mr Snedden told the House of Representatives:

"I can think of the organisers only as political bikies who pack-rape democracy."

Mr John McLeay (Liberal, SA) described the campaign as the "most blatant Communist-ALP unit ticket ever conceived."

The former Minister for National Development, Mr David Fairbairn (NSW) said that the Moratorium was wrong because it sought to use violence to undermine police authority.

The Minister for Social Service, Mr Wentworth issued a seven-page statement outside the House claiming the Moratorium was the "greatest triumph of Communist propaganda so far observed in Australia."

There were noisy scenes in both Houses of Parliament when the issue was raised.

In the Senate, the Government faced a barrage of 21 on the Moratorium.

In the House of Representatives, Mr Fairbairn turned a debate on appropriation legislation into a rowdy clash between Government and Opposition members on the subject.

Under standing orders, members can discuss any matter when supply and appropriation Bills are being considered.

During the House of Representatives' question time, Mr Hamer (Liberal, Vic) asked Mr Snedden what degree of response was likely from trade union [sic] to the call for strike action by the organisers of the Moratorium campaign.

Mr Snedden replied that it was a "melancholy story" because the unions were not responding in anything like the way it was hoped they would.

"Furious activity is going on at the moment among the organisers to try and create a little bit more interest", he said.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

Other views

The Sun, 8 May 1970, p.13

ALMOST everyone has an opinion about the Vietnam Moratorium campaign.

Here are some expressed recently:

The Premier, Sir Henry Bolte: "This rabble, who will be interfering with the lives of decent individuals, would be the people who'll be running this State if we are not here to do it."

The State Opposition Leader, Mr Holding: "It is the inalienable right of free men in a free society to protest publicly and demonstrate against a Government policy which tears at their conscience and conflicts with their deep personal conviction."

Dr J. F. Cairns, MHR, chairman of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee: "We hope the occupation of the city streets will be non-violent, but we cannot guarantee non-violence because of the threat of police intimidation."

The Minister for Labor and National Service, Mr Snedden: "I have no doubt that the outrageous proposal by Dr Cairns will be rejected by reasonable people."

The Federal president of the A.L.P Senator Keefe: "The moratorium is a chance for the silent masses who have opposed this war to come forward and publicly participate."

National president of the RSL, Sir Arthur Lee: "The appeal is to the mentality of stormtroopers."

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, Dr Knox: "We may well be about to see for the first time in our history the introduction of lawlessness and violence as a means of pursuing one's ends which would be new and foreign to the Australian way of life."

Roman Catholic priests, Father Val Noone and Father Gary McLaughlin: "Thousands of people die in Vietnam and Dr Knox is worried about our stopping business as usual for just one day."

Senator Ivor Greenwood, Liberal, Vic: "The Moratorium Campaign is an act of futility. It will achieve nothing."

Diggers' Answer: There is no war

The Sun, 8 May 1970, p.13

A group of young servicemen at Puckapunyal have written a poem to answer the anti-Vietnam demonstrators.

"It's a protest poem against the protestors", said the young man who brought it into The Sun offices yesterday.

"I'm a National Serviceman with a month to do. I served in Vietnam and I think I know what it's all about."

"So do the others. A lot of us just sat down and added bits until we had a poem."

They asked to have it printed on Moratorium Day "to make some people think twice" about the men in the war.

With typical cynical Digger humour, they called their poem:

THERE IS NO WAR IN VIETNAM

Take a man and put him alone,
Put him 6,000 miles from home,
Empty his heart of all but blood,
Make him live in sweat and mud,
There is a life I have to live,
And why my soul to the devil I give,
You free boys swing in your easy chair,
But you don't know what it's like over there.
You all have a ball without near trying,
While over there our boys are dying,
You burn your draft cards, march at dawn,
Plant your signs on Parliament's lawn,



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

You all want to ban the bomb.
 There is no war in Vietnam.
Use your drugs and have your fun,
 And then refuse to carry a gun.
There is nothing else for you to do,
 Am I supposed to die for you?
I'll hate you till the day I die,
 You made me hear my mate cry.
I saw his arm in a bloody shred,
 I heard them say: 'This one's dead.'
It's a heavy price he had to pay,
 Not to live another day.
He had the guts to fight and die,
 He paid the price, but what did he buy?
He bought a life by giving his,
 But who gives a damn what a soldier gives?
His wife, his mum, maybe his son,
 But they're about the only ones.
There is no war in Vietnam.

Bruce Wilson reports on the big march: One small step on the road to peace,

The Sun, 9 May 1970, p.8 (Feature article)

Perhaps one incident can sum up Moratorium Day - the day demonstrators and demonstrations came of age.

There was a policeman on his horse at the corner of Collins St. and Swanston St. A youth, full of beer and fervor, was taunting him.

"Hey, copper, where's your carbine?" he said over and over again as he waved a National Liberation Front flag.

A middle-aged woman wearing the Moratorium badge took the youth by the arm and led him away - "It's a day of peace", she told him.

The policeman doffed his white helmet. 'Thank you, madam', he said.

And anyone who had seen earlier "demos" could only wonder if the Moratorium Day were real.

The police were superb. They seemed to be more senior than the usual run of police you see on demonstration days. Nothing was going to blow their cool.

And, apart from a handful of professional rabble-rousers who feel that a demo hasn't worked unless they spend a night in jail, the marchers did no more than they said they would.

They protested, as they felt was their right, against what they believed was a moral injustice.

They did it in their own ways, some noisily, some with dignity, and others as if they were having a day at the Show.

When it was over most of them went home quietly.

It is not exaggerating to say that there were less incidents of crowd violence than at a Saturday football match.

For five hours I went with the marchers, starting full of apprehension, remembering the provocation on both sides which had led to split heads and bitterness in the past.

In a crowd of 70,000 it is impossible to paint the full picture. But some incidents showed me what it was all about.

1.15pm: Melbourne University. The crowd of about 3,000 setting out for the Treasury Gardens. Already the word had filtered through that the Bourke St sit-in was not going to be opposed.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

Through Carlton and up La Trobe St., the crowd grew. Oddly, not one policeman lined the route. The marshals appointed by the marchers controlled the crowd.

The posters were out in strength, some witty and some distasteful - like the one of President Nixon's head on a hillbilly's body, holding a pitchfork that skewered a Vietnam victim's body.

And the flags... the NLF, naturally, and the North Vietnamese. Some red flags and black-and-red flags (Carbine's colours, if that's significant). And one multi-hued affair whose origin was unknown even to the student carrying it.

Some Australian flags too. And a sick parody in which the Union Jack was replaced by crossbones and the top star of the Southern Cross by a skull.

All the way into the city the crowd grew and grew to about 10,000 to 15,000 people chanting, "Bye, bye Bolte" as they marched past Parliament House.

2.10pm: Treasury Gardens. And the first impression of the enormity of the crowd. And the muffled voices of the speakers coming distortedly from loudspeakers.

At least half the marchers had no idea what was being said. They milled around talking.

Young mothers had their babies strapped to their backs, purpose like. One explained it was to show that she was a housewife - not a "nutty student". She said she did not think it dangerous to have small children at a demo.

3.05pm. The march set off - just three fire engines hurtled across their path into Little Collins Street. We wondered what would have happened had they been five minutes later.

I watched for 35 minutes as the crowd poured into Bourke Street.

Only a tiny percentage was able to hear the speakers or know what was going on.

Then the dispersal to City Square. Frustrated but delighted organisers had to abandon speeches because the crowd was so big. And the last attempt to stir trouble by - who else? - the Monash Labor Club.

Mr Albert Langer was on hand. He told a few hundred people that "police cars and police boots have got rid of our audience".

No one chortled more at that than the police. They let the Monash Labor Club hold a kind of weird election on whether they should march to Melbourne University.

They marched off in to the night, leaving a few red flags atop lamp-posts, with the police looking on.

6.15pm: All that was left of the crowd who had for a while controlled the heart of Melbourne, were some posters and pamphlets. And a feeling that something had been proved by both "sides" - although it really was no contest yesterday.

One poster said: "Any man's death diminishes me because I am involved in mankind."

No one died yesterday. No one was hurt. And, using the theorem converse to the poster, mankind was richer for it.

Democracy wins the day

The Sun, 9 May 1970, p. 9 (Editorial)

If there was any sort of contest in the streets of Melbourne yesterday afternoon, then there is no doubt that the victor was Australian democracy.

I do not mean that the marchers expressed the will of the people as Dr Jim Cairns, Mr Laurie Carmichael and others would have us believe.

I mean that what the marchers did was tolerated by our society.

It would not have been tolerated in Hanoi, Peking or Moscow.

In Bourke Street outside Myers at 3.40 a man who I guessed was an East European was in heated argument with one of the marchers. He did the Shylock bit effectively.

"If you cut a Czech's finger", he said, "you will find he bleeds like the Vietnamese."



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

There was a vigorous verbal exchange. Then the migrant, white with emotion, said: "I will tell you this - if the Communists ever take over this country the only times you will march will be with a rifle on your shoulder with a bayonet in your back."

The minor victor in yesterday's confrontation - and I intend no denigration by my qualification - was the Victoria Police Force.

No policemen in the world could have done a better, more responsible job. They must have been wisely briefed.

Again in Bourke St. there was a running scuffle between one of the marshals and some rude provocateurs. For the length of at least 100 yards punches were thrown, there was much jostling, and the margin between an isolated brawl and a roaring riot was thin. The policemen, only inches away from the scufflers, fortunately did nothing.

For one heavy-handed intervention, which in other circumstances would have been justified, could have had Bourke St in a deadly turmoil.

So it was a great day for our give-them-a-go democracy and a belated triumph for a police force that over the last few months has had every reason to feel demoralised.

But having said that we must also say that we felt troubled by what the Moratorium intended for Australia. "Will the Vietnamese ever forgive us?" demanded one of the posters.

"Don't register" ... "To hell with the US alliance", "Abort the draft", "I'm in love with Charlie"

And less objectionable: "Moratorium - think".

Well one of the thoughts I had was of the patriotic posters displayed in World War I; the type of posters that showed a child asking its father, "And what did you do in the war, Daddy?"

And I thought, too, of the patriotic fervour in World War II, of the Dunkirk spirit, Churchillian rhetoric, and the honor of the few.

I contrasted such old-time, do-or-die patriotism of the youth of the 1930s and 1940s with the acts of yesterday's marchers (which included stringing up an effigy of an American GI on a lamp post in the city square).

And I came to these conclusions.

You cannot fight a war unless you have the whole weight of the State's propaganda machine behind you. The pen, the picture, the word on the transistor is finally mightier than napalm.

This weapon of the undisputed word has been denied the Allies as it was not denied in both World Wars or even in the Korea War, and as it has not been denied the Communists.

Further, no war can be efficiently prosecuted by a democracy any more unless at least 90 per cent of the people support that war. It matters not whether the war is just or unjust.

According to a Gallup Poll in September 1969, 55 per cent of Australians favoured the bringing back of our men from Vietnam.

In January this year 65 per cent of people in another Gallup Poll wanted us to bring the men back gradually and only 29 per cent favoured immediate withdrawal.

Yet the minority - less than one in three, and a high proportion of them young people - can undermine our commitment in Vietnam.

They range across the breadth of our young people, from the wharfie's kid to the son of the Chief of the General Staff and the son of the chairman of Myer's.

How can you fight a war unless you have all the kids who have to do the actual fighting with you?

How can you fight a seemingly unending war in which the objective is not to win, but to force a draw?

That is what I thought on Moratorium Day. But my thoughts still didn't leave me with any sort of practical solution to the greatest dilemma of the 20th century.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

PART B: THE SEPTEMBER MORATORIUM

The Age

Back to Bourke

The Age, 16 September 1970, p.9 (Editorial)

The second Moratorium is planned for Friday. Once again, some thousands of people (though fewer than last time?) will march through the city and, to use a word borrowed from the organisers, “occupy” an important city intersection. Their occupation in fact means sitting down in Bourke Street in front of the Myer Emporium and stopping the affairs of the city for a short time.

On this occasion, as on the previous occasion in May, this mass sit-down is planned to give dramatic emphasis to a political point of view. It is, to say the least, an arguable way to emphasise a point of view. It obstructs people in pursuit of their own, private, problems; it interferes with traffic; it places on the police force the very serious responsibility for defining the fine distinction between lawful and unlawful demonstration. The Moratorium organisers would have to concede that they would place fewer stresses on the rest of the community if they had organised the Moratorium as a mass rally in Yarra Park or the Fitzroy Gardens.

The May Moratorium produced the dramatic emphasis the organisers were seeking, although it is debatable whether it led to any more understanding of the political policies they advocate. Indeed, it is just possible that the main impact of the Moratorium, and the technique of dissent it dignified, has hardened community opinion against the political bias of the dissenters. It is certainly true that political issues are being forgotten in the growing controversy over law and order. Governments now feel sufficiently alarmed, and sufficiently confident of public support, to instigate new laws with undertones of repression.

Some of those involved in the Moratorium campaign, notably the communist and communist organisations fretworked into it for dubious reasons, may well justify their activities on these grounds alone. For demonstrations with the constant threat of violence and repressive law-and-order legislation are an action and reaction which can only mangle our democratic institutions and distort legitimate political debate beyond recognition.

In the book which Dr J. F. Cairns publishes today, and which we review on this page, he equates the right of dissenters to occupy Bourke Street with the rights of the Moomba committee to occupy Swanston Street for the Moomba procession. There are surely a couple of quite significant flaws in his equation. One is that the Moomba procession occurs on a public holiday so that the consequent disruption affects few people. The other is that Moomba is in no sense political, that it is not fiercely divisive. We do not dispute his general point that people have an inalienable right to express political views in public. And we believe the Vietnam war is a legitimate subject for a public demonstration of disagreement with public policy. But we also believe that it borders on mischief to once more take risks with public tolerance by occupying Bourke Street.

Dr Cairns and his organisers may be confident that their collection of private marshals can prevent outbreaks of violence on Friday. They cannot guarantee it. And not to put too fine a point on it, we find it a little objectionable that a political demonstration should necessitate a minor and private police force of its own. Anarchy lies in that direction.

We have already acknowledged in these columns that the May Moratorium was a success, though perhaps with not the same equanimity that Dr Cairns displays in his book. For the sincerely committed supporter of the Moratorium’s political views, the next step should be to translate dissent into political reality. For all its dramatic emphasis, we remain unconvinced that polishing Bourke Street’s bitumen with the seats of someone’s pants will produce any genuine political, result at all.



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

City at flashpoint

The Age, 18 September 1970, p.9 (Editorial)

There are some people in Melbourne who are legitimately fearful that today's Moratorium march may produce an ugly outbreak of violence between police and marchers. The demonstrators have, so far, pointed to the success of the May Moratorium and argued that any breach of the peace today will not be their fault. As we said in the editorial column two days ago, that particular argument offers pious hopes rather than a guarantee. Since May, there has been a subtle change in the community's attitude to the Moratorium and, indeed, to the whole process of demonstration. This subtle change was expressed without subtlety yesterday by the Premier (Sir Henry Bolte). According to Sir Henry, today is a different game: instructions to police are different and the police attitude to obstruction in city streets will also be different. The Moratorium organisers have already interpreted this as provocation. Whatever they call it, they can expect little else.

The May demonstration was a remarkable success. The worst fears of violence were not fulfilled because the marchers and the police behaved with tolerance and circumspection. We have already expressed the strong belief that today's plans for another occupation of Bourke Street border on deliberate mischief in the current climate of public opinion and policy. The Moratorium would be no less effective or ineffective if it was a mass rally in a public park. We do not doubt that Dr J. F. Cairns is anxious to avoid violence. The Moscow line communists have, they say, the same anxiety. The attitude of the Peking communists and the more radical student bodies is more difficult to determine. Difficult, because, on recent trends, the technique of demonstration has several times been totally distorted by idiots who talk of democratic rights but grossly misuse the ones they have.

Today's Moratorium would be better understood if it were not so dishonest in its application. The Viet Cong banners, the adulation of the North Vietnamese, the denigration of the United States and Australia would be more easily tolerated if there were balancing demands for North Vietnam to halt its aggression and for the Viet Cong to halt their slaughter. Like most of the anti-Vietnam debate, the Moratorium case has been argued in extremes, in terms of an absolute commitment and often in labored untruth. The views of the sincerely concerned are obliterated by the shouts of the misled or the actively seditious.

Where does this lead the marchers today? Not, we hope, into actions which will provoke clashes with police. Where will it lead the police? Not, we hope, into disregard for the rights of the demonstrators, and an officious reaction to the general atmosphere. Sir Henry Bolte might have calmed the prospect with a clear delineation yesterday of what the police will or will not permit today. It would be an act of wisdom and common sense if Dr Cairns and his colleagues asked for a clear delineation of the discipline that will prevail today before the demonstration begins. It would be equally an act of wisdom and common sense if the Premier told him.

A cool occasion

The Age, 19 September 1970, p.13 (Editorial)

In the negative sense at least, the second Moratorium march yesterday was a success. No one was injured, no one was trampled on by police horses and only a handful of people were arrested. The marchers kept their heads in what was for all a tense and potentially inflammable situation. So did the police. The march, containing as it did so many disparate elements, had within it the potential for disaster. But between them Dr J. F. Cairns and the Moratorium organisers managed to keep their supporters in check. "This campaign is dedicated to non-violent action", Dr Cairns told the crowd in the Fitzroy Gardens. The marchers did not belie him.

The police, to their credit, acted with no less restraint. The Premier's instructions to them to take "appropriate action" if there was any obstruction to the public were ambiguous. But happily the police force chose to interpret their instructions liberally. In the face of insults thrown at them by some of the marchers they kept their cool and let the waves of protest blow harmlessly past them.

On the positive side, it is difficult to determine exactly what such mass demonstrations achieve beyond demonstrating that on two main issues - conscription and the presence of Australian troops in Vietnam - there is in Melbourne, Sydney and in the other capitals a substantial body of opposition which is not afraid to declare itself. Power still resides in Parliament and not in the streets, however, and in Parliament both Mr Gorton and Sir Henry Bolte know they have the numbers. At the



WHAT PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP ME? (continued)

same time there was little in yesterday's march to give credence to Government charges that the Moratorium was the work of irresponsible louts or, in that memorable earlier phrase, "pack-raping bikies". By refusing to be provoked into rash or violent action, the archers took some of the wind from the Government's sails, and some of the sting from their campaign for law and order.

One can validly have doubts about the marchers' tactics, and about the wisdom of dramatising their dissent in this way. Once can have no doubts about their right to hold such demonstrations, so long as they are conducted responsibly. Dr Cairns did himself, and the Moratorium cause, a disservice on the first occasion when he called on the public to occupy the streets. Yesterday there was no talk of occupation, and strong stress on peaceful co-operation and non-provocation. For some people in the city the march was admittedly an inconvenience and an interruption to their afternoon activities. But better such an interruption than to deny a large group of dissenters the right to freely and peacefully express their opposition to Government policies which, in their corporate view at least, are unjust and in need of repeal.

The Australian

The high price paid for allies in Vietnam

The Australian, 16 September 1970, p.14 (Editorial)

It has always been assumed that the United States was providing some quid pro quo for military support in Vietnam from South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines.

But the figures released this week by the Senate foreign relations sub-committee make it apparent that what these countries received was not just payment for services rendered, but an incredibly fat profit.

About \$1000 million for the Koreans, \$200 million for the Thais, \$40 million for the Filipinos - this is the price the United States has been prepared to pay to demonstrate it has the support of the "free" nations of Asia.

Australia has not demanded payment for its troops, though it has received commercial favours, such as supply contracts and designation as an R and R centre. At least our Government made its claims after it had committed troops, and not as a pre-condition.

But given the evidence of the desperate lengths to which the U.S. went to buy allies in Vietnam, it is not surprising such a usually well-informed newspaper as the *New York Times* assumed last week that all the allies, including Australia and New Zealand, had been bought.

Senator William Fulbright, chairman of the U.S. Senate foreign relations committee, once had a similar view. The Australian Government has tried to correct these misimpressions, but it is probable that most Americans either don't know anything about Australia's military commitment in Vietnam or put it in the same category as the Asian allies.

Bright picture

It is a different picture from the one the Australian Government painted so brightly when it sent troops into Vietnam and which it has constantly polished. We were told that America was grateful for our commitment, that its gratitude would help ensure that if ever we were attacked the U.S. would remember and come to our aid.

Our attempt to buy security in this fashion is almost as naïve as the American purchase of allies. Our treaties with the U.S. are unlikely to be affected - either way - through the fact that the Government chose to send troops to Vietnam.

The Australian commitment to Vietnam has not improved Australia's image in the U.S., particularly with those who will continue to believe the Australian troops were and are mercenaries.

The evidence released by the sub-committee will provide the moratorium organisers with fresh ammunition. It shows how America's best diplomatic efforts were completely unable to convince anyone else in the free world freely to give military aid in Vietnam.

Is it too much to hope that it will show the Australian Government that its own policies need to be reviewed, and Australian troops withdrawn from Vietnam as quickly as possible?

AUSTRALIAN GALLUP POLLS

AFFILIATED GALLUP POLLS: U.S.A., U.K., Canada, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Italy, West Germany.

Australian Public Opinion Polls 1820-1835

Published March-June 1965

Public approved Vietnam force

Most people approved sending 800 of our troops to South Vietnam.

In May 1700 men and women all over Australia were interviewed by the Gallup Poll and asked: "Do you approve or disapprove of the decision to send 800 Australian troops to South Vietnam?"

People answered:
 Approve 52%
 Disapprove 37%
 Undecided 11%
 Men were 2-1 in favor, but women were evenly divided.

All age groups gave answers close to the above percentages.

Seven out of 10 Liberal-CP voters, six out of 10 DLP voters approved our troops going to South Vietnam. A.L.P. voters, however, approved 49%, disapproved 54%, undecided 13%.

The same people were asked four other questions on Vietnam.

On American bombing of military targets in North Vietnam:

52% said "Approve," 29% "Disapprove" and 18% were undecided. More than six out of 10 Liberal-CP and DLP voters said "Approve," but A.L.P. voters were evenly divided.

People were reminded that President Johnson had said that the United States would settle for no less than assured independence for South Vietnam. When asked whether American forces should remain in Vietnam:

84% said they should stay, 10% said they should get out, and 6% were undecided. Asked what would happen to Thailand and Malaya if the United States left Vietnam:

64% said they would be taken over by other countries, 18% said they would remain as they are, and 18% were undecided.

To a final question: "Do you think Australia would eventually be in danger from China if the United States pulled out of Asia?" 73% said "Yes," 18% said "No," and 9% were undecided.

On the last three questions majorities of Liberal-CP voters, DLP voters and A.L.P. voters are agreed.



Newspapers which pay for and publish the findings of the Australian Gallup Poll are:

Sydney: The Sun and Sun-Herald.

Melbourne: The Herald.

Brisbane: The Courier-Mail.

Adelaide: The Advertiser.

Perth: The Daily News.

Hobart: The Mercury.

A.L.P., LCP have equal support

A.L.P. and Liberal-CP have about the same number of supporters, but 9% of them have voted differently at least once in the last five years.

These findings came from three Gallup Poll questions in May.

People throughout Australia were first asked: "Looking back at how you've voted at Federal elections, would you say you've usually voted A.L.P., DLP, Liberal, Country or something else?"

44% said A.L.P., 42% said Liberal or Country Party; 4% said DLP; 4% said Independent; 4% wouldn't say, and 4% had never voted.

People were then asked how many years it was since they had voted for another party. They answered:

In last year 3%
 2-4 years ago 4%
 5-10 years ago 2%
 11-15 years ago 2%
 More than 15 years ago 2%
 Never switched 4%
 Wouldn't say 4%
 Never voted 4%

Those who have never switched comprise 22% of A.L.P. voters and 66% of Liberal-CP voters.

Of people who usually vote A.L.P., only 13% have voted Liberal-CP at some time.

However, of people who usually vote Liberal or CP, 29% have voted A.L.P. at some time. This does not necessarily

mean that supporters of Liberal-CP are more prone to switch. To some extent it would reflect the fact that relatively many "switchers" end up as LCP supporters as they become older.

DLP supporters

Only 2% of A.L.P. and Liberal-CP voters said they had ever voted DLP. They and the 4% who said they usually voted DLP account for 6% of the 8% who voted DLP at the last Senate elections.

It seems that the other 2% of DLP voters are among the 4% "wouldn't say" in the first table above.



Liquor with meals favored

Liquor with meals is favored in NSW and WA until any hour, and in Victoria, SA and Tasmania until 11.30 p.m. Most Queenslanders, however, think 10 p.m. is late enough.

People interviewed by the Gallup Poll in May were asked:

"Do you think liquor with meals should be allowed until any hour, or should there be a time limit?"

Those who think there should be a time limit were asked "Until what hour?"

Combined answers to both questions show the preferences of both men and women in favor of liquor with meals until at least 11.30 p.m.:

	Men	Women	Total
	%	%	%
Before 9 p.m.	10	12	12
9 p.m. to 11.30 p.m.	17	12	14
11.30 p.m. to any hour	18	16	17
Any hour	45	46	45
No opinion	10	14	14

In the capital cities:

	Men	Women	Total
	%	%	%
Before 9 p.m.	10	12	12
9 p.m. to 11.30 p.m.	17	12	14
11.30 p.m. to any hour	18	16	17
Any hour	45	46	45
No opinion	10	14	14

47% said "serve liquor with meals until any hour," and another 37% said until 11.30 p.m., making a total of 84% for 11.30 p.m. or later. The comparable figure for the country is 83%.

The following figures show that Victoria has the biggest proportion (89%) for 11.30 p.m. or later, although NSW and WA are the strongest states for liquor with meals until any hour.

	Men	Women	No. per 1000
	%	%	%
Any hour	45	46	45
11.30 p.m. or later	17	12	14
11.30 p.m. or later	18	16	17
9 p.m. to 11.30 p.m.	17	12	14
Before 9 p.m.	10	12	12
No opinion	10	14	14

Majority favors 10 p.m. closing

The majority of Australians interviewed by the Gallup Poll in May favor 10 o'clock closing of hotel bars.

In this survey 1700 men and women were asked:

"Do you think liquor bars should close at 8 o'clock, 10 o'clock or at some other hour?"

Throughout Australia, two out of three people (70% of the men and 56% of the women) said they favored hotels being open until at least 10 o'clock.

Men Women Total

	Men	Women	Total
	%	%	%
Close at 8 p.m.	10	21	28
10 p.m.	18	54	62
Later	6	7	6
No opinion	6	7	6

The 28% for closing at 8 p.m. includes 5% of prohibitionists who wouldn't say a closing time.

A.L.P. voters and Lib-

eral-CP voters both include 88% for 10 p.m. or later.

There is also close agreement between city dwellers (87% for 10 p.m. or later) and people in country towns and on farms (85% for it).

In the biggest religious groups, majorities for 10 o'clock or later are: Roman Catholic 75%, Anglican 69%, Presbyterian 56%, Methodist 51%.

In Victoria, where 68.4 voted for 8 o'clock closing in 1956, 89% now favor 10 p.m. or later.

	Men	Women	Later	No. per 1000
	%	%	%	%
All Aust.	28	62	4	6
Tas.	15	89	4	2
Vic.	28	63	6	7
WA	4	63	6	7
Qld.	39	63	2	8
NSW	27	66	7	6
SA	45	47	1	7

Referendum

The same people were asked:

"If the Government wants to extend hotel hours, do you think they should go ahead and make the change, or hold a referendum first?"

In States with 10 o'clock closing — NSW, Qld., WA and Tasmania — 80% said "Hold a referendum." So did 73% in South Australia, where hotels close at 8 p.m.

But in Victoria — the other State with 8 o'clock closing — people answered: "Hold referendum 85%. Don't hold one 48%. Undecided 4%."

Let court fix MPs' pay

The public is overwhelmingly of the opinion that salaries of Members of Parliament should be decided by the Arbitration Court.

The question put to 1680 people by the Gallup Poll in February was:

"Do you think members of Parliament should decide their own salaries — or ask the Arbitration Court to fix them?"

"Ask the court" said 83%. "Decide themselves," said 17%. "I'm undecided," said 4%.

Most have their own homes

Three out of four people interviewed by the Gallup Poll in May said they owned their own homes or were paying them off.

Each person interviewed was told it had been said that some families were paying half their income in rent. (That statement was made on April 23 by Dr R. T. Appyard, of the Australian National University.)

Asked if they owned or rented their homes, 73 per cent said they owned them or were paying them off, 23 per cent said they rented them and 3 per cent were boarders.

In Victoria, Queensland and Tasmania slightly more than 75 per cent said they were home-owners. In NSW, SA and WA the percentages were slightly under 75 per cent.

Throughout Australia 80 per cent of Liberal-CP voters, 79 per cent of DLP voters and 74 per cent of A.L.P. voters said they owned their homes or were paying them off.

Rent paid

The 23 per cent who said they paid rent were asked: "About what percentage of your income goes to rent?"



HOUSING

Four per cent (1 in 25) said they paid more than 35 per cent of their income in rent, but only one in a hundred said they were paying half their income in rent.

	1964	1965
	%	%
1% pays 50% or more in rent	4	4
2 pay 45-50%	4	4
3 pay 35-45%	21	22
4 pay 25%	35	35
5 pay 15-25%	3	3
6 pay less than 15%	3	3
7 own their homes and 2 board.	3	3

Half of the people who pay more than 35 per cent of their income in rent are under 35.

Senate losing popularity

Forty-two per cent of electors interviewed by the Gallup Poll in February favored retaining the Senate, but the percentage in favor has fallen.

Twenty-six per cent of those interviewed by the Gallup Poll in February favored abolishing the Senate. Thirty-two per cent had no opinion.

The question put to a cross-section of 1800 electors was:

"Do you think the Senate should be retained or abolished?"

Exactly the same question was put to a similar cross-section of different people in August 1964, four months before the Senate election.

Comparison of answers then and now shows that holding the Senate election independently of a House of Representatives election did not improve the popularity of the Federal Upper House.

As usual with public questions on which there is a lot of uncertainty, two out of three people with no opinion were women.

Men answered: Retain the Senate 44%, abolish it 34%, no opinion 20%.

Of those who said they had voted Liberal-CP 50% would retain the Senate, 25% would abolish it, and 25% have no opinion.

A.L.P. voters, however, are more evenly divided. They answered: Retain 38%, abolish 34%, no opinion 28%.

Abolitionists are strongest at 35% in Victoria and 21% in Queensland. In both States, however, they are more than offset by almost 45% who would retain the Senate.

Senate's function

Each person interviewed was also asked:

"What would you say is the chief function of the Senate today?"

77% said: "It's a check on legislation, a watchdog, a safeguard."

14% said: "It has lost any real function, a House of Review."

17% said: "It safeguards the States" — (The Senate's original purpose). 2% gave other favorable answers.

18% (chiefly abolitionists) said: "It has no useful purpose; it's a waste of time and money," and 25% had no idea.

We see U.S., U.K. as our friends

The United States and Britain are our best friends, in the opinion of an Australia-wide cross-section of 1600 people interviewed by the Gallup Poll in February.

Here are answers to the question "Which country do you regard as Australia's best friend?"

United States	48%
United Kingdom	38%
New Zealand	4
Japan	1
Other countries	1
Couldn't say	18

Liberal and Country Party voters placed USA and U.K. almost equal, but A.L.P. voters agreed: USA 48%, U.K. 38%, NZ 9%, Others 2%, Can't say 11%.

The same people were asked which other countries they regarded as good friends of Australia. They usually named one or two countries.

Combined answers to the questions show that eight out of ten Australians regard both the United States and the United Kingdom as good friends:

	Best friend	Other good friends	Total
USA	48	41	89
U.K.	38	42	80
NZ	4	38	42
Japan	1	13	14
Canada	11	13	24

The Gallup Poll in Britain and America have also asked people which country they regarded as their best friend.

In Britain, 56% said the United States, with Australia ranking second.

In the United States, 58% said Britain, with Canada ranking second.

Influence
The Australian Gallup Poll also asked people which country, apart from the United States, China and Russia, they thought had most influence in world affairs today. Britain at 41% easily

leads the list, followed by France with 13%. Indonesia 7% and other countries 18%. As many as 24% couldn't answer.

Change car insurance

Much higher insurance premiums for cars driven by people under 25, with lower premiums for other cars, would be approved by most people.

People interviewed in the Australia-wide Gallup Poll in February were first told that in some parts of the United States, car insurance is THREE times as high for cars driven even occasionally by people under 25. This permits lower premiums for cars driven ONLY by people over 25.

They were then asked if they favored, or opposed, having that here.

"Favor," said 55%.
"Oppose," said 35%.
"Undecided," said 10%.

People in car-owning families gave answers close to those percentages. So did all age groups over 30, but people aged 15-24 answered "Favor" 41%, "Oppose" 48%, "Undecided" 10%.

Liberal-CP and DLP voters, as separate groups, are both almost 2-to-1 in favor of much higher insurance premiums for cars sometimes driven by people under 25. A.L.P. voters, however, are only 5-to-4 in favor.



God save the Queen

Nearly six out of ten electors think we should continue to use "God Save the Queen" as our national anthem.

People interviewed by the Gallup Poll in February were asked: "Do you think we should continue to use 'God Save the Queen' as our national anthem—or should the Government seek a purely Australian national anthem?"

"Use 'God Save the Queen,'" said 57%.
"Seek purely Australian," said 35%.
"I'm undecided," said 8%.

Nearly two out of three Liberal-CP voters favor "God Save the Queen," and it is also favored 5-to-4 by A.L.P. voters. DLP voters, however, are 2-to-4 in favor of a purely Australian national anthem.

Those who want something purely Australian were asked whether it should be an existing song, or something completely new.

Answers were fairly evenly divided, with a slight leaning towards something new.

First Gallup Poll of young people

In April the Australian Gallup Poll conducted its first survey of young people aged 15-20.

Each boy or girl was asked 11 questions which had been put to adults in Gallup Polls in the last year or so.

Here are the young people's answers to three of those questions, in comparison with adult opinion.

Answers to the other eight questions will be published throughout Australia at the rate of one or two each month. They will then be included in later editions of this sheet.

Similar Gallup Polls of young people will probably be conducted each year in February.



Young people favor call-up

The military call-up is approved by two out of three young people aged 15-20.

Each of the 1500 people interviewed by the Gallup Poll in April was reminded that every year 7000 young men of 20 will be called up for two years' full-time military training, including overseas service, if necessary.

Asked whether they favored, or opposed, that call-up, the young people gave answers very close to those by 1800 adults in a Gallup Poll on the same question last November:

	Youth	Adult
Favor	68	73
Oppose	28	25
Undecided	4	2

The vote in favor of the call-up came from 94% of the boys and 72% of the girls.

Of boys and girls who said they would vote Liberal-CP, 71% favor the call-up, 26% do 55% of DLP supporters and 64% of A.L.P. supporters.

The young adults were also asked at what age young men should begin their two-year service, if not at a University or Technical College.

The biggest group said



18 and answers centre at 19:

Call-up at 18	30%
" - - - 19	35
" - - - 20	19
" - - - 21	8
" - - - 22	2
" - - - 23	1
Undecided	13

Potential Liberal-CP supporters and potential A.L.P. supporters both gave answers centering at about 19, although they had just been reminded that the call-up was at 20.

Chief reasons for favoring the call-up are:

- It will be good for the young men.
- It's better to be trained.
- It's necessary.

Those against the call-up usually said "Too

Even poll on country votes

Electors interviewed by the Gallup Poll in May were evenly divided on whether country votes should have the same value as city votes.

With redistributions due both Federally and in several States, 1700 voters throughout Australia were asked:

"Do you think all electors should have the same number of electors, or should country electors have fewer electors than city electors in the big cities?"

57% said "All the same," 29% said "Country fewer," and 14% were undecided.

People in city electorates and country electorates, as separate groups, gave almost the same answers. In no State is there a majority for either "all electors the same" or "for cities should be the same."

A.L.P. voters answered: All the same 62%, country fewer 25%, undecided 13%. Liberal-CP voters

leaned slightly the other way and answered: All the same 22%, country fewer 47%, undecided 29%.

Men and women with opinions were both evenly divided, but 19% of the men and 29% of the women were undecided.

Country electorates

The 26% of people who think country electorates should have fewer voters were asked:

"If city electorates each have 50,000 people, how many should each country electorate have?"

Answers centered at 20,000. Because almost as many had said that all electorates should be the same, the Gallup Poll interprets this to mean that a ratio of 27,000 country to 50,000 city — or 9 to 10 — would be most acceptable.

Examine students for scholarships

Two out of three people think scholarships should be awarded by a common examination, rather than by recommendation.

Every year when scholarships are being awarded, some people say examinations are unfair to nervous students.

The Gallup Poll therefore in February asked 3500 people throughout Australia:

"Which do you think is the better way of selecting students for scholarships — giving the same commission to all of them

— or accepting their teachers' recommendations?"

Men and women, as separate groups, gave almost the same answers. Together they said:

Same examinations 62%
Teachers' recommendations 22%
No opinion 16%

People in all States gave answers close to the above percentages.

Australian wanted as Governor-General

The first Gallup Poll of young people ever conducted in Australia shows that they are overwhelmingly in favor of our next Governor-General being an Australian.

In this survey in April, 1500 boys and girls aged 15 to 20 were interviewed in 150 localities. As always in Gallup Polls, those localities were a representative sampling of city and country districts in all States.

The young people were asked:

"Would you like our next Governor-General to be an Australian or Englishman, a New Zealander or someone else?"

The same question was put to an Australia-wide cross-section of adults a year ago. Comparison of answers shows that young people are 7% more for an Australian as Governor-General.

	Youth	Adults
Australian	77	70
Englishman	18	18
Other	3	1
No opinion	2	13



The vote among young people for an Australian as Governor-General came from 18 of the boys and 30% of the girls.

They usually said "An Australian," overlooking our Governors and our country head, or "An Australian for Australia."

Those for a Governor-General from England said "Keep up the link with the mother country" or "We're part of a Commonwealth."

Save Malaysia from Indonesia

Eight out of 10 young people aged 15 to 20 think it is important that Indonesia should be stopped from crushing Malaysia.

In this survey, the Gallup Poll interviewed 1500 young people in 150 representative districts throughout Australia.

They were asked a question which had been put to an Australia-wide cross-section of 1800 adults last November:

"From Australia's viewpoint, how important would it be if Indonesia were to be stopped from crushing Malaysia — very important, fairly important, or not important at all?"

Answers of young peo-

ple and adults are remarkably similar.

	Youth	Adult
Very important	66	75
Fairly important	17	14
Not important	4	4
No opinion	13	18

Young people who think it's very important that Indonesia should be stopped from crushing Malaysia usually said:

- They'd want more if not stopped.
- It's too near to Australia.
- We'd be their next target.

Referendum on fluoride

The public is evenly divided on whether a referendum should be taken before fluoride is added to their water supply.

In October, 1964, the Gallup Poll found 4 out of 10 people in favor of adding fluoride to their water supply, to try to prevent children's teeth decaying.

To see how the public felt about having a referendum before fluoridation, a different, but similar cross-section of 1600 people was interviewed by the Gallup Poll in February and asked:

"Do you think water authorities should be allowed to add fluoride to water — or only if it's favored at a referendum?"

60% said "Allow it," 44% said "Referendum first," and 19% were undecided.

The vote for adding fluoride without a referendum came equally from A.L.P. voters and Liberal-CP voters.

That "no referendum" attitude is supported by 55% of men and women aged 21-25, who would have most of the children who might benefit.

In comparison, only 38% of those over 60 would allow fluoridation without a referendum.

People who want a referendum were asked what majority should be needed.

Their answers combined with the 46% for "Allow without a referendum" on the first question, show that an Australia-wide referendum would be carried with a small majority, but not if 50% were needed:

No referendum	46
50% enough	5
60% needed	12
70% needed	17
80% needed	3
90% needed	3
"More than 50%"	4
Undecided	10



AUSTRALIAN GALLUP POLLS

AFFILIATED GALLUP POLLS: U.S.A., U.K., Canada, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Italy, West Germany.

Australian Public Opinion Polls 1852-1871

Published Sept.-Dec., 1965

Most people favor taverns

Taverns—hotels without bedrooms—are now favored by small majorities in all States except perhaps Tasmania.

Two thousand people interviewed by the Gallup Poll in September were told that in some parts of the world there were taverns—liquor bars without bedroom accommodations.

Asked whether they favored, or opposed, having similar taverns in their district, 52 p.c. of the 2000 people interviewed said "I'm in favor."

The same question was asked by the Gallup Poll in 1954. Comparison shows that opposition to taverns has fallen by 8 p.c. to only 34 p.c.

	1954	1965
Favor	48	52
Opposed	48	34
Undecided	12	14

A.L.P. voters and Liberal-CP voters, as separate groups, both gave answers close to the above figures.

Opinion is fairly constant State by State, except that Tasmanians are inclined to oppose taverns.

People's sex, age, religion and drinking habits seem to have affected their opinions:

- 58 p.c. of men favor taverns, but women answered: Favor 46 p.c.; Oppose 52 p.c.; Undecided 15 p.c.
 - Men and women under 30 are 2-to-1 for taverns; but older people are about 50-50.
 - About 55 p.c. of Anglicans and Roman Catholics favor taverns; but Protestants and Methodists are fairly evenly divided.
 - Of people who have at least an occasional drink, 63 p.c. favor taverns; but teetotalists (20 p.c. of the cross-section) are 2-to-1 against them.
- Equal comments by those in favor of taverns were: "Better than today's hotels," and "enjoyed them overseas." Those against taverns often said: "More than enough hotels now."



They split over N-bases

Two out of three men think we should ask America and England to base nuclear weapons here, but women are divided about it.

The question which the Gallup Poll asked 2000 people throughout Australia in September was: "In your opinion, should nuclear weapons be kept out of Australia, or should we ask America and England to base nuclear weapons here?"

This table shows how opinions of men and women differ:

NUCLEAR WEAPONS

	Men	Women	Total
State here	65	40	51
Keep out	28	40	34
Undecided	18	20	19

Liberal-CP voters are 3-to-1 in the opinion that we should ask America and England to base nuclear weapons here. A.L.P. voters, however, answered: Those who favor 46 p.c.; Keep them out 41 p.c.; Undecided 13 p.c.

Equal comments by those in favor of having nuclear weapons here were: "As a deterrent," "We must keep up with the others." On the other hand, it was argued that nuclear weapons should be banned.

Nearly all want week-end shops

Two out of three people throughout Australia want shops open Saturday morning, and most of the others would want them open on Friday evenings if they closed on Saturday.

Each of the 2000 men and women interviewed by the Gallup Poll in September was handed a card listing four possibilities for week-end shopping.

When asked which they preferred, but OPEN 90% chose "OPEN BOTH Friday evening and Saturday morning."

34% chose "Close Friday evening but OPEN SATURDAY morning."

25% chose "OPEN FRIDAY evening but close Saturday morning."

4% chose "CLOSE BOTH Friday evening and Saturday morning."

The next table shows an increase of 18%—from 55% to 73%—in the proportion who want shops open BOTH Friday evening and Saturday morning.

	1952	1965
Open both Fri. even. & Sat. morn.	55	73
Open Sat. morn.	47	34
Open Fri. even.	28	19
Close both	2	1

In Queensland, NSW, SA

Let Russians come for May Day

We should allow Russians here for May Day celebrations, in the opinion of most people interviewed by the Gallup Poll in July.

The question asked throughout Australia was: "If Russia were to come here for May Day celebrations, do you think they should be allowed to come here, or not?"

77% favored, or opposed, that suggestion. People gave almost the same answers to this question as they did a similar question in 1964.

	1964	1965
Favor	79	77
Oppose	21	23
Undecided	12	11

The latest favorable vote came from 83 per cent of A.L.P. voters, 69 per cent of Liberal-CP voters, and 74 per cent of DLP voters.

"Keep some profits here" was the usual comment. Many said, "It should be more than 30 per cent."

Casinos are not wanted

In every State most people are against having gambling casinos at tourist resorts.

The 1800 people interviewed by the Gallup Poll in July were asked whether they were for, or against, having government-operated gambling casinos at tourist resorts, such as Southern Paradise in Queensland and the Blue Mountains in New South Wales.

82% said they were against casinos.

14% favored them, and 11% were undecided.

In every State, people said "I've never been to these places."

Throughout Australia 54% of voters, and 51% of men, said they opposed casinos.

Liberal-CP voters are 2-to-1 against them, and A.L.P. voters (80% oppose casinos, 4% in favor of them, 16% undecided) 15%.

People would say they were against gambling if that there was enough gambling now.

Those in favor of casinos thought they would attract tourists.

"We should share in business"

Eight out of ten Australians remain firm in their belief that we should be able to buy into all businesses owned here by overseas people.

Each of the 2000 people interviewed by the Gallup Poll in September was reminded about a suggestion that British, American and European companies operating here should have to sell at least 30 per cent of the shares in their Australian branches to residents of Australia.

Asked whether they favored, or opposed, that suggestion, people gave almost the same answers to this question as they did a similar question in 1964.

	1964	1965
Favor	79	80
Oppose	21	20
Undecided	12	11

The latest favorable vote came from 83 per cent of A.L.P. voters, 69 per cent of Liberal-CP voters, and 74 per cent of DLP voters.

"Keep some profits here" was the usual comment. Many said, "It should be more than 30 per cent."

Tie our defences with U.S.-U.K.

Integration of our defences with those of both Britain and America is favored by three out of four people.

Two thousand people interviewed by the Gallup Poll throughout Australia in September were asked: "In planning our defence, do you think we should work closely with Britain, or chiefly with America, or with both equally?"

Of every 200 people interviewed:

73 said "Both equally,"

17 said "With America,"

5 said "With Britain,"

3 said "Neither," and

4 had no opinion.

People of all ages in all six States gave answers close to the above percentages.

LCP voters, DLP voters and A.L.P. voters, as separate groups, are in close agreement.

Equal comments were: "We need them both," "We must all help each other."

Our role in Vietnam approved

Two out of three people think we should continue to fight in Vietnam.

People interviewed by the Gallup Poll in September were reminded that our forces in Vietnam were being increased by 250— from 1180 to 1430. They were then asked:

"Do you think we should continue to fight in Vietnam or should we bring our forces back to Australia?"

55% said "Continue," 25% said "Bring them back," and

16% were undecided.

Our continuing to fight in Vietnam is approved by 65% of men. Women answered: Continue 48%, Bring them back 35%, Undecided 17%.

In the age groups, our Vietnam force is approved by 65% of those 21-29, 61% of those 30-49 and 64% of older people.

Nearly 70% of Liberal-CP voters and nearly 60% of DLP voters support the policy. A.L.P. voters, however, are evenly divided.

Answers are shown in the last column of the following table. In comparison with answers to earlier Gallup Polls on whether it was right, or wrong, to send our troops to fight in Vietnam.

It will be seen that opinion is almost unchanged, despite criticism and the sending of more troops:

	May	July	Oct.
Continue	55	55	55
Bring back	27	27	28
Undecided	18	18	16

People who think we

Police are fair

Most people interviewed by the Gallup Poll in July think police methods of interrogation are fair.

Each of the 1900 people interviewed was asked:

"Judging by what you have seen, read or heard, do you think police methods of interrogation are usually fair or unfair?"

Of every 1900 people interviewed:

54 said "They are fair,"

16 said "Unfair," and

30 had no opinion.

There is little difference of opinion State by State.

Approval for bigger call-up

Seven out of 10 people interviewed by the Gallup Poll in September approved the increased military call-up of 8400 a year.

Interviewees reminded each of the 2000 people interviewed that the Government planned to increase the call-up of 20-year-olds for military training by 2000 a year— from 6900 to 8400.

People were then asked whether they were for or against that increase.

Out of every 200 people interviewed:

69 said "In favor,"

21 said "Against," and

10 were undecided.

The vote for increasing the call-up came from:

• 75% of men and 65% of women,

• 78% of Liberal-CP voters, 75% of DLP voters

and 58% of A.L.P. voters.

In the age groups, approval was expressed by 70% of those aged 20-29, 61% of those aged 30-49, and by 64% of older people.

Of men and women under 30, 65% would allow Japanese experts to be employed at least temporarily at the Iron Ore mines in Western Australia, which would open to increasing vast quantities of ore to Japan.

They were then asked:

"Would you allow some Japanese to be employed at these mines permanently, temporarily, or not at all?"

78% said "Permanently,"

16% said "Temporarily,"

3% said "Not at all," and

8% were undecided.

The combined "Permanent" and "Temporary" vote



of 94% came from 85% of the men and 52% of the women; also from 65% of LCP voters and 52% of A.L.P. voters.

Of men and women under 30, 65% would allow Japanese experts to be employed at least temporarily at the Iron Ore mines, but only 44% of people over 30 would agree to it.

Equal comments for non-Japanese were:

• They're clever people.

• We should learn from them.

• They trade with us.

On the other hand, it was said: "We should keep the work for Australians."

"I don't trust Japanese."

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LCP support at high level

Support for the Federal Liberal-CP Government was at a record high level in September.

Each of the 2000 people interviewed throughout Australia was handed a ballot paper, and asked to mark the party they would like to see win "if a Federal election" were being held today. Ballot papers were dropped into boxes carried by the interviewers.

Answers in the third column of the following table show a 10 per cent margin for LCP over A.L.P., compared with 3 per cent a year ago, and 4 per cent in favor of the A.L.P. two years ago.

	1962	1964	1965
LCP	34	44	44
DLP	4	1	1
A.L.P.	47	42	38
Ind.	1	1	1
No Answer	1	1	1

Answers that those who didn't answer live like the others, were: party support is as shown in the third column of the next table — LCP 51 per cent compared with A.L.P. 41 per cent.

EXCLUDING UNDECIDED

	1962	1964	1965
LCP	43	51	51
DLP	1	1	1
A.L.P.	56	48	48
Ind.	1	1	1

The last Federal elec-

tion is not due for another year, all events can quickly eliminate big margins.

In 1964, for instance, the budget reduced the LCP margin from 3 p.c. in June to 1 p.c. in October, as shown in the next table. That table also shows that the Gallup Poll in October, 1964, proved to be an accurate prediction of the vote at the Senate election two months later.

	June '64	Oct. '64	10/13/64
LCP	4	7	7
DLP	4	1	1
A.L.P.	43	44	44
Ind.	1	1	1

The Australian Labor Party has also been adversely affected by such changes in director's attitudes.

In 1963, for instance, the Gallup Poll found A.L.P. leading on November 23, a week before the election. Did announcement of President Kennedy's assassination then cause a swing to the more conservative DLP and LCP?

	Nov. 23	Nov. 25	Nov. 27
LCP	42	44	44
DLP	1	1	1
A.L.P.	56	56	56
Ind.	1	1	1

Spend more on aboriginals

Two out of three young people aged 15-20 say we should be doing a lot more to educate and house our aboriginals.

The question put to the young people by the Gallup Poll in April was: "Do you think we are doing enough to educate and house aboriginals, or should more money be spent on them?"

Those who said more should be spent were asked whether we should spend a lot more, or only a little more.

The same questions were put to an Australia-wide cross-section of adults a year ago.

The following table shows that considerably increased expenditure on aboriginal education and housing is favored by more than 80% of young people and by almost 80% of adults:

	Youth	Adult
A lot more	80	78
A little	17	18
No opinion	3	4

Girls and boys, as separate groups, gave almost the same answers, as did men and women.

Young people in Western Australia and Queensland — the States with most aboriginals — are most inclined to feel enough is now being spent on aboriginal education and housing. Nevertheless, 72% in Queensland and 86% in WA said more should be spent, and more than two-thirds of them said: "Spend a lot more."

Use "God Save" as our anthem

Young people aged 15-20 and their elders are both almost 3-to-2 in favor of continuing to use God Save the Queen as our national anthem.

The question put to Australia-wide cross-sections of 1900 adults and 1500 young people was: "Do you think we should continue to use God Save the Queen as our national anthem — or should the Government seek a purely Australian national anthem?"

	Youth	Adult
Use God Save the Queen	66	67
Seek Australian anthem	28	28
Undecided	6	5

Answer the same ques-

tion as those who said more should be spent were asked whether we should spend a lot more, or only a little more.

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Undecided	6	5

Answers the same ques-



Most say sell China wheat, steel

Two out of three men think we should sell wheat and steel to China, but women are evenly divided about it.

People interviewed by the Gallup Poll in September were asked: "Are you for, or against, selling wheat and steel to Communist China?"

Consistent answers of men and women in the third column of this table, show a 2-to-1 vote for continuing to sell wheat and steel to China.

	Men	Women	Both
For	63	39	51
Against	24	59	41
Undecided	13	2	8

Of the 11% undecided, 5% spontaneously said they would favor selling China wheat and steel.

A.L.P. voters and Liberal-CP voters, as separate groups, both gave answers close to the percentages in the third column of the above table.

DLP voters, however, are against sales to China, by a small margin.

On the one hand, it was argued that we must sell to anyone who can pay.

On the other hand, those against selling to China usually said: "It's against our interests" or "Don't sell steel to them."

Stop appeals to Privy Council

The public is overwhelmingly of the opinion that our final Court of Appeal should be the High Court of Australia, not the Privy Council in London.

In September the Gallup Poll interviewed nearly 2000 sections in 200 districts throughout all six States, and asked them:

"In your opinion, should our final Court of Appeal be the High Court of Australia, or the Privy Council in London?"

Almost the same question was asked by the Gallup Poll 15 years ago. The following table shows that since then the majority against advising appeals from the High Court to the Privy Council has increased from 45% to 81%.

	1950	1965
Final Court	45	81
High Court	41	19
Privy Council	22	19
No opinion	12	1

Liberal-CP voters and A.L.P. voters, as separate groups, gave almost the same answers — a rare ex-

ample of close agreement in a political question of this kind.

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First Gallup Poll of young people

In April the Australian Gallup Poll conducted its first survey of young people aged 15-20.

Each boy or girl was asked 11 questions which had been put to adults in the Gallup Poll in the last year or so.

Here are the young people's answers to four of those questions in comparison with adult opinion.

Let 1250 Asians here each year

Selective migration from Asia at the rate of about 1250 a year is favored by three out of four people.

The question put by the Gallup Poll to a cross-section of 2000 adults throughout Australia in September was:

"In your opinion, should migrants from Asia be allowed here without restriction, or on a selective basis, or not at all?"

Selective, said 73%. None at all, said 16%. No opinion, said 11%.

Comparison with answers in a similar Gallup Poll in 1964 shows that public opinion on this subject is consistent.

There is also now a consistency of opinion in the major population groups. Answers close to the above percentages were given by a 50% of men, 51% of women, 51% of A.L.P., DLP and L-CP voters.

Living costs jump sharply

In 1964/65 the cost of keeping a family of four rose by 24/- a week to £20/6/- judging by a Gallup Poll in July.

For more than 20 years the Gallup Poll has been asking Australia-wide cross-sections of people: "In your opinion, what is the smallest amount of family of four — parents and two children — need each week to keep in health and live decently — that is, the smallest amount for all expenses, including rent?"

Until 1964, people were interviewed in February, but in 1964 the survey was made in August.

Answers at intervals since 1948, in the second column of the following table, show:

• That the cost of keeping a family of four has more than doubled since the L-CP Government took office at the end of 1948, and

• That the increase of 24/- in the last 18 months, although big compared with an increase of only 12/- in the three years after the 1961 credit squeeze, is no bigger proportionally than an increase of 64/- in the three years 1954-61.

Federal Govt. basic wage

	1948	1951	1954	1961	1964
£ s d	12 10 0	14 0 0	15 0 0	18 0 0	20 6 0

G.O.P. basic wage

	1948	1951	1954	1961	1964
£ s d	12 10 0	14 0 0	15 0 0	18 0 0	20 6 0

Cost of living index

	1948	1951	1954	1961	1964
£ s d	12 10 0	14 0 0	15 0 0	18 0 0	20 6 0

Answers of men and women, as separate groups, were both within a few shillings of the overall figures for 1964/65.

The margin of 64/- between that figure of 1964/65 and the Federal basic wage of £18/6/ in 1961, partly covered

by child endowment of 18/- a week for two children.

Estimates slightly above £18 were given by all occupational groups except unskilled workers and their wives, who said £16/8/, and farm dwellers, who said £17/12/.

Answers averaged £8/18/, an increase of only 4/- on the year.

AVERAGE FOOD BILL

	1952	1961	1964
£ s d	10 0 0	12 0 0	14 6 0

Over the years, people in families of four have had food bills only a little above average. Exceptions, differences between estimated living costs for families of four (first table) and average food costs (second table), can be taken as a fair measure of minimum family expenditure on clothes, rent, travel, entertainment, etc.

That expenditure, listed in the third column below, shows an increase of £3/6/ in seven years, while the average food bill has risen by only £1/12/.

Living costs

	1952	1961	1964
£ s d	10 0 0	12 0 0	14 6 0

Food costs

	1952	1961	1964
£ s d	8 12 0	9 12 0	10 12 0

Much of that increase of £3/6/ in living costs since 1958 would reflect increases for clothes, rent and fares, but some of the increase probably reflects a higher standard of living with a different pattern of spending.

Youth favors fluoridation

At least 7 out of 10 young people aged 15-20 favor adding fluoride to water supplies.

The question the Gallup Poll put to 1500 young people throughout Australia in April was:

"Do you favor, or oppose, adding fluoride to the water supply here, to try to prevent children's teeth decaying?"

A year ago the same question was put to 1700 adults. Comparison of answers shows young people 12% more for fluoridation than their elders:

	Youth	Adult
Favor	71	59
Opposed	22	39
Undecided	7	2

"It's been proved" and "Worth a try" were the usual comments by the

young people in favor of fluoridation.

Those against it usually said "If wanted, add it themselves." "Leave the water as it is."

Not keen to stay at school

Young people interviewed by the Gallup Poll in April are not as keen as adults on compulsory education after 15.

"In your opinion, what's the youngest age a girl or boy should be allowed to leave school?" was the question put to 1900 young people aged 15-20 throughout Australia.

Only 51% of them said 16 or over. That is 19% under adult opinion (61%) in a Gallup Poll a year ago.

	Youth	Adult
At 17	11	13
At 16	40	48
At 15	43	37
At 14	4	6
No idea	2	2

In Western Australia and Queensland most young people would end compulsory schooling at 15, a year over the legal minimum in those States.

In NSW, SA and Victoria, 57% favor compulsory schooling at 15, a year over the legal minimum.

In Tasmania, three out of four young people favor 16, which is the legal minimum.

The usual answer by young people in favor of leaving school at 15 was: "They should have learnt enough by then."

Those for 16 often said: "A little more mature than."



People in each of the six States, and

The 71% who favor selective migration were asked "About how many each year would you support?"

Answers centered at about 1250 a year, whereas in 1964 the biggest group said less than 500 a year.

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Australian Public Opinion Polls 1884-1899

Published Feb.-April, 1966

Opinions differ on Vietnam war

In February the public was inclined to approved increasing our Vietnam force, but they were not convinced that national service trainees should go.

Each of the 1800 people interviewed throughout Australia by the Gallup Poll in February was reminded of the proposal to replace our battalion in Vietnam with two battalions in May.

They were then asked: "Do you favor, or oppose, increasing our Vietnam force from one battalion to two battalions?"

Favor, said 48%
Oppose, said 35%
Undecided were 17%

Most of the undecided people were women.

Among both men and women, those in favor exceeded those against.

Liberal-CP voters and DLP voters are both 57% in favor.

A.L.P. voters, however, answered: Oppose 47%. In favor 38%. Undecided 15%.
Of men and women aged

21-29, 55% favor sending two battalions to Vietnam, but support declines through the age groups as follows: Aged 30-49 49%, Aged 50-69 44%, Aged 70 and over 38%.

National servicemen

The 1800 people were also reminded that all battalions in our army now included a few hundred national service trainees.

Interviewers then asked: "If their battalion goes to Vietnam, do you think those national service trainees should go with their battalions, or stay in Australia?"

The same question was asked in December 1965. Comparison of answers then and in February shows increased opposition to sending national service trainees to Vietnam.

	1965	1966
	Dec.	Feb.
	%	%
Stay here	52	57
Go to Vietnam	37	33
Undecided	11	11

The "stay here" vote came from 65% of A.L.P. voters, 61% of DLP voters and 51% of Liberal-CP voters.

All age groups gave similar answers.



As sure of your facts!

Youth says "fight on in Vietnam"

Seven out of 10 young people aged 15-20 interviewed by the Gallup Poll in February think we should continue to fight in Vietnam.

The question put to those 1800 boys and girls was:

"Do you think we should continue to fight in Vietnam, or should we bring our forces back to Australia?"

Continue, said 70%.
Bring them home 23%.
Undecided 7%.

Those for continuing to fight in Vietnam comprised 74% of the boys and 67% of the girls.

They were asked whether they would vote A.L.P., DLP, Liberal-CP or Communist when 21. Analysis shows that 82% of potential Liberal-CP voters and 62% of potential A.L.P. voters think we should continue to fight in Vietnam.

They said "We must beat Communism." "We agreed to help America." "Better to fight there than here."

Those who said we should bring our forces home said "It's no concern of ours." "We need them here."

This question was asked in Gallup Polls of adults

in May, July and September of 1965. Answers in September were:

Continue to fight in Vietnam 56%.
Bring our forces back to Australia 23%.
Undecided 16%.

Newspapers which pay for and publish the findings of the Australian Gallup Poll are:

Sydney: *The Sun* and *Sun-Herald*.

Melbourne: *The Herald*.

Brisbane: *The Courier-Mail*.

Adelaide: *The Advertiser*.

Perth: *The Daily News*.

Hobart: *The Mercury*.



All States for 10 p.m. hotels

Ten o'clock closing is now favored by at least six out of 10 people in every State which has it, and by 55% in South Australia, the only remaining State with 6 o'clock closing.

This is the result of an Australia-wide Gallup Poll, taken to see the reaction to Victoria's changing to 10 o'clock closing in February.

When asked "At what time should hotel bars close in the evening," 1800 people interviewed at the end of February gave a clear Australia-wide vote for 10 o'clock:

	6	8	10	Lat-No
	pm	pm	pm	opinion
	%	%	%	%
Tas	9	5	70	5 11
WA	4	7	60	11 18
vic.	19	3	57	7 14
NSW	14	3	55	7 21
Qld	11	7	53	10 20
SA	34	1	54	1 10
Aust.	16	4	56	7 17

Throughout Australia, 75 per cent of men think hotels should keep open until at least 10 p.m.

Women favor: 6 p.m., 22 per cent; 8 p.m., 5 per cent; 10 p.m. or later, 51 per cent; no opinion, 22 per cent.

Aid for Church schools favored

Government aid for church schools is approved by two out of three people, both Labor voters and Liberal voters.

In February the Gallup Poll asked 1800 people throughout Australia: "Are you for or against, Government aid for Church schools?"

They answered:
For it 61%
Against 29%
Undecided 10%
Comparison with similar Gallup Polls since 1956 shows a big swing of opinion in favor of aiding church schools.

For Agst. Undeod

	%	%	%
1955	51	41	8
1959	54	39	7
1962	45	48	7
1966	61	29	10

The recent vote of 61% for aiding church schools came from 60% of Liberal-CP voters, 62% of A.L.P. voters and 84% of DLP voters.

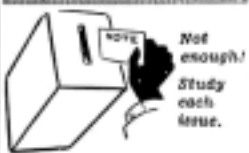
In no State is the vote

Second Gallup Poll of young people

In February the Australian Gallup Poll conducted its second survey of young people aged 15-20.

Each of them was asked 11 questions which had been put to adults in Gallup Polls in the last year or so.

Here are the young peoples' answers to three of those questions, in comparison with adult opinion.



"Five year" rule for Asians favored

The Government's decision to reduce the period of residence before naturalisation from 15 years to 5 years for Asians is supported by the public.

In February the Gallup Poll interviewed 1800 people throughout Australia and reminded them:

• That last year 700 migrants from Asia were accepted here for citizenship, and

• That before being naturalised, Asians had to live here 15 years, compared with 5 years for migrants from Europe.

People were then asked: "How many years do you think an Asian should have to live here before becoming eligible for Australian citizenship?"

2% said 1-4 years,
63% said 5 years,
7% said 6-10 years,
8% said 15 years,
6% said "Don't naturalise any Asians", and

14% had no idea. Men and women, as separate groups, both gave answers close to the above percentages.

So did Liberal-CP, A.L.P. and DLP voters, as separate groups.

People in their twenties were most favorable to reducing the waiting period for Asians from 15 years to 5 years, but 60% of people over 50 also favor it.



for State aid below 56%. People were also asked their religion. The vote for aiding church schools came from 88% of Roman Catholics, 57% of Anglicans, 49% of Methodists, 45% of Presbyterians and 41% of Baptists.

Teenagers oppose hanging

Young adults aged 15 to 20 are 3-to-2 against the death penalty for murder.

The question put to 1800 young people aged 15-20 in a Gallup Poll of "young adults" in February was: "Do you think the penalty for murder should be hanging, life imprisonment, or something else?"

Life prison, said 54%
Hang, said 34%
Electric chair 2%
Psychiatric treatment 1%
Undecided 9%

Answers of boys and girls, as separate groups, were both close to the above figures.

In Queensland, NSW, Victoria and Tasmania, most young adults favor life imprisonment, but in WA and SA they are evenly divided.

Usual comments by those who favor life imprisonment were "It's wrong to take another person's life," "It's brutal to hang," "Make them realise their crime and suffer for it," "There may be an error of judgment or mistaken identity."

On the other hand, those in favor of hanging said "Life for a life," "A good deterrent."

Gallup Polls of adults over the last 13 years have shown a steady decline in support of hanging. Consideration of the changing opinion of adults (Line 1-3 below) and the opinion of young adults (Line 4) suggests that adult opinion will soon be against hanging.

	Death	Gael	Unde-
	%	%	ided
Adults	54	34	9
1953	69	24	7
1962	53	37	10
1966	42	43	15
Young adults	34	33	33

Calwell favored by A.L.P. voters

In February Mr Whitlam was much more popular than Mr Calwell among electors in general, but Mr Calwell was a little more popular than Mr Whitlam among those who voted A.L.P. at the last Federal election.

These are findings from a Gallup Poll conducted in February, when 1800 people were asked:

"If you were a Labor party voter and you were helping select a leader for the A.L.P., would you choose Mr. Calwell, Mr. Whitlam or someone else?"

Answers of all of the 1800 electors interviewed are in the first column of the following table.

People were also asked which party they voted for at the Senate election in December 1964. Answers to that question have been used to analyse preferences for A.L.P. leaders among A.L.P. voters and other voters (LCP and DLP). Their preferences are shown in the 2nd and 3rd columns of the following table.

It will be seen that:

- In February Mr Whitlam had three support-

ers against each two for Mr Calwell among the public in general,

- Mr Calwell was a little more popular than Mr Whitlam among A.L.P. voters,

- Mr Whitlam was three times as popular as Mr Calwell among Liberal, CP and DLP voters, from whom the A.L.P. must attract support to win the next Federal election.

	All voters	ALP voters	Other voters
	%	%	%
Whitlam	35	33	49
Calwell	22	37	14
Fraser	2	1	2
Calrae	1	2	-
Others	1	-	1
No opinion	39	27	43

Tie our defences to U.S.-U.K.

When planning our defences, we should co-operate with America and Britain, in the opinion of seven out of 10 young people aged 15-20 interviewed in February by the Gallup Poll.

Throughout Australia, 1800 boys and girls were asked:

"In planning our defences, do you think we should work chiefly with Britain, or chiefly with America — or with both equally?"

73% said "Both equally,"
19% said "With U.S."
5% said "With Britain,"
and
3% had no opinion.

These percentages are almost the same as answers of adults to the same question in a Gallup Poll in September 1965.

Boys and girls who favor co-operating with both America and Britain usually said "Both are our friends," "They're both strong," "We're stronger together."

Those for working chiefly with America often said "They're the strongest nation," "More advanced."

Each of these findings is based on about 2000 personal interviews by trained interviewers. Opinions of adults of all types in the capital cities, country centres and farming districts of all States are included in proportion to population.

Expenses of the surveys are met by selling the findings for publication in newspapers

It will be seen that:

- Of the public in general, 69% selected Mr Holt as "Liberal leader" while 3% named the Country Party leader, Mr John McEwen, and 1% other men, 28% made no choice.
- Of Liberal-CP voters, 74% selected Mr Holt, 3% Mr McEwen and 1% others, 22% made no choice.

	All voters	L-CP voters	A.L.P. voters
Holt	60	74	46
McEwen	3	3	3

Record support for LCP

Support for the Federal Liberal and Country Party reached a record level at the end of February, 1966.

The Gallup Poll interviewed 1800 people throughout Australia — among the Government announced that some National Service troops would go to Vietnam in May.

Each person interviewed was asked to mark a ballot paper showing which party would like to see win if a Federal election were being held today.

Ballot papers were dropped into boxes carried by the interviewers.

Answers in the third column of the following table show a record 15 per cent support for the Liberal Party, compared with 10 per cent last September, and 5 per cent in favor of the A.L.P. three years ago.

	1963	Sept. 1965	Feb. 1966
	%	%	%
LCP	42	49	51
DLP	5	6	5
A.L.P.	47	39	36
and	1	1	1
Undecided	5	5	7

Assuming that the "undecideds" are fairly evenly divided, party support in February was as shown in the next table — LCP 54 per cent, compared with A.L.P. 49 per cent.

	1963	Sept. 1965	Feb. 1966
	%	%	%
LCP	46	51	54
DLP	5	7	6
A.L.P.	46	41	39
and	1	1	1

Provide bases in North for U.K.

More than 8 out of 10 people — both Labor voters and Liberal-CP voters — would favor our giving Britain bases in northern Australia.

People interviewed throughout all six States in February were asked:

"If Britain has to leave Singapore, would you favor, or oppose, our providing a base for British ships and aircraft in northern Australia?"

Of every 100 people interviewed:

34 said "I favor it,"
7 were opposed, and
9 were undecided.

The "favor" vote came from 83 per cent of Liberal-CP voters, 83 per cent of DLP voters, and 81 per cent of A.L.P. voters.

The usual comments were:

- Should be there to protect the North.

Cut out £.s.d. quickly

An overwhelming majority of people — 88 per cent — think we should fully convert to dollars as quickly as possible.

In February the Gallup Poll asked 1800 people throughout Australia three questions:

1. "So far, has the change from pounds, shillings and pence to dollars and cents been more difficult, or less difficult, for you, than you expected?"

73% said "Less difficult,"
27% said "As expected."

Those who have found the change more difficult than expected comprise 12% of men and 15% of women.

Only 9% of men and women aged 21-29 are finding the change more difficult than expected, compared with 11% of those aged 30-49, 16% of those 50-69 and 30% of people over 70.

2. "Do you now feel we should, or should not, have switched to dollars?"

67% said "We should,"
21% said "Shouldn't,"
12% were "Undecided."

More than 7 out of 10 men and 6 out of 10 women are glad we switched to dollars.

Approval declines, however, through the age groups, from 77% of those aged 21-29, to 72% of those 30-49, to 56% of those 50-69, and down to only 47% of those over 70.

3. "Do you think the change to dollars should be completed as quickly as possible, or fairly slowly?"

88% said "As quickly as possible,"
14% said "Fairly slowly,"
2% said "No opinion."

This vote for getting it



over quickly came equally from men and women.

Most of those for a slow change are over 50.

Most favor \$ sign

Should our dollar sign be \$ or A — an S with a stroke through it or an A with a dash through it?

When asked this question by the Gallup Poll in February, 1800 men and women throughout all six States answered:

75% favored the \$ sign,
14% favored the A sign,
2% favored other ideas,
9% had no opinion.

Whip violent robbers

Men who assault and rob should be whipped, in the opinion of 7 out of 10 people interviewed by the Gallup Poll in February.

Each of the 1800 men and women interviewed was told that recently a judge had considered ordering a whipping, of up to 10 strokes, for a man of 28. He had robbed a TPI pensioner and assaulted two men aged 71 and 82 who tried to help the pensioner.

Interviewers then asked: "In cases like that, do you favor, or oppose, whipping?"

Of every 100 people interviewed:

68 favor whipping,
24 oppose it, and
8 are undecided.

Favorable votes close to 68% came from both men and women; also from A.L.P. voters and Liberal-CP voters.

Usual comments were:

- Would be a deterrent.
- Gaul is not any good.
- Bad cases must be hurt.

Those against whipping said it was inhumane, and that the culprits should be

Indecision on decimal lengths

After a few weeks' experience of decimal currency, the public was uncertain about changing to decimal lengths.

At the end of February, the Gallup Poll asked 1800 people throughout Australia:

"When we've got used to dollars, should we then change our lengths from yards and miles to the decimal system of metres and kilometres — or keep to yards and miles?"

"Change to metres and kilometres," said 46%,
"Keep to yards and miles," said 41%,
"I'm undecided," said 13%.

Of men, 54% would change to metres and kilometres, but only 38% of women favor the change. More than 50% of people aged 21-50 would change,

AUSTRALIAN GALLUP POLLS

61 Flinders Lane, Melbourne and 77 Pacific Highway, Sydney

AFFILIATED GALLUP POLLS: U.S.A., U.K., Canada, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Italy, West Germany.

Australian Public Opinion Polls 2159-2174

Published Jan.-March, 1970

Check drivers every 3 years

Australians almost unanimously want the eyesight, health and driving ability of all car drivers checked at regular intervals, preferably every three years, the Gallup Poll finds.

Nearly 2,000 people were interviewed in October, in the cities and country centers of all States, and asked:

"In your opinion, should the eyesight, health and driving ability of car drivers be checked periodically or not?"

The vote for "Check them" was 93%.

That is probably a record majority for the Australian Gallup Poll, which has published more than 200 findings in its 26 years of polling.

Interviewers then asked: "At intervals of how many years should drivers be checked?"

Again, 93% who favored checks every year or two, and 1% for checks every three years, were 93% who said four or five

years, and 5% for longer periods.

The other 1% were undecided as to the interval.

On those figures, which are listed below, three years would be the most favored interval.

Check drivers every:

Year or two	85%
Three years	17
4 or 5 years	21
Longer interval	4
Can't say when	11

Total for checking 93
Oppose checks 4
Undecided on checking 3

100

Usual comments were:

• Cut the road toll.
• Particularly check eyesight.

Many added: "Health and eyesight deteriorate with age so check more often than people get other."

L-CP gain after election

In the six weeks after the Federal Election, support for the Liberal-CP Government recovered by 4% to a fairly high level, according to a Gallup Poll on December 4.

A similar upsurge in support for the Government, however, is usually reflected "getting on the victor's bandwagon".

As usual in Gallup Polls on voting intentions, each of the 2000 people interviewed throughout Australia in December, was handed a ballot slip and asked:

"If a Federal election were being held today, which party would you like to see win?"

The marked ballot papers were dropped into boxes carried by the interviewers. When counted, they showed:

48% for Liberal-CP
42% for A.L.P.
5% D.L.P.
2% for Independents, and
4% undecided.

Assuming that the 4 p.c. "undecided" would vote informally or like the other party, support is now: L-CP 43 p.c., A.L.P. 44 p.c., D.L.P. 5 p.c., Independents 2 p.c.

That gives L-CP a lead of 2 p.c. over A.L.P.

At the Federal Election on October 25, A.L.P. led L-CP by nearly 4 p.c. on first preference, as there has been a swing of 3 p.c. to the victor. That is about the same as occurred in 1965-66, after L-CP narrowly won the Senate election and Mr. Gorton replaced the late Mr. Holt as Prime Minister.

	L-CP	A.L.P.	D.L.P.	Ind.	Und.
1965	40	46	7	3	3
1966	43	43	10	2	2
1967	42	45	10	2	2
1968	41	47	4	4	4
Gallup Poll, Dec. 4	43	44	5	2	2

At school, tell of drug hazards

Six out of 10 adults think teenagers should be told at school about the hazards of drugs, alcohol and smoking, the Gallup Poll says.

In this Australia-wide survey conducted in October, people were asked whether teenagers should learn about the hazards of drugs, alcohol and smoking from their parents and friends, or from specialist instructors at school.

Of the 2,700 men and women interviewed:

- 80% said teenagers should be told about the hazards of drugs etc. by specialist instructors at school.
- 13% were undecided or said both groups should advise them.

Men and women counted separately, gave almost the same answers.

So did members of the chief religious groups.

Younger people are keen-

met on specialists teaching the hazards of drugs etc. That was the answer of 86% of people aged 21-29, compared with 22% of those over 70.

Usual reasons for saying teenagers should be taught about drugs etc. by specialist instructors at school were:

- Parents are not qualified to teach about the hazards of drugs, alcohol or smoking.
- Children will learn more outside of school.

On the other hand, the majority of 77% who think teenagers should learn about drugs etc. from their parents and friends usually said:

- Parents should know what's best for their children.
- It's the parent's responsibility.

Penalty points on bad drivers approved

In every State, three out of four people approve "penalty points" against convicted drivers, the Gallup Poll finds.

Each of 2000 people interviewed in October was asked that in some States points are given against drivers for such traffic convictions; also that if a certain number of points are recorded in two years, the driver's license may be suspended for varying periods, depending on the offence.

After that explanation, the Gallup Poll's interviewers asked people:

"Do you favor, or oppose, having that system here?"

Compared with 95% who said "I favor penalty

points," only 1% said "I oppose them," the other 4% were undecided.

That division of opinion applied remarkably evenly to both sexes; also in all age groups, all major political groups, and in both the cities and country.

"It would make drivers more careful," "Eliminate bad drivers," "Cut the road toll" were the usual comments.

The minority against "penalty points" thought they would be unfair and would not stop accidents.

Free health services wanted

The public is 3-to-2 in favor of free hospital and medical services, financed by a levy of 1 1/2% on everybody's taxable income, the Gallup Poll finds.

Here are the opinions of an Australia-wide cross-section of 2000 men and women interviewed in December:

54% favor free hospital and medical services, financed by a 1 1/2% levy.
35% favor voluntary basis.
11 funds, and
8% are undecided.

Before being asked their opinion, each person interviewed was reminded that the Government planned to pay 20% more into the hospital and medical benefits funds, but that those members would have to pay 10 to 20% more each week. Schemes of hospital and doctor's bills would be correspondingly increased.

People were also told that, alternatively, hospital and medical services could be free to everyone, and financed by a levy of 1 1/2% on everybody's taxable income.

At the same time, let people consider all that information, Gallup Poll interviewers asked:

"Which would you prefer — the voluntary scheme — or a free service, with a 1 1/2% compulsory levy?"

Men, and women, as separate groups, gave similar answers. Combined and separated, they are listed above and in the first column of the follow-



ing table, which shows that A.L.P. voters and Liberal-CP voters tend to hold opposing views.

	Total	A.L.P.	L-CP
Free with levy	54	47	62
Voluntary	35	26	40
Undecided	8	7	8

Chief reasons for favoring a free medical scheme, financed by a levy of 1 1/2% on all incomes, were:

- Everyone would be covered.
- People on higher incomes would then help pay for the lower income groups.
- It would be easier to levy or wage earners.

On the other hand, those for the present voluntary scheme said:

- A free scheme would be open to abuse.
- People should have a choice.
- The English system doesn't work.

Always wear a seat belt

In NSW and Victoria, most people say it should be compulsory to wear seat belts in the front seats of cars, but people in other States don't agree.

This is a Gallup Poll finding from asking 2000 people in December whether the wearing of seat belts in the front seats of cars should be compulsory or voluntary.

Australia-wide answers in 200 representative districts were:

	Compulsory	In front seats	Voluntary	Undecided
56%	45%	5%		

In the age groups, the vote for compulsion was highest at 65 p.c. among younger people aged 21-29, and only 44 p.c. from those 65-69.

In the States, the vote for compulsion was: NSW 55 p.c., Victoria 53 p.c., Queensland 48 p.c., WA 42 p.c., SA 42 p.c. and Tasmania 29 p.c.

Those for compulsion usually said: "Belts have been proved to save lives," "Stop people from going through windcreens".

Those against belts often said: "You could be trapped in them," "Too many things are compulsory".

Back seats

The 50 p.c. of people who said it should be compulsory to wear seat belts in front seats were also asked whether the wearing of seat belts should be compulsory or voluntary in back seats.

Answers show that only 21 p.c. of Australians think it should be compulsory to wear seat belts in back seats.

People in all States agree on this.

Sex education at school

Adults are inclined to believe that sex and its possible hazards should be explained to teenagers at school.

People interviewed in this Australia-wide Gallup Poll in October were asked:

"In your opinion, how should students of 14 to 18 learn about sex and its possible hazards — from their parents and friends, or from specialist instructors at school?"

Answers show that:

- 81 per cent of adults favor instruction in sex by specialists at school.
- 27 per cent would leave it to parents and friends, and
- 13 per cent were undecided or said both specialists and parents should instruct.

Of the men interviewed, 65 per cent favor instruction in sex by specialists at school. Women, however, are more evenly divided on this question, and answered: At school 48 per cent. By parents and friends 41 per cent. Undecided 13 per cent.

Of people aged 21-40, 83 per cent favor sex instruction at school, but those over 70 are evenly divided about it.

Answers didn't vary much State by State.

Those for specialists teaching teenagers about sex and its possible hazards usually said:

- Specialists know more about it.
- Children won't listen to their parents.
- It's difficult for parents.

On the other hand, those for leaving it to parents and friends usually said: "It's the parent's duty."

Keep marijuana illegal

Nearly 3 out of 10 Australians think marijuana should be illegal, the Gallup Poll finds.

When asked in December whether the smoking of marijuana should be legal or not legal, an Australia-wide cross-section of adults answered:

Not legal	27%
Legal	7%
Undecided	6%

Younger adults in their twenties are least opposed to marijuana, but only 10% of them would make it legal.

Of the 2000 people interviewed, only 1% said they had tried marijuana, and 34% said they would refuse a marijuana cigarette if a friend or acquaintance offered one.

Don't rush out of Vietnam

Two out of three people told the Australian Gallup Poll in December that our withdrawal from Vietnam should be gradual, and then only after more South Vietnamese troops have been trained.

In this Australia-wide survey, 2000 randomly selected people in 200 districts were asked:

"Which do you favor for Vietnam — a ceasefire now, followed by a quick withdrawal of all American and Australian troops — or the training of more South Vietnamese troops, followed by the gradual withdrawal of our troops?"

People answered:

- Withdraw gradually 65%
- Ceasfire now 28%
- Undecided 7%

Men and women gave similar answers. So did people in all States.

Adults aged 21-29 are strongest (62 1/2%) for training more South Vietnamese troops before withdrawing gradually.

Usual reasons for favoring gradual withdrawal were:

- Don't leave them in the lurch.
- We have our commitments.
- It's more realistic.
- A training program is necessary.
- On the other hand, those for a ceasefire and a quick withdrawal often said:
 - Let them look after themselves.
 - It's a senseless war.
 - Get it over with.

Register owners of sport guns

Registration of owners of shotguns and 22 rifles is favored by nearly 3 out of 10 people.

People interviewed throughout Australia by the Gallup Poll in December were told that all present anyone could own a shotgun or a 22 sporting rifle.

They were then asked whether they favored, or opposed, requiring all owners of shotguns and 22 rifles to register.

Of every 100 people interviewed:

- 22 favored registering.
- 18 opposed it, and
- 3 were undecided.

In every major population group — sex, age, States, city and country areas — the vote for registration exceeded 50%, which was the vote of farm dwellers.

Usual comments were:

- The police would know who had guns.
- Present irresponsible shooters.
- A minimum age is needed.

Newsletters which pay for and publish the findings of the Australian Gallup Poll are:

- Sydney: The Sun and Sun-Merald.
- Melbourne: The Herald.
- Brisbane: The Courier-Mail.
- Adelaide: The Advertiser.
- Ferth: The Daily News.
- Hobart: The Mercury.

Charles wanted after the Queen

Two out of three Australians want Prince Charles as our next monarch, rather than become a republic, the Gallup Poll finds.

The question put to a true cross-section of 2000 randomly selected people throughout Australia in December was:

"At the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, should we recognize Charles the Third as our King, or become a republic with an elected President?"

65% said "I'm for King Charles", 25% said "I'm a republican", and 10% was undecided.

This is a big swing away from republicanism since February 1968, when the Gallup Poll found 60% for retaining our ties with Britain and becoming an entirely separate republic.

In the recent survey, people in all States gave almost the same answers. The 65% vote for King Charles came from 73%

of the women and from 80% of the men.

It also came from 75% of Liberal-CP voters, 80% of ALP voters, and 58% of ICLP voters.

Republicanism is strongest among younger people, but even among those aged 21-29, 55% favor King Charles as compared with 65% of those aged 30-39, 73% of those 40-49, and 73% of those over 50.

Usual reasons for wanting King Charles after Queen Elizabeth were:

- A President wouldn't improve things.
- Monarchy is a tradition.
- Prince Charles has our respect.
- On the other hand, those for a republic often said:
 - Monarchy is outdated.
 - We should be independent.

Compel us to vote, electors say

Compulsory voting is approved by 69% of electors for Federal and State elections, and by 55% for municipal elections, the Gallup Poll finds.

People interviewed in this Australia-wide survey in October were first asked whether voting at Federal and State elections should be compulsory or voluntary.

They answered:— Compulsory 69%, Voluntary 29%, Undecided 2%.

The 69% vote for compulsory voting for Parliament came from 73% of Liberal-CP voters and from 67% of A.L.P. voters.

Local elections

Interviewers for the Gallup Poll then asked people whether voting at municipal elections should be compulsory or voluntary.

They answered:— Compulsory 55%, Voluntary 44%, Undecided 1%.

That vote for compulsory voting at local elections came from 59% of Liberal-CP voters and 58% of A.L.P. voters.

Usual arguments for compulsory voting were:

- Otherwise most people wouldn't bother to vote.
- Makes people think about public affairs.
- Otherwise the wrong people might win and take over.
- On the other hand, people who think voting should be voluntary said:
 - We should be free to decide whether to vote or not.
 - People who are compelled to vote put down something.

Clean glass wanted for each drink

A clean glass for every drink in a bar is favored by big majorities of male drinkers in Queensland and NSW, where it is the law.

Clean glasses, however, are opposed in SA and Tasmania, and opinion is equally divided in WA and in Victoria, where a "clean glass" law will begin on July 1.

These are findings of an Australia-wide Gallup Poll in December, in which 2000 men and women were first asked whether they sometimes had an alcoholic drink, or were total abstainers.

88 per cent of the men and 76 per cent of the women said they sometimes had a drink.

Of the male drinkers:

- 30 per cent said they had a drink in a hotel bar 39 or more times a month.
- 34 per cent said they did 4 to 3 times a month.
- 25 per cent said 1, 2, or 3 times a month, and
- 10 per cent of male drinkers said they never drank in a bar.

The 88 per cent of men who sometimes had an alcoholic drink were then asked:

"Do you think a man should be given a clean glass for every drink he has in a bar, or only if he asks for a clean glass?"

The Australia-wide answer was:

- 57% Clean for every drink
- 39% Only if asked for
- 4% Undecided

Clean for every drink was favored by 69% of men and 57% of women. Only if asked for was favored by 29% of men and 39% of women. Undecided was favored by 2% of men and 4% of women.

The Gallup Poll inter-

views too few people in each State for close accuracy with State figures, but the following figures probably give a reliable picture of State by State differences of opinion:

Clean glasses, however, are opposed in SA and Tasmania, and opinion is equally divided in WA and in Victoria, where a "clean glass" law will begin on July 1.

views too few people in each State for close accuracy with State figures, but the following figures probably give a reliable picture of State by State differences of opinion:

CLEAN GLASSES

For every asked drink for clean glass

	For	If	Un-
	every	asked	de-
	asked	for	ci-
	clean	clean	de-
	glass	glass	ci-
	only	only	de-
	if	if	de-
	asked	asked	de-
	for	for	de-
	clean	clean	de-
	glass	glass	de-
	only	only	de-
	if	if	de-
	asked	asked	de-
	for	for	de-
	clean	clean	de-
	glass	glass	de-
	only	only	de-
	if	if	de-
	asked	asked	de-
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	clean	clean	de-
	glass	glass	de-
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	clean	clean	de-
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AUSTRALIAN GALLUP POLLS

AFFILIATED GALLUP POLLS: U.S.A., U.K., Canada, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Italy, West Germany.

Australian Public Opinion Polls 2189-2204

Published May-Aug., 1970

Blood tests for injured drivers

Drivers in accidents who go to hospital should be given blood tests for alcohol, according to a Gallup Poll in June.

In this survey on drinking and driving, a true Australia-wide cross-section of 2000 men and women was asked:

"If a driver is an accident is taken to hospital and can't be given a breath test for alcohol, should he be given a blood test for alcohol?"

An unusually large majority of 82 p.c. said "Give him a blood test". Only 11 p.c. are against it, and 7 p.c. are undecided.

Blood tests for alcohol are favored by 84 p.c. of the women and by 79 p.c.

of the men.

A.L.P. voters and Liberal-CP voters, as separate groups, gave similar answers.

Of people over 50, 84 p.c. favored blood tests. 80 did 80 p.c. of those aged 21-49.

Comments were usually:

- Help deter drunk-drivers.
- No reason why the injured should get away with it.
- Blood tests are accurate.

Those against blood tests for people who can't be given breath tests often said it would be an infringement of human rights.

Divorce after two years' separation

People who are separated should be able to get a divorce after two years, instead of having to wait for five years.

Interviewers for the Gallup Poll called at 2000 homes in June. They pointed out that if the only grounds for divorce was that the husband and wife did not live together, they had to wait five years for a divorce.

People were then asked: "How many years do you think married people should be separated before one of them can ask for divorce?"

Answers, in the following table, show that 53 p.c. would change the divorce laws and reduce from five years to two years the "wait" for a divorce for separation:

Year or less	23 p.c.
Two years	30
Three years	23
Five years	11
No idea	4
Never	1
	100

DIVORCE !!



The vote of 53 p.c. for allowing divorce after two years' separation came from 25 p.c. of the men interviewed and from 51 p.c. of the women.

Younger people are strongest for earlier divorce, and 61 p.c. of those aged 21-29 would reduce the "wait" to two years.

Roman Catholics are least favorable to quicker divorce, but 46 p.c. said two years or less. While 62 p.c. favor divorce for separation after three years.

Bring back only part of Viet. force

The Government's decision to withdraw only part of our Vietnam force was approved by three out of four electors, judging by a Gallup Poll shortly before the decision was announced.

The question put to 1782 people in 190 representative districts throughout all six States in April was:

"Which do you favor for Vietnam: bring all our forces back to Australia now, or bring them back in stages, or keep the same number in Vietnam until the end of the war?"

13% said "Keep all there until end," 34% said "Bring them back in stages," 33% said "All back now," and 6% had no opinion.

On these figures, 49% do not favor immediate withdrawal.

All major demonstration groups gave similar answers.

Younger people are most opposed to complete withdrawal now. Only 28% of those aged 21-29 said "All back now," compared with 22% of those aged 30-49, and 28% of those aged 50-69.

Most common reasons for approving the Government's policy of bringing our troops back in stages were:

- In line with the U.S.
- Too many problems to just walk out
- Our troops should be replaced by Vietnamese

Each of these findings is based on about 2000 personal interviews by trained interviewers. Opinions of adults of all types in the capital cities, country centres and farming districts of all States are included in proportion to population.

Expectations of the surveys are met by selling the findings for publication in newspapers throughout Australia.

Members of the public are invited to investigate the Gallup method of assessing public opinion. Write to, or call at, Asst. Public Opinion Polls, Head Office, 61 Flinders Lane, Melbourne.

Charles as our next Monarch

Almost seven out of ten Australians want Prince Charles to succeed Queen Elizabeth, rather than for him to give way in favor of an Australian republic, the Gallup Poll finds.

In June, about a month after the Royal Visit, 2000 electors throughout all six States were asked:

"At the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, should we recognize Charles the Third as our King, or become a republic with an elected President?"

The vote for King Charles was 68% compared with 26% for a republic. The other 6% were undecided.

Exactly the same question was asked by the Gallup Poll last December.

Comparison of answers then and in June shows a slight firming of opinion in favor of royalty:

	Dec. 1969	June 1970
King Charles	65	68
Republic	25	26
Undecided	10	6

The recent vote of 68% for King Charles came from 35% of the women interviewed and from 60% of the men.

It also came from 35% of Liberal-CP voters and 65% of A.L.P. voters.

Younger people are the most republican, but even among those aged 21-29, there are 57% for King Charles, compared with 71% of those over 50.

People who want the monarchy usually said: "There's no reason to change." "Monarchy is more stable than a Presidency." "I like Prince Charles." "He will be something to look up to."

On the other hand, those for a republic often said "We must be more independent." "Royalty is a waste of money."

Opinion divided on health schemes

Public opinion is evenly divided between the Government's new contributory health scheme and the A.L.P. "free" scheme, the Gallup Poll finds.

People interviewed in April were asked:

"Which health scheme do you prefer — the Government's revised voluntary contributory scheme, or the Labor Party's free scheme, financed by everyone paying 1% of their income?"

Against 40% who said they favored the revised contributory scheme, another 40% said they favored everyone paying 1% of their income.

The remaining 20% were undecided.

Men lean slightly toward paying 1% of income, while women tend to favor the contributory scheme.

People were asked their political affiliation. Analysis shows that opinion on health services division on party lines:

	A.L.P.	L.-C.P.
%	%	%
All pay 1% of income	60	23
Contributory	23	57
Undecided	17	20

People's ages had no effect on their answers, except that indecision increased with age.

Most common reasons for favoring the revised contributory scheme were:

- Gives freedom of choice.
- I'm satisfied with the present scheme.



On the other hand, those for everyone paying 1% of their income often said:

- Help poorer families.
- Better for everyone.

The world may soon be unlivable

Most Australians believe the world will be unlivable within 20 years unless controls are enforced quickly, the Gallup Poll finds.

In this Australia-wide survey of opinion on the future of our world, conducted in April, a true cross-section of people was asked:

"In your opinion, is the talk of dangerous over-population and pollution of our planet simply the talk of cranks, or is the world likely to be unlivable within 20 years unless controls are enforced quickly?"

People answered: The world will be unlivable 62% It's only the talk of cranks 16% Undecided 22%

There is remarkable uniformity of opinion among men and women; also in the age groups from 21 to over 70, throughout the States, and in the supporters of A.L.P. and Liberal-CP.

The biggest difference (and then not great) is between Protestants, of whom 62% said the world was becoming unlivable, as compared with 57% of Roman Catholics.

Those who believe the world is likely to be unlivable within 20 years unless controls are enforced quickly were asked what should be done about it.

Most people said factories, sewerage systems and car fumes should be more strictly controlled.

Birth control was also commonly mentioned, and so was the need for more research.

Remote work, not jail for army objectors

Two out of three people would approve army objectors doing 2½ years' work in a remote area at low pay, instead of 2 years' jail, the Gallup Poll finds.

Each of the 1524 people interviewed in June was told that young men who would not do National Service might be offered the choice of 2½ years' work at lower pay on national projects in remote areas, instead of 2 years' jail.

The survey was conducted between announcement of that proposal and its rejection by the Federal Liberal Party.

Asked their opinions of the proposal, 64% said they approved it, 38% disapproved it, and 4% were undecided.

Approval came from 72% of Liberal-CP voters and 62% of A.L.P. voters.

- ever, gave three diverse reasons:
- I don't believe in conscription.
 - I don't believe in forced labor, or
 - All young men should do their time in the army.

Cricket with South Africa approved

Most Australians approve our cricket team going to South Africa in 1975, the Gallup Poll finds.

injured drivers

Drivers in accidents who go to hospital should be given blood tests for alcohol, according to a Gallup Poll in June.

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"If a driver in an accident is taken to hospital and can't be given a breath test for alcohol, should he be given a blood test for alcohol?"

An unusually large majority of 82 p.c. said "Give him a blood test". Only 11 p.c. are against it, and 7 p.c. are undecided.

Blood tests for alcohol are favored by 84 p.c. of the women and by 79 p.c.

of the men. A.L.P. voters and Liberal-CP voters, as separate groups, gave similar answers.

Of people over 50, 84 p.c. favored blood tests. So did 80 p.c. of those aged 21-49.

- Comments were usually:
- Help deter drunk-drivers.
 - No reason why the injured should get away with it.
 - Blood tests are accurate.

Those against blood tests for people who can't be given breath tests often said it would be an infringement of human rights.

Divorce after two years' separation

People who are separated should be able to get a divorce after two years, instead of having to wait for five years.

Interviewers for the Gallup Poll called at 2000 homes in June. They pointed out that if the only grounds for divorce was that the husband and wife did not live together, they had to wait five years for a divorce.

People were then asked: "How many years do you think married people should be separated before one of them can ask for divorce?"

Answers, in the following table, show that 53 p.c. would change the divorce laws and reduce from five years to two years the "wait" for a divorce for separation:

Year or less	27 p.c.
Two years	26
Three years	53
Five years	11
No idea	11
Never	4
	100

DIVORCE !!



The vote of 53 p.c. for allowing divorce after two years' separation came from 55 p.c. of the men interviewed and from 51 p.c. of the women.

Younger people are strongest for earlier divorce, and 61 p.c. of those aged 21-29 would reduce the "wait" to two years.

Roman Catholics are least favorable to quicker divorces, but 46 p.c. said two years or less. While 52 p.c. favor divorce for separation after three years.

Bring back only part of Viet. force

The Government's decision to withdraw only part of our Vietnam force was approved by three out of four electors, judging by a Gallup Poll shortly before the decision was announced.

The question put to 1782 people in 190 representative districts throughout all six States in April was:

"Which do you favor for Vietnam: bring all our forces back to Australia now, or bring them back in stages, or keep the same number in Vietnam until the end of the war?"

33% said "Keep all there until end," 46% said "Bring them back in stages," 23% said "All back now," and 6% had no opinion.

On these figures, 69% do not favor immediate withdrawal.

Men and women, as separate groups, gave almost the same answers.

The following table shows that even among A.L.P. voters, there are 57% who oppose immediate total withdrawal.

	A.L.P.	L.-C.P.
Same to end	12	26
Back in stages	45	36
All back now	37	32
No opinion	4	6

All major demonstration groups gave similar answers.

Younger people are most opposed to complete withdrawal now. Only 25% of those aged 21-29 said "All back now," compared with 25% of those aged 30-49, and 28% of those aged 50-69.

Most common reasons for approving the Government's policy of bringing our troops back in stages were:

- In line with the U.S.
- Too many problems to just walk out
- Our troops should be replaced by Vietnamese

Those who thought we should keep the same number in Vietnam until the end of the war often said:

- We must fight Communism
- It's better to fight on other soil.

On the other hand, those for bringing all our forces back to Australia now often said:

- We shouldn't be involved in the war
- We are achieving nothing.

Options of adults of all types in the capital cities, country centres and farming districts of all States are included in proportion to population.

Expenses of the surveys are met by selling the findings for publication in newspapers throughout Australia. Members of the public are invited to investigate the Gallup method of sampling public opinion. Write to, or call at, Asst. Public Opinion Polls, Head Office of Finders Lane, Melbourne.

Next Monarch

Almost seven out of ten Australians want Prince Charles to succeed Queen Elizabeth, rather than for him to give way in favor of an Australian republic, the Gallup Poll finds.

In June, about a month after the Royal Visit, 2000 electors throughout all six States were asked:

"At the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, should we recognize Charles the Third as our King, or become a republic with an elected President?"

The vote for King Charles was 65%, com-

pared with 36% for a republic. The other 6% were undecided.

Exactly the same question was asked by the Gallup Poll last December.

Comparison of answers then and in June shows a slight firming of opinion in favor of royalty:

	Dec. June
	1969 1970
King Charles	75 65
Republic	25 36
Undecided	19 6

The recent vote of 65% for King Charles came from 35% of the women interviewed and from 60% of the men.

It also came from 35% of Liberal-CP voters and 61% of A.L.P. voters.

Younger people are the most republican, but even among those aged 21-29, there are 67% for King Charles, compared with 71% of those over 50.

People who want the monarchy usually said: "There's no reason to change." "Monarchy is more stable than a President." "I like Prince Charles." "He will be something to look up to."

On the other hand, those for a republic often said: "We must be more independent." "Royalty is a waste of money."

Opinion divided on health schemes

Public opinion is evenly divided between the Government's new contributory health scheme and the A.L.P. "free" scheme, the Gallup Poll finds.

People interviewed in April were asked:

"Which health scheme do you prefer — the Government's revised voluntary contributory scheme, or the Labor Party's free scheme, financed by everyone paying 1% of their income?"

Against 43% who said they favored the revised contributory scheme, 40% said they favored everyone paying 1% of their income.

The remaining 39% were undecided.

Men lean slightly toward paying 1% of income, while women tend to favor the contributory scheme.

People were asked their political affiliation. Analysis shows that opinion on health services divides on party lines:

	A.L.P.	L.-C.P.
	%	%
All pay 1% of income	60	23
Contributory	23	57
Undecided	17	20

People's ages had no effect on their answers, except that indecision increased with age.

Most common reasons for favoring the revised contributory scheme were:

- Given freedom of choice.
- I'm satisfied with the



present scheme. On the other hand, those for everyone paying 1% of their income often said:

- Help poorer families.
- Better for everyone.

The world may soon be unlivable

Most Australians believe the world will be unlivable within 20 years unless controls are enforced quickly, the Gallup Poll finds.

In this Australia-wide survey of opinion on the future of our world, conducted in April, a true cross-section of people was asked:

"In your opinion, is the talk of dangerous over-population and pollution of our planet simply the talk of cranks; or is the world

likely to be unlivable within 20 years, unless controls are enforced quickly?"

People answered:

The world will be unlivable	62%
It's only the talk of cranks	16%
Undecided	22%

There is remarkable uniformity of opinion among men and women; also in the age groups from 21 to over 70, throughout the States, and in the supporters of A.L.P. and Liberal-CP.

The biggest difference (and then not great) is between Protestants, of whom 63% said the world was becoming unlivable, as compared with 57% of Roman Catholics.

Those who believe the world is likely to be unlivable within 20 years unless controls are enforced quickly were asked what should be done about it.

Most people said factories, sewerage systems and car fumes should be more strictly controlled.

Birth control was also commonly mentioned, and so was the need for more research.

Remote work, not jail for army objectors

Two out of three people would approve army objectors doing 2½ years' work in a remote area at low pay, instead of 2 years' jail, the Gallup Poll finds.

Each of the 1,924 people interviewed in June was told that young men who would not do National Service might be offered the choice of 2½ years' work at lower pay on national projects in remote areas, instead of 2 years' jail.

The survey was conducted after announcement of that proposal and its rejection by the Federal Liberal Party.

Asked their opinions of the proposal:

64% said they approved it, 30% disapproved it, and 6% were undecided.

Approval came from 73% of Liberal-CP voters, 68% of DLP voters and 58% of A.L.P. voters.

People's ages had little effect on their opinions. People in favor of a civilian alternative usually said:

- Jail is too harsh.
- A lot have to go; others should be penalized.
- Do something worthwhile.

ever, gave three diverse reasons:

- I don't believe in conscription.
- I don't believe in forced labor, or.
- All young men should do their time in the army.

Cricket with South Africa approved

Most Australians approve our cricket team going to South Africa in 1975, the Gallup Poll finds.

People interviewed throughout all six States in April were reminded that the Australian Board of Cricket Control had agreed to send a cricket team to South Africa in 1975. They were then asked whether they approved, or disapproved, that decision.

As many as 73% said they approved a cricket team going to South Africa in 1975. Only 16% disapproved it, and 11% were

undecided. Approval came from 77% of Liberal-CP voters and 68% of A.L.P. voters.

They usually said:

- There should be no politics in sport.
- Good for sport.
- The majority of 16% against the team going often said:
- I'm against apartheid.
- Sending a team would condone apartheid.

AUSTRALIAN GALLUP POLLS

61 Flinders Lane, Melbourne and 77 Pacific Highway, Sydney.

AFFILIATED GALLUP POLLS: U.S.A., U.K., Canada, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Italy, West Germany.

Australian Public Opinion Polls 2222-2235

Published Oct.-Dec., 1970

Gallup Poll on Senate correct

The Gallup Poll was correct with its prediction that there would be a big swing of first preference votes from Liberal-CP to minor parties and Independents at the Senate election on November 21.

On the basis of 4000 interviews made a week before voting day, the Gallup Poll also predicted A.L.P. of the four features of the election result:

1. That the vote for Liberal-CP would be the worst-ever.
2. That voters would not swing from L-CP to A.L.P.
3. That Independents and minor parties would receive a record vote, and
4. That the DLP candidates in Queensland and Victoria would retain their seats.

Over the past 24 years the Gallup Poll has proved that its surveys on voting intention, conducted seven days before elections for the House of Representatives, give percentages close to election results. Last year, for instance, accuracy was within 1%.

It has been found, however, that big last-minute swings often occur in the last week of the brief Senate campaigns, when the DLP has a special appeal.

Therefore, when making its predictions for the Senate election, the Gallup Poll was guided not only by people's voting intentions a week before voting day,

but also by some further questioning.

Those additional questions probed the possibility of people changing their minds and voting differently from their stated voting intention.

The following table compares the pre-election Gallup Poll with the actual first preference vote:

- The table shows:
- How the semi-final Gallup Poll on October 31 correctly recorded the poor response to Mr Whitlam's policy speech on October 28, and
 - How the final Gallup Poll on November 14 correctly recorded the even poorer response to Mr Gorton's policy speech on November 4; also the drift to DLP and Independents, which continued for another 7 days, right up to voting on November 21.

Gallup Poll:	A.L.P.	L-CP	DLP	Others
Oct. 7	48	44	7	1
Oct. 31	45	45	6	4
Nov. 14	45	40	9	6
Elections:				
Nov. 21	42.2	38.2	11.1	8.5

Public wants weekend shopping

Most people in Victoria, Queensland and South Australia want shops open on Saturday morning. In New South Wales and Tasmania, however, Friday evening is favored, while West Australians are evenly divided about it.

These are findings of a Gallup Poll in October when 3800 people were handed cards listing five proposals for week- and shopping.

The proposals and the percentages for each are in the following table:

- Open Saturday morning but don't open Friday night . . . 30%
- Close Saturday but open Friday evening instead . . . 29%
- Open shops both Friday evening and Saturday morning . . . 17%
- Open shops all Saturday for a 6-day shopping week . . . 11%
- Close Saturday and have a 5-day shopping week . . . 10%
- No opinion . . . 3%

The above figures show only small minorities of 1-in-10 in favor of the extremes of opening shops ALL Saturday, or closing them on BOTH Saturday morning and Friday evening.

Shopping on both Saturday morning and Friday evening also has only minority support.

ing for weekend shopping, but it must be one or the other.



Cricket with South Africa approved

Almost eight out of 10 Australians approve our sending a cricket team to South Africa in 1975, the Gallup Poll finds.

People interviewed throughout all six States in October were reminded that the Australian Board of Cricket Control had agreed to send a cricket team to South Africa in 1975.

Asked whether they approved or disapproved our sending that team, 77% said they approved it.

Exactly the same question was asked by the Gallup Poll seven months previously. The following



Stronger UN wanted

In Europe, the United States and Australia, most people want the United Nations strengthened and supported by a peace-keeping army of 100,000 men, a world-wide Gallup Poll in October shows.

Two questions were asked in eight countries simultaneously.

When people were asked whether the United Nations should be strengthened, big favorable majorities were found in all countries except Spain and Uruguay.

	STRENGTHEN UN	
	Yes %	No op'n %
Australia	85	8
USA	84	8
Sweden	79	6
Greece	75	2
UK	74	9
Holland	66	10
Spain	46	8
Uruguay	45	31

Asked whether they favored, or opposed, the United Nations establishing a peace-keeping army of about 100,000 men, the same eight cross-sections answered:

	UN ARMY	
	Fav. %	No op'n %
Greece	75	6
Australia	69	20
USA	65	22
UK	63	18
Holland	59	16
Sweden	54	27
Spain	42	16
Uruguay	22	58

Our leaders less popular

In the year between the elections for the House of Representatives and the Senate, both Mr Gorton and Mr Whitlam lost popularity, the Gallup Poll found in October.

In the weekend between the policy speeches of Mr Whitlam and Mr Gorton, 3000 electors throughout Australia were asked: "Do you approve, or disapprove, the way Mr Gorton is handling his job as Prime Minister?"

The following table shows that approval of Mr Gorton fell by 2% between June and October, to a new low of 44%:

	MR GORTON AS P.M.		
	% Approve	% Disapprove	Undecided
April, '69	64	19	17
Oct., '69	46	32	22
June, '70	46	38	16
Oct., '70	44	37	19

The opposing positions of A.L.P. and L-CP on key issues, such as Vietnam, are reflected in a fall in approval of Mr Gorton since A.L.P. voters to 29%, compared with 29% before the election for the House of Representatives a year ago.

Among L-CP voters, however, approval of Mr Gorton rose by 7% between June and November, while Mr Gorton's approval after falling steadily for 14 months:

	L-CP VOTERS ON MR GORTON		
	% Approve	% Disapprove	Undecided
April, '69	71	13	16
Oct., '69	68	18	14
June, '70	61	24	15
Oct., '70	68	17	15

The same cross-section of people was asked:

"Do you approve, or disapprove, the way Mr Whitlam is handling his job as Leader of the Opposition?"

The next table shows that approval of Mr Whitlam as leader of the Opposition fell steadily over 18 months, to a level almost the same as that of Mr Gorton, as in the first table:

	MR WHITLAM, AS OPPOSITION LEADER		
	% Approve	% Disapprove	Undecided
April, '69	74	8	18
Oct., '69	51	26	23
June, '70	49	30	21
Oct., '70	45	35	20

The opposing positions of A.L.P. and L-CP are reflected in L-CP voters' approval of Mr Whitlam being only 29%, compared with 40% a year ago.

The next table shows that A.L.P. voters' approval of Mr Whitlam fell by 2%, between June and November, while Mr Gorton's approval among L-CP voters (see 2nd table) rose by 7%:

	A.L.P. VOTERS ON MR WHITLAM		
	% Approve	% Disapprove	Undecided
April, '69	54	22	24
Oct., '69	51	26	23
June, '70	66	15	19
Oct., '70	64	16	20

Felons as MPs? Minors "Yes"; Adults "No"

A conviction in the Children's Court should not debar a man from becoming a Member of Parliament, but an adult who commits a felony should be disqualified for life.

These are findings of a Gallup Poll in October, in which 1,800 people were first asked:

"If a Children's Court convicts a youth of robbery with violence, should that stop him from ever being a Member of Parliament?"

69% said a conviction as a youth should NOT stop a man from becoming a Member of Parliament.

Only 25% said it should stop him. The other 6% had no opinion.

The vote of 69% for letting him be an MP came almost equally from A.L.P. voters (72%) and Liberal-CP voters (68%).

The second question was:

"If an adult commits a felony, such as assault and robbery, should he be disqualified from being a Member of Parliament for life, or for some years, or not at all?"

62% said a felony should disqualify a man from Parliament for life and 23% said for some years.

Only 11% said he should not be disqualified, and 4% had no opinion.

Again A.L.P. and Liberal-CP voters were in close agreement.

Don't sell arms to South Africa

Australians oppose Britain selling munitions to South Africa, a Gallup Poll in November shows.

bill has risen by 6 per cent, but the total increase in three years has been only 10 per cent.

Therefore, most of the increase of 29 per cent in three years in the cost of keeping a family reflects a different pattern of spending and a higher standard of living.

These were Gallup Poll findings in October from asking 2000 people throughout Australia:

"In your opinion, what is the smallest amount a family of four — two parents and two children — need each week to keep in health and live decently — that is, the smallest amount for all expenses, including rent?"

The same question has been asked by the Gallup Poll every year since 1945. Average answers in the past five years are in the following table.

It will be seen that this year the public's estimate of the minimum cost of keeping a family of four has increased by \$4.20 to \$63.30. That is almost the same increase as last year's \$4.70.

Year	Federal minimum wage	C.O.L. minimum wage	Gallup Polls
1966	\$12.50	\$14.60	\$44.60
1967	13.00	14.80	45.80
1968	13.50	15.10	48.10
1969	14.00	15.40	49.40
1970	14.50*	16.00	50.20

* \$46.10 from Jan. 1970. This estimate of \$63.30 by the public is within 40 cents of the average answer from families of four, who should know best.

Skilled and semi-skilled workers and their wives gave answers close to the average of \$63.30.

Professional people and white collar workers were about \$2 higher, but farm dwellers who pay no rent and grow some of their food were \$6 lower.

In the capital cities, estimates averaged \$62.20 compared with \$56.40 elsewhere.

Cost of food

The same 2000 people were also asked how much food was costing their family each week.

Answers averaged \$23.40. That is an increase of \$1.20 (nearly 5%) on the year, and twice the average increase of 60 cents (3 per cent) per annum in the preceding four years.

People themselves in families of four said food was costing them \$25.50 a week. That is an increase of \$3.20 on the year, and \$1.30 more than the average of \$23.40 for families of all sizes.

Non-food items

Differences between the estimated minimum cost of living of a family of four (first column below) and their average cost of food (second column) measure minimum family spending on rent, clothes, travel, entertainment, etc., as in Column 3.

Comparison of Columns 2 and 3 shows that whereas seven years ago those "other items" cost LESS than food, they are now costing 34% MORE than food.

That change, of course, reflects a different pattern of spending and a higher standard of living.

FAMILY OF FOUR

Year	Living cost	Food	Other items
1963	\$37.90	\$26.40	\$11.50
1967	47.00	25.70	21.30
1969	54.30	23.30	31.00
1970	63.30	25.50	37.80



Robert: The Mercury.

MARKET SURVEYS

The experienced interviewers and statisticians of the Australian Gallup Poll are continually conducting market surveys as well as public opinion polls.

These "not for publication" market surveys are conducted for manufacturers and marketers.

People who may need market surveys should write to the New Morgan Research Centre, Pty. Ltd., Box 7347, Melbourne.



Demonstrate? Yes, but don't disrupt

For the second time in 14 months, the Gallup Poll has found most electors saying that demonstrators may demonstrate in the streets, but only if they don't block the traffic.

In October, interviewers throughout Australia asked people:

"If people disagree with what the Government is doing, do you think they do, or do not, have the right to demonstrate peacefully in the main streets of the capital cities?"

Out of every 100 people interviewed 73% said "They have the right to demonstrate." 36% said "No, they don't" and 1% were undecided.

The widespread interest in this question is shown by the exceptionally small 1% undecided.

The 73% for letting demonstrators demonstrate in the main streets of capital cities includes 84% of DLP voters, 78% of A.L.P. voters, and 66% of Liberal-CP voters.

People under 35 are most favorable to the demonstrators.

They voted 81% throughout Australia compared with 78% of those aged 30-49, 69% of those 50-69, and 53% of those over 70.

Traffic, violence

The 73% for letting demonstrators demonstrate also asked: "Have those demonstrators the right to block traffic?" and "Have they the right to be violent?"

Of all the 1880 people interviewed, only 8% said demonstrators had the right to block traffic.

And as few as 1% said demonstrators had the right to be violent.

All of these percentages are almost the same as in an identical Gallup Poll of a different but similar cross-section of 2,000 people in August 1969.

Public divided on Vietnam

Australians are almost evenly divided on whether we should continue to fight in Vietnam, the Gallup Poll found in October.

For the seventh time since 1967, a different but similar cross-section of about 1800 electors has been asked:

"In your opinion, should we continue to fight in Vietnam, or bring our forces back to Australia now?"

65% said "Bring all our forces back now," but against them 42% said "Continue to fight in Vietnam." The other 12% were undecided.

Men were evenly divided. Women answered: Bring back 40%, continue 40%, undecided 15%.

There is a marked difference of opinion between Liberal-CP voters, who are more than 2-to-1 for continuing to fight, and A.L.P. voters, who are more than 2-to-1 for bringing back all of our Vietnam force now.

The following table shows how support for the Vietnam war declined from 1967 up to the House of Representatives election in May 1969. Since then, however, support has increased slightly.

VIETNAM WAR

Year	Con-Being Undecided	Bring back	Continue
1967 May	42	24	14
1968 Dec.	54	22	8
Dec.	49	27	14
1969 Apr.	48	29	12
Aug.	40	33	5
Oct.	38	35	10
1970 Oct.	43	43	12

* As in table in Col. 5
† See later figures in Col. 5

Most common comment by those for continuing to fight were: "Too late to back out now," "Protect ourselves from Communism," "Better to fight there than here."

On the other hand, those for withdrawal said: "Should never have been here," "Time we were out of it," "They should work out their own problems."

Cut Vietnam force to one battalion

Recent reduction of our Vietnam force from three battalions to two should be followed by the withdrawal of another battalion, leaving only one battalion in Vietnam, a Gallup Poll shows.

People interviewed in the Australia-wide survey in November were first reminded that our army in Vietnam was being reduced from three battalions to two battalions. They were then asked:

"In your opinion, should we keep two battalions in Vietnam, or one battalion, or none?"

Only 31% favor keeping two battalions in Vietnam.

Another 17% favor keeping one battalion there, so altogether there are 54% for a Vietnam force of at least one battalion.

having two years' national service. On the other hand, most people continued to favor the A.L.P. policies of ending the means test for pensions, having free medical services, bringing our troops back from Vietnam, and ratifying the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

However, as explained later, no issue seemed likely to unseat the Government.

People were interviewed in the weekend of October 31, between the policy speeches of Mr Whitlam and Mr Gordon.

Each person was handed a card listing eight possible election issues, with two extreme attitudes on each issue.

Seven of the issues were similarly surveyed before the election for the House of Representatives a year previously. "Law and order" was surveyed for the first time.

People were asked which of the two attitudes on each question was closer to their own feelings.

Answers on October 31 and a year previously are compared in the following tables:

MEANS TEST: Continue the means test for pensions, or end it in about 4 years?

Year	1969	1970
Continue	66	71
End test	32	28
Undecided	1	1

STATE AID: Give State aid to non-Government schools, or end State aid to non-Government schools? (Last year this began "Give more State aid, etc.")

Year	1969	1970
Give aid	63	66
End aid	32	29
Undecided	11	5

LAW AND ORDER: We need stronger laws for controlling demonstrators, or we have enough laws for controlling demonstrators?

Year	1970
Stronger laws	66
Enough laws	29
Undecided	5

SINGAPORE: Bring our forces back from Malaysia and Singapore, or keep forces in Malaysia and Singapore?

Year	1969	1970
Keep forces	56	63
Bring back	31	27
Undecided	13	10

NATIONAL SERVICE: End conscription now?

Year	1970
End conscription	60

Compare findings on demonstrators and Vietnam on the left with those above, obtained by using a card listing eight election issues.

national service, or continue 2 years' national service, with overseas service?

Year	1969	1970
Continue N.S.	53	56
End N.S.	32	34
Undecided	10	8

MEDICAL: Continue the revised voluntary system of hospital and medical benefits, or have free medical and hospital services financed by a levy of 1% on all taxable income? (Last year this began "Impose the present voluntary, etc.")

Year	1969	1970
Free with levy	47	54
Voluntary	47	41
Undecided	6	5

VIETNAM: Continue to fight in Vietnam, or bring all our forces back from Vietnam now?

Year	1969	1970
Bring back	43	50
Continue	39	42
Undecided	10	8

NUCLEAR WAR: We should ratify the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, or we should have our own nuclear weapons? (Last year this began "We should sign.")

Year	1969	1970
Favor treaty	61	67
Have weapons	29	28
Undecided	10	14

Potent planks

Year	1969	1970
Only 37% said an election promise on one of these eight issues could affect their vote.		

People were asked whether they felt so strongly about any one of the above issues, that they would definitely vote for a Party which promised it at the Senate election.

And further questioning showed that most people who said they might respond to an A.L.P. promise were already in the Labor camp.

Percentages who said each A.L.P. promise could affect their vote are shown at the end of the first of each pair of lines in the following table.

For instance, 7% said the A.L.P. promise to bring back the Vietnam force could affect their vote at the Senate election.

However, only the small percentages in parentheses in those first lines were in the L-CP camp and might have switched to A.L.P. on that issue.

It will seem, therefore, that no one issue had much potential for swinging people from L-CP to A.L.P.

Means Test:

Year	End in 4 years (3)	Continue (1)
End in 4 years	3%	1%

State Aid:

Year	End aid (1)	Give aid (1)
End aid	1%	1%

Law and Order:

Year	Stronger laws (1)	Enough laws (1)
Stronger laws	1%	1%

Compare findings on demonstrators and Vietnam on the left with those above, obtained by using a card listing eight election issues.

Stronger laws:

Year	Stronger laws (1)	Enough laws (1)
Stronger laws	1%	1%

Men and women, as separate groups, gave almost the same answers.

Of L-CP voters, 54% favor keeping two battalions in Vietnam, and altogether there are 68% of L-CP voters for keeping at least one battalion there.

Of A.L.P. voters, 7% ever, 35% would withdraw all the force now.



WHAT CAN I LEARN FROM VISUAL RESOURCES?

War records come in a variety of media and formats. These include:

- official histories (CEW Bean for World War I, Peter Edwards et al, Vietnam War)
- collections of memorabilia (medals, uniforms, leaflets, brochures, ration books)
- artefacts
- official records including reports by war correspondents
- personal letters, drawings, notes
- photographs (official and personal)
- works of art, usually undertaken after the event
- film and television footage.

For Australians, the Vietnam War was the first war covered in a substantial way by television. Each night Australians sat in their lounge rooms and kitchens watching reports about recent events in the war. Within hours, at the most within days, Australians could view approved footage of the war. In some ways it meant the general public was better informed, but was this selective information? Whose opinions decided which footage and commentary (information and interpretation/viewpoint) would be given to the public at large? Did it reveal the whole story or selected parts only? Were Australians better informed by this visual material any more than fellow citizens during previous conflicts? These are some of the questions you will need to answer.

There are many visual records to help you gain a better understanding of the nature of the Vietnam War. These include:

Photographs

Visit the Australian War memorial's website at www.awm.gov.au/database/collection.asp

Click onto 'Collections search' and enter key words into the 'Search terms' box. For example, Vietnam Moratorium will provide access to 47 photographs and posters associated with the Vietnam Moratorium.

Students could also browse to find photographs that illustrate the living and fighting conditions. Decide whether or not these photographs are natural or posed shots. Why was each photograph taken? What is illustrated and what is not illustrated about the nature of the war? What information is missing?

To help students understand visual resources, they need to ask themselves the types of questions an historian or social commentator would ask. Use the following visual literacy questions to guide discussion:

Analysing the purpose of the images:

- Who and what is in each photograph?
- What are the people doing?
- What do you think happened before each photograph was taken?
- What do you think happened after each photograph was taken?
- Why do you think these photographs were taken? What do they tell you?
- When do you think that each photograph was taken?
- What might be happening outside each photograph?
- Where do you think the photographer stood when the photograph was taken?
- Do you think it might look much different if it was taken from another position?
- Is there anything in any of these images that shows humour?
- Do these images create an atmosphere of importance about the events they portray and if so, how?
- How do you think that the people in these images might be feeling?
- What are some of the feelings you had as you looked at each photograph?
- What details or information do you think are missing from these photographs?



WHAT CAN I LEARN FROM VISUAL RESOURCES? (continued)

- Are they important images or details? Why or why not?
- Which photographs are action shots and which ones are posed photographs?
- How can you tell?
- If you had to write a caption for each photograph for a newspaper article, what would it be?

Students could also compare photographs from the Australian War Memorial website (mainly official photographs) with those presented in secondary sources they have read about the war. Compare and contrast 'official' and 'independent' photographs.

Works of Art

You can view 126 works of art portraying aspects of the Vietnam War at the Australian War Memorial's website, www.awm.gov.au/database/collection.asp

Click on 'Collections search' and type 'Vietnam War' in the 'Search terms' box. From the more than 10,000 images available, select art works in the left hand box, 'Records by collection'.

To help students evaluate the worth of art works as a historical record, students should ask questions such as the following:

Analysing the purpose of the images:

- Who and what is in each work of art?
- What are the people doing?
- How soon or how long after the events portrayed were these images made? Do you think this would make a difference to the accuracy of the art work? Why?
- Why do you think these images were made? What do they tell you?
- What might be happening outside each image?
- Is there anything in any of these images that shows humour?
- How do these images create an atmosphere of importance about the events they portray?
- How do you think that the people in these images might be feeling?
- What are some of the feelings you had as you looked at each image?
- What details do you think are missing from these images?
- Are they important images or details? Why?
- If you had to write a caption for each image for a newspaper article, what would it be?
- Are there any questions you could not answer to help you understand the event by examining the art work?

Television and film footage

The Australian War Memorial website identifies 802 pieces of film footage. These cannot be viewed online. You need to request a copy from the Australian War Memorial.

The Australian Centre for the Moving Image (formerly Cinemedia, State Film Centre) has a number of films related to the Vietnam War which can be borrowed. To borrow films visit www.acmi.net.au/borrow.htm.

The following film titles deal specifically with images portrayed as a part of television news coverage. The ACMI catalogue number is also provided. A brief description follows each title. This information has been downloaded from the ACMI website.



WHAT CAN I LEARN FROM VISUAL RESOURCES? (continued)

Title Frontline (013825)
 Physical Colour; Sound; 56 min
 Produced 1979
 Distributor Ronin Films (RF)
 Subj rating Exempt from Classification
 Collection Disaster Priority Title - 3rd
 Synopsis The late Neil Davis covered the Vietnam War for over 11 years; his footage of the conflict was seen nightly by millions of television viewers around the world. The film examines the ethical issues facing a person in the front line who is not an active combatant and provides a record of Davis' involvement in the conflict, combining his original footage, comments and archival film. Rated: PG
 Prod Co Australian Film Commission/Tasmanian Film Commission/ Australian War Memorial
 Director David Bradbury
 Subjects Davis, Neil, 1934-1985; Documentaries and factual works - Australia; Journalism; Journalism - Political aspects; Motion picture journalism - Australia; Vietnamese Conflict, 1961-1975; War; Australian(CB); Documentaries and factual works(CB); History(CB); Television(CB); Bradbury, David(A)
 Alt Title A Frontline (Captioned) (300721)
 Note SOME SCENES MAY DISTURB
 Holdings 16mm - South Melbourne, 1 copy
 VHS - South Melbourne, 3 copies

Title Frontline : The search for truth in wartime (308025)
 Physical Colour; Sound; 52 min
 Copyrighted 1983
 Distributor Video Classroom (VC)
 Subj rating General
 Collection Media studies
 Synopsis In this fascinating documentary, distinguished Australian war correspondent John Pilger traces the changing face of war reporting from Crimea through the First and Second World Wars to Vietnam and the Falklands.
 Prod Co Central Independent television
 Producer/Di Nicholas Claxton
 Director Ross Devenish
 Subjects Broadcast journalism; Journalism; Journalism - Objectivity; Journalism - Political aspects; Propaganda; Reporters and reporting; War; History(CB); Claxton, Nicholas(A); Devenish, Ross(A); Pilger, John(A)
 Holdings VHS - South Melbourne, 2 copies

You can borrow these films by visiting www.acmi.net.au/borrow.htm

Other films of general interest (from 132 listed) include:

Australia's anti-war movement (303539), 1993, 55 minutes

Vietnam, Australia's war (304014), 1990, Video Education Australia

Vietnam: the long road home (304013), 1989, 47 minutes (includes footage of Malcolm Fraser and Dr Jim Cairns)

See 'Impressions: Australians in Vietnam: Photography, art and the war' at www.awm.gov.au/events/travelling/impresions/aust_vietnam.htm, which looks at how the Vietnam War was covered by Australian officials at the time.



WHAT WAS THE NATIONAL SERVICE ACT?

The National Service Act was introduced in 1974. This Act required all 20 year old Australian males to register for a ballot which selected men by birthdate to be conscripted for two years military service, some conscripts serving overseas, particularly Vietnam.

For an easy-to-read but comprehensive 21 page outline of the Act and its implementation, see:

Langford, Susan, *The national service scheme, 1964-72*, www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/viet_app.htm

Langford, Susan, 'Appendix: The national service act, 1964-72' in Edwards, Peter, *A Nation at War: Australian politics, society and diplomacy during the Vietnam War 1965-1975*, Allen & Unwin, 1997, pp. 355-380 (This and the previous source are the same text)

Fact Sheet 164: national service, 1965-72, www.naa.gov.au/Publications/fact_sheets/FS164.html

The following resources may prove useful in providing commentary about the Act, its implementation, effect and public response:

Conscription (a South Australian perspective), www.diggerhistory.info/pages-conflicts-periods/other/conscription.htm

Forward, Roy & Reece, Bob (eds), *Conscription in Australia*, University of Queensland Press 1968

Langley, Greg, *A Decade of Dissent: Vietnam and the Conflict on the Australian Homefront*, Allen and Unwin 1992

Vietnam Veterans Association of Australia, www.vvaa.org.au



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