Conclusion

In concluding this book, perhaps it is best to first outline what it has not been. It has not told the story of the 1960s in Australia: a colossal topic perhaps better suited to a book series. Nor is it a history of Australia in the 1960s, although it has located many of the instances in which Australians from a wide variety of backgrounds and motivations found themselves involved in its contortions. It is, rather, the history of an idea, the idea of global revolution that the period promised. It is a history of what this idea meant to a variety of Australians and visitors to its shores—from the well-known to the many activists whose only trace of radicalism is a yellowing pamphlet, report, or letter in a rarely consulted archive box—the ways in which they encountered this idea and, for many, became disillusioned in its practicality and possibilities. Through extensive research of government, organisational, and personal archives, as well as newspapers, pamphlets, books, journals, and oral histories from across Australia, it has examined the often complex and contradictory motivations that drove individual activists and the movements they made up to engage with the global in various ways. Whether through reading an overseas pamphlet, establishing a radical meeting space, or travelling beyond the nation's borders to experience the decade's rebelliousness for themselves, Australians sought out overseas connections to challenge a nation they at least imagined as mired in a dangerous complacency. Additionally, this study has demonstrated how the global 1960s could arrive, sometimes unannounced and often

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J. Piccini, *Transnational Protest, Australia and the 1960s*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-52914-5

unwanted, at Australia's doorstep, as well as the often-difficult process of translating radical ideas into a new and often hostile context.

Globally, studies of the transnational 1960s are booming. Yet, much as 1960s activists struggled to make global ideas relevant in a very different context, few local histories have taken on the challenge of systematically melding local activist histories with those from the wider world. Those who have looked to the global imagination of the period have too often seen it as tied inextricably to the USA. Radicals are often seen as engaging in a political Beatlemania for anything and everything that their trans-Pacific heroes uttered. This process of forgetting is noted by Kristin Ross as vital to the sanitising of the period's rebelliousness, the process whereby "what [is] sayable and thinkable about the political culture of the 1960s" has been lowered "to just a few tropes or phrases".[1] Such an approach has only relatively recently been challenged by a small number of scholars employing a nuanced and less dismissive tone, looking at how Australians engaged with and translated American ideas, as well as those from further afield. In analysing a variety of participants in 1960s social movements and their transnational connections, it has looked at what they read, how they lived, where and why they travelled, and how the arrival of radical ideas and visitors from elsewhere assisted, conflicted with, and transformed local forms of activism.

A case-study approach has been employed to track a wide and varied cast—Australian activists in a variety of movements, Soviet journalists, Bermudan Black Power advocates, and South East Asian students—across a range of locations from Brisbane and Sydney to Sofia and Beijing. As such, this thesis has located Australia's engagement in the world of the radical 1960s, which began by unearthing how a new—or rather, reforged—global imagination was tentatively constructed in reaction to several important precursors. The spectres of racism and decolonisation in South Africa, the USA, and Asia began to energise a new generation to solidarity activism. Those who campaigned for "natives" in South Africa, "negroes" in the Southern USA, and revolutionary heroes in Vietnam, discovered an inspiring alternative to the supposedly apathetic political climate of Menzies's Australia and also found new toolkits and modes of politics, not in Moscow, but in the newly discovered Third World.

[1] Kristin Ross, "Establishing Consensus: May '68 in France as seen from the 1980s," *Critical Inquiry* 28, No. 3 (Spring 2002): 651.

And as the decade progressed, transnational circuits of ideas and protest became even more influential. The student Left established new bookshops and meeting rooms, stocking everything from Malcolm X to Marcuse, and Mao, which were voraciously read by a swelling group of radicals interested in their local applicability. These radical locations also provided safe spaces for experimentation in new forms of cultural and political expression. The city, as it was around the Western world and beyond, became a radical tapestry of spaces, locations, and protest, with conflictive forms of public political expression from overseas employed, as old forms and practices came to be seen as increasingly irrelevant. Spaces were found or created for an explosion of new social criticism and action from previously marginalised political actors, like women and Indigenous Australians, who also transformed the theories of decolonisation, the mental and physical liberation of the colonised subject, to their own ends. A plethora of new publications simultaneously emerged, while others were taken over and transformed, in fashions that borrowed from the participatory ethos of the American New Left, the radical style of the global counter culture and the roneoed newssheets of Paris during May 1968. University newspapers became the closest thing Australia had to an underground press, indigenous publications like *Origin* were formed, while older ones like *Smoke Signals* took on a more radical hue.

Reading and borrowing was, however, rarely enough to satisfy a radical's global interest. The mainstream media was often dismissive or hyperbolic about activism overseas, particularly if it involved the threatening moves towards equality of colonised and coloured peoples, making reliable information hard to come by. Criticism was also raised within activist quarters of those who imposed overseas ideas from books or journals without either adequate understanding or consideration of local traditions. So, relying either on the new availability of cheap flights and disposable income of the post-war boom or the often highly contingent compassion of friendly organisations and governments, many activists sought to unearth accurate and translatable movement knowledge by visiting the hot spots of global revolution. As Richard Jobs puts it, activists were no longer content simply "being inspired by one another; they were actually seeking each other out".[2]

[2] Richard Ivan Jobs, "Youth Movements: Travel, Protest and Europe in 1968," *American Historical Review* 114, No. 2 (April 2011): 384.

The travel of Australians was rarely just a form of protest, of fleeing a harsh political reality. It was instead undertaken with a firmly educative outlook. While some stumbled accidentally upon the decade's political ferment, others were in search of a new model of radical action. Brisbane radical Brian Laver sought to discover the applicability of ideas expressed by fellow youths across Europe to an Australian climate, while indigenous activists travelled to Atlanta and London to experience theories of Black Power that were so often misreported in metropolitan dailies. What these diverse activists shared was a desire to inform, to spread the gospel back home to their various, interconnected movements through reports, speeches, articles, interviews, or books produced upon their return. While few believed it possible to recreate Paris' May revolution or proletarian Shanghai in Brisbane or Melbourne, activists hoped they might find something to "adapt and apply to Australian conditions", or at the very least could return with a set of experiences which, when popularised, might transform their fellow citizens from "sympathetic bystanders to active revolutionaries".[3] As Judy Wu described, these trips and the "face-to-face contacts" that activists experienced "inspired their political imagination and expanded their sense of communion beyond the confines of the nation".[4]

The products of such contacts, however, often failed to match expectations or were not particularly well received back home. While the rhetoric of Black Power featured increasingly prominently in Indigenous Australian publications and protest during the period, encounters with its practitioners in locations like London, Atlanta, and New York, showed something of its theoretical and practical limitations. And while Bruce McGuinness could feel an imagined community with revolutionaries like Malcolm X and H. Rap Brown while walking through Harlem and Patsy Kruger became "a sister in the struggle for the liberation of black people" around the world, other activists worried that such a global perspective risked overlooking just how different life was for Aboriginal Australia when compared to that of African Americans.[5] Indigenous travellers to China had

[3] Leslie Roones Bowling to Marjorie Waters, 1 August 1970 and Warren H Winton to Marjorie Waters, Undated, in Australia-China Society Victoria Branch Records, 1952-1982, MS 13187, Box 3848, Folder 4, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.

[4] Judy Tzu Chun Wu, *Radicals on the road: internationalism, orientalism and feminism during the Vietnam Era* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 3.

[5] Pat Kruger, "A year in the revolutionary education," in *Aborigines Visit the US: Report on trip by Five Aborigines to Congress of African People and United Nations,* np (Melbourne: ASCHOL, 1971), 31.

a similarly problematic experience, being treated more as a "lobbyist overture" than collaborators in a revolutionary anti-colonial struggle by a government increasingly warming to Australia as an ally.[6] Student and worker visitors behind the "bamboo curtain" in the late 1960s, for their part, saw less to criticise. Instead, they often validated and venerated pre-existing rumours of Red Guards and cultural revolutions.

They also became immersed in "radical orientalism", finding everything that was desirable in the politicised aesthetic of China's revolutionary youth. One young Brisbane radical, for example, attended a university disciplinary hearing only days after his return from China "in full Chinese workers dress—blue cotton tunic, matching cap, two-inch-square Mao badge and well-thumbed Little Red Book".[7] Others bought in to the falsified China their guides presented with the vigour of a tourist, eagerly casting aside questions around China's increasingly violent and dogmatic political practice when confronted with glowing revolutionary youths so much more committed than their western counterparts. And finally, the very nature of travel reportage could come in for question, with multiple trips to South Vietnam by activists on both sides of the increasingly heated debate around the May 1970 Moratorium culminating in a public dispute over the reliability of "being there" as a political tool. Travel was, after all, an experiential pursuit intended to impart a sense of authenticity. However, the distortions of a host government and the questions of hostile commentators threw doubt on how open a traveller's eyes really were.

This book has employed a transnational approach that identifies the local in the global, as well as the global at work locally. As such, it has woven the stories of those radicals, from European Marxist theorists to overseas students, who at least tried to visit Australia for various periods throughout the long 1960s into the national narrative. Some of these personalities visited Australia out of interest, like Roosevelt Brown who wished not only to learn more about Indigenous Australians than he found in anthropology textbooks, but also to try and forge connections between them and the global movement he represented. Others found themselves in Australian universities through an intricate web of Cold War alliances and development plans. University students from South East

[6] "China visit," *Identity* 1, No. 7 (July 1973): 28.

[7] "Dossier on a Mao-type campus stirrer," *The Australian*, 31 October 1971. Reproduced in Shearman, Richard Francis Volume 3, A6119 4838, National Archives of Australia, Canberra.

Asian nations travelled to Australia in increasing numbers throughout the period as part of the Colombo Plan and as private scholars, and by the 1970s were fired to protest by revolutionary developments in their home nations and across Asia. Australian activists also played a key role in inviting well-known overseas figures like Angela Davis, judging them to be proven newsmakers able to generate media controversy and negative response from a fearful government.

Both overseas students and visiting radicals found themselves on the receiving end of government hostility and surveillance. Building on traditions of Australian solidarity with overseas struggles, the radicalisation of South East Asian students in the early 1970s saw them forge an alliance with their increasingly fractious local counterparts to protest inequality, corruption, and imperialism in Malaysia and Singapore. A large number of radical activists were invited and many were eventually excluded as the conservative state and its security apparatus tried to impose physical and ideological barriers against an evolving Left-wing enemy. Wendy Brown writes that the state, as national borders are challenged by globalisation, enacts a spectacularised form of sovereignty to at least be seen to challenge increasing transnational flows.

As fears of international communism shifted and modified in response to the New Left and Black Power movements, government enacted a bordering mentality against a variety of activists, leading to wide condemnation. Similarly, when a properly transnational student movement emerged in the 1970s, the Asian-focused Labor government conspired with allies overseas to enforce the policing by state authority over education and activism. Australia's looking to the Asian region—so well-argued for by Cairns—seemed to mean that the Whitlam government could ignore its newfound neighbours' less-than-democratic sentiments. And, while imposing an arbitrary date range on the 1960s as a conceptual moment is problematic, the crumbling of the alliance that came to exist between Australian and South East Asian students signifies in many ways how this radical period and the global ideal that underpinned it came to an end.

The "worlding" of Australian history is well underway. Scholars have tied Australian policies and principles of racial exclusion to similar examples across the Anglo-Saxon world, unearthing the deep interconnections between Australia and Asia in spite of the official policy of White Australia, as well as how Indigenous Australians sought alliances overseas. Such studies as well as theories of transnationalism have been drawn on to fill an important gap. In identifying the myriad ways in which Australian

social movement actors imagined, engaged with, visited, and critiqued some of the most important ideas and sites of 1960s revolt, the scope of transnational 1960s studies increased, helping us to understand the period as a truly global phenomenon. As Jeremy Prestholdt writes, "radicals on every continent perceived a meaningful link between their lived circumstances and a system of domination that transcended national boundaries".[8] Australians made themselves a part of the decade in many ways, while others sought to distance themselves from its impacts, which were seen as either dangerous, ill-advised, or both. Equally, an international cast of characters sought to learn, protest, or make use of Australia's relative freedoms to campaign for political change abroad, narratives that paint Australia onto a global canvas of change.

[8] Jeremy Prestholdt, "Resurrecting Che: radicalism, the transnational imagination and the politics of heroes," *Journal of Global History* 7, No. 3 (November 2012): 508.

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DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-52914-5

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