

HERITAGE

LINKING THE PAST WITH THE PRESENT — FOR THE FUTURE

MARCH - MAY 1992

No. 63



**MONARCHY UNDER ASSAULT
TRIBUTE TO OUR NURSING SISTERS**



Front Cover: Matron Vivian Bullwinkel
(From a painting by Shirley Bourne
The Australian War Memorial, Canberra)

in this issue

- 2** **Monarchy under Assault**
- 5** **Lest We Forget**
Betty Bradwell
- 7** **Singapore/Malacca Memorial Journey**
Betty Bradwell
- 8** **Quest for a Fairer Vote**
Reg A. Watson
- 11** **Quota-preferential method :**
Effective Representation
- 13** **Keep the Flag**
- 14** **An Australian Republic : Here we go again**
Randall J. Dicks, J.D.
- 18** **Books that should not be forgotten**
"Pétain: Patriot or Traitor" (Part II)
Nigel Jackson
- 19** **Is your Child a good Reader?**
Dan O'Donnell
- 21, 12** **Letters**
- 22** **HMAS Sydney : Her Last Fight**
J. Underhill
- 23** **Book Review**
Dawn Thompson

HERITAGE

MARCH - MAY 1992

No. 63

EDITORIAL

When reading Alexander Solzhenitsyn's 1990 essay, *Rebuilding Russia*, one is struck by the similar problems both the Communist and Capitalist systems have caused: great loss of life through war and by the State (in the west through legalized abortion), destruction of whole farming communities and the soil; cities befouled by effluents of rapacious industries and rivers and lakes poisoned by the same sources; forests cut down and the earth plundered of its riches; the wasting of our grandchildren's and great-grandchildren's inheritance for something called 'a favourable balance of trade'.

Capitalist as well as Communist nations have saddled their women with more work, torn mothers from their children and abandoned the children themselves to disease, brutishness and a semblance of education. Capitalist and Communist nations have over-extended themselves, more concerned with the affairs of others than their own and in the process have become weakened and lost their vigour. Both systems have either (in the case of Communism) tried to force, or are trying to force (as in the case of Capitalism), whole nations into an amalgam of races, religions and cultures. In the Communist world the amalgam is disintegrating rapidly and the Capitalist world has yet to learn its own lesson.

Solzhenitsyn tells his people they must strive for a clarity of the spirit, not an expansion of the State. By separating itself Russia will free itself for a precious inner development. After decades of giving its life-blood to control and expand its empire, a physical separation will ensure conservation of its economic strength, allowing the people to build up their physical strength. He has much to say about the structure of the State and believes the regeneration will start at the grass roots within local communities dealing with local issues. For him there is no doubt that the strengths or weaknesses of a society depend on the level of its spiritual life rather than on its level of industrialisation. Neither a market economy nor even general abundance constitutes the crowning achievement of human life.

The purity of social relations and the spiritual reserves of the people are of more fundamental value than either the level of abundance or the perfection of government structures.

His is a message the people of the West would do well to heed.

THE AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE SOCIETY

The Australian Heritage Society was launched in Melbourne on 18th September, 1971 at an Australian League of Rights Seminar. It was clear that Australia's heritage is under increasing attack from all sides; spiritual, cultural, political and constitutional. A permanent body was required to ensure that young Australians were not cut off from their true heritage and the Heritage Society assumed that role in a number of ways.

The Australian Heritage Society welcomes people of all ages to join in its programme for the regeneration of the spirit of Australia. To value the great spiritual realities that we have come to know and respect through our heritage, the virtues of patriotism, of integrity and love of truth, the pursuit of goodness and beauty, and unselfish concern for other people - to maintain a love and loyalty for those values.

Young Australians have a very real challenge before them. The Australian Heritage Society, with your support, can give them the necessary lead in building a better Australia.

"Our heritage today is the fragments gleaned from past ages; the heritage of tomorrow - good or bad - will be determined by our actions today."

SIR RAPHAEL CILENTO

First Patron of the Australian Heritage Society

PRINCIPAL ADDRESS
BOX 7409, CLOISTERS SQUARE,
PERTH, 6000.

STATE ADDRESSES
G.P.O. Box 1052J, Melbourne, Victoria, 3001
47 McHarg Road, Happy Valley, South Australia, 5159
Box Q364, Queen Victoria Building, Sydney, NSW, 2000
2nd floor, McConaghy House,
460 Ann Street, Brisbane, Queensland, 4000
C/- Australian Heritage Alliance,
PO Box 187, Sandy Bay, Tasmania, 7005

HERITAGE
THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF
THE AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE SOCIETY

EDITOR - Betty Luks
ASSISTANT EDITOR - Murray Jorgenson

EDITORIAL ADDRESS
47 McHarg Road, Happy Valley, South Australia, 5159
(Tel 08 381-3909)

PUBLISHED BY
THE AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE SOCIETY
PO BOX 7409, CLOISTERS SQUARE, PERTH, 6000.

Contributions are invited for publication in "HERITAGE". Articles should be accompanied by suitable photographs, and a stamped addressed envelope for return if unsuitable. All reasonable care will be taken of material forwarded; however, the Editor cannot accept responsibility for loss, damage or non-return of material.

The views expressed in articles appearing in "HERITAGE" are those of their authors and are not necessarily the view of The Australian Heritage Society.

MONARCHY UNDER ASSAULT

[Home Quarterly, Vol. XLIV, No. 1, December 1991]

A new phase in the assault on the Monarchy has been opened up by the Labor Party now governing Australia, with the issue of an 'instruction' to both Federal and State Governments in that country: *to embark on a campaign of public education and constitutional reform to culminate in a national referendum permitting the declaration of a republic on Australia Day, 26 January, 2001.*

It is a measure of the common sense and loyalty of the majority of Australians to their monarchical constitution that the Governments are allowed ten years to undermine it by the use of the citizens' own tax money and the unlimited borrowing power of the Governments from the bankers, against which the normal patriotic citizen can set only such private surplus income as may be left by the tax-gatherer.

The objective, clearly, goes far beyond Australia. It is to destroy constitutional monarchy everywhere. Since the British Monarchy is the premier monarchy of the world, without it other Christian monarchies could scarcely survive against the forces of Monopoly.

If Australia falls, a domino effect can be expected in Canada and New Zealand, leaving

Britain isolated and ready for the present snide campaign against the Royal Family to come into the open as declared republicanism. Already Roy Hattersley, Deputy Leader of the British Labour Party, has been encouraged to assert, at the Party Conference, that a Labour Government would abolish the Royal Prerogative -- in effect abolishing all the remaining powers of the Monarchy, leaving it as a functionless cypher. We also hear that the Labour Party, if returned to power, would abolish the heredi-



Queen Elizabeth II

tary Lords and substitute an elected Second Chamber, leaving the Monarch as the sole representative of constitutional and cultural continuity.

The *London Times* revealed its policy towards both Queen and people when it expressed the view that, while probably most Australians are in favour of the Monarchy, nothing will be essentially different if someone assumes the title of president rather than governor-general. It is this trivialising of the core of our Constitution which has been characteristic of the national press since it became a tool of take-over finance.

Constitutional Monarchy is a long-term invention of the genius of the British people, under the influence of Trinitarian Christianity. With the balance of power at first held by

the hereditary Monarch and the hereditary Lords, with the Church as the sole moderating influence, parliament came into existence as a check on the financial power of the Crown. Now the balance has swung violently the other way, and the claim to Absolute Power is being put forward on behalf of the elected representatives of universal suffrage (which was brought in for those over 18 only in 1970); just when the electorate has passed almost completely under the influence of money and the media.

The Queen's Government

The constitutional powers of the Queen are theoretically almost unlimited since the entire government of the nation is carried out in her name, every new law must have her signature before it comes into effect, and she must be informed and consulted on every aspect of national life. In practice, these powers are strictly limited by the convention that she must accept ministerial advice, but the convention also that Ministers consult her adds much to the smooth running of government, and to the education of politicians in so far as they have to listen with respect to a superior with such experience and common sense. No ephemeral President jumped up by politics for a term, could have such a wealth of experience or such an inbred concern for the cultural inheritance of the Nation.

In addition, the Queen has certain powers in the dissolving of Parliament where the normal operations of Government have broken down, and of selecting a politician as Prime Minister to form a Government where there is no clear majority Party; or if there is an *impasse*, of calling a General Election. These reserve powers could be of extreme importance in protecting the nation from chaos, a state in which government could be seized by organized violence. The last time these exceptional powers of the Crown were used was by the Queen's representative, Sir John Kerr, the Governor-General of Australia, when the process of government broke down on the voting of finance. The Governor-General (a Labor nominee) then dismissed the Labor Government, and the ensuing General Election fully endorsed the Crown's prerogative by massively returning the Opposition.

Another point about the reserve powers of the Crown in an emergency, is that the officers of the armed forces bear the Queen's commission, and it is to her that they swear loyalty, not to politicians. One observes that the first of the recently imposed, severe cuts in the Army have been directed at the élite regiments connected with the Monarch, the Guards and the Household Cavalry, to such a degree that their highly popular ceremonial duties may have to be cut down, not to mention their formidable efficiency in war.

Once, as now in Australia, there is a party, or a pressure group openly declaring itself republican and hence disloyal to the Crown, there is a real danger of the formation of a 'monarchist' or 'royalist' party or group to oppose it. This would be disastrous! It would concede the idea that our age-old Monarchical Constitution is not an essential part of our nation and culture, of normal, handed-on, taken-for-granted loyalty and patriotism, but is merely a matter of media-manipulated mass-opinion. To bank ourselves together as a special group of 'royalists' or 'monarchists' in rejecting this subversion of our Constitution would be to surrender our position as normal, law-abiding citizens and loyal subjects of the Queen: the very ground of our nation's being.

Moneylenders hate Hereditary Wealth and Culture

One of the more regular assaults upon the Queen and the royal family is the constant attempt to arouse envy by frequent reference to their personal wealth. Inherited wealth has always been a major barrier to the total monopoly of power by those who create the means of payment as a bookkeeping debt, (which they call 'credit') and such independent wealth has always been a main target of their hostility. A poverty-stricken Monarchy, dependent



*Sir John Kerr, Governor-General of Australia
July 1974 to December 1977*

like everyone else, and especially politicians, upon 'credit' doled out by financiers, could not perform its function of acting as an independent check or balance against the powers of financial and political monopoly.

Neither could it perform the vital function of representing that cultural inheritance of which the common people are being deprived, using the royal status to express publicly what most of us are thinking about it. It is this natural alliance between Royalty and the commonalty which was called into being to balance the monopoly of finance with media and politics, once the Monarchy had surrendered its direct political power.

Few people realise the extent to which the genuine, disinterested influence of royalty has served to defend values which are lost sight of in the 'rat race' of business, politics and bureaucracy.

Prince Philip's leadership in the protection of the environment is well known, while in recent years Prince Charles has been even more active in that field. But few people will now remember that, in 1965, it was Prince Philip's Foreword which enabled the Revd. Keble Martin's superb, lifetime's work *The Concise British Flora in Colour*, which had been turned down for twelve years by all publishers, to be published at £1/15s. and to become not only a best-seller, but a classic aid to every naturalist. It took royalty to see the value which was invisible to Business and Bureaucracy.

Royalty and Anti-royalty --- in Action

The Princess Royal's presidency of the Save the Children Fund is very manifestly no sinecure. Her 'guts' and endurance in travelling all over the world, seeing for herself the worst conditions of poverty and disease, provide another example of royalty in action; while that fashionable lady, the Princess of Wales, does not flinch from setting an example of physical contact with hospital patients suffering from AIDS. Could anyone less than royal set such a public example? But it is against the Heir to the Throne, her husband, that the brunt of the derisive assault is directed.

The first step in undermining confidence in a long-established institution is to raise destructive questions about it, in the guise of giving patronising advice for its own good, such as: *Can the Monarchy survive? Will Charles ever be King? Should he not have a proper job instead of airing views which may be shared by the populace, but are quite unacceptable to the intelligentsia? Is it not time that his mother retired and let him have a real job?* These ideas have now been spread around, along with an attempt to depict the Prince as an eccentric, uncertain of his role in society, playing around with 'fringe' ideas. The public facts about him are very different.

It is unlikely that there has ever been a Prince of Wales who has so judiciously, courageously, yet modestly, stood up for the cultural inheritance of the common people. He keeps saying what we all think from common sense and experience, in contradiction to the mass-prejudices induced by the fashion of thought among the sneering class of opinion-manipulators and the chosen experts of politics and finance.

Who else has dared to express what we really think about those "monstrous carbuncles" of the post-war buildings, especially those vertical slums and inhuman crime-hives, many of which are now being demolished before they fall down? Who else has so boldly, yet good-humouredly, defended our greatest inheritance, the English language, and castigated the failure to hand it on, uncorrupted, to the young?

He cares also for the Welsh language and attended a Welsh college to learn it.

In his public commitment to the protection of the environment he has followed his father, but in a more detailed and philosophical way; yet any idea that he is impractical about it is the reverse of the truth. One reason that he is a focus of hostility among the men of figures is that, as Duke of Cornwall, he is one of the largest landowners and has his own revenues, and the means of putting his ideas to the test, and so, again, setting a royal example.

There are many smaller but vital things of which we seldom hear, such as the Prince's intervention to save the Brogdale Collection of 7,750 State-owned fruit trees and bushes, including many old and unusual varieties, described as Europe's most important orchard. This was due to be axed under Treasury pressure on the Ministry of Agriculture. It is typical that the politicians and the bureaucrats should regard this as academic and expendable, because non-profitmaking, and that it should take royalty to insist upon its irreplaceable importance, both as an inheritance, and for future breeding.

People versus Units

Our Monarchy and our royal family now occupy the focal point of the crucial spiritual and political conflict of the Age: between people treated as unique, living, human persons and people treated as equal, indistinguishable, economic, financial and political units; between the family and the products of short-term mating, between propriety and impropriety, decency and indecency, between inheritance and disinheritance, between real wealth and outrageous accumulations of power based upon debt; between the efficient near-perfection of a Royal Occasion, and the insane inefficiency of Big Business or a Government Department; in fact, between a nation continuing in its Christian tradition, and one which has abandoned it for a largely atheistic, chaotic, pluralism with no common morality.

The outcome of this conflict is in the balance. As judged by the public media, it seems to be going mostly the wrong way, even though God and royalty and decency have their 'slots'. But there remains that 'silent majority' who have no chance to be heard, unless someone with the status of a Prince has the courage to speak for them. Hitherto the inherited instincts of this dumb multitude, however confused with lies and trivialities, have proved sound when put to the test. Let us hope that they will remain so when the crisis comes in the assault upon our Monarchy.

CONTRIBUTIONS

ARTICLES and other contributions, together with suggestions for suitable materials for *Heritage* will be welcomed by the Editor. However, those requiring unused material to be returned, must enclose a stamped and addressed envelope. Address written contributions to:

THE EDITOR, "HERITAGE",
47 McHarg Road, Happy Valley, South Australia, 5159.

LEST WE FORGET

A TRIBUTE TO OUR NURSING SISTERS OF WORLD WAR II

A group of former Australian Nursing Sisters recently went back to Singapore to take part in services commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the Fall of Singapore. One of the nursing sisters who survived those tragic days, Mrs. Betty Bradwell, relates what happened:

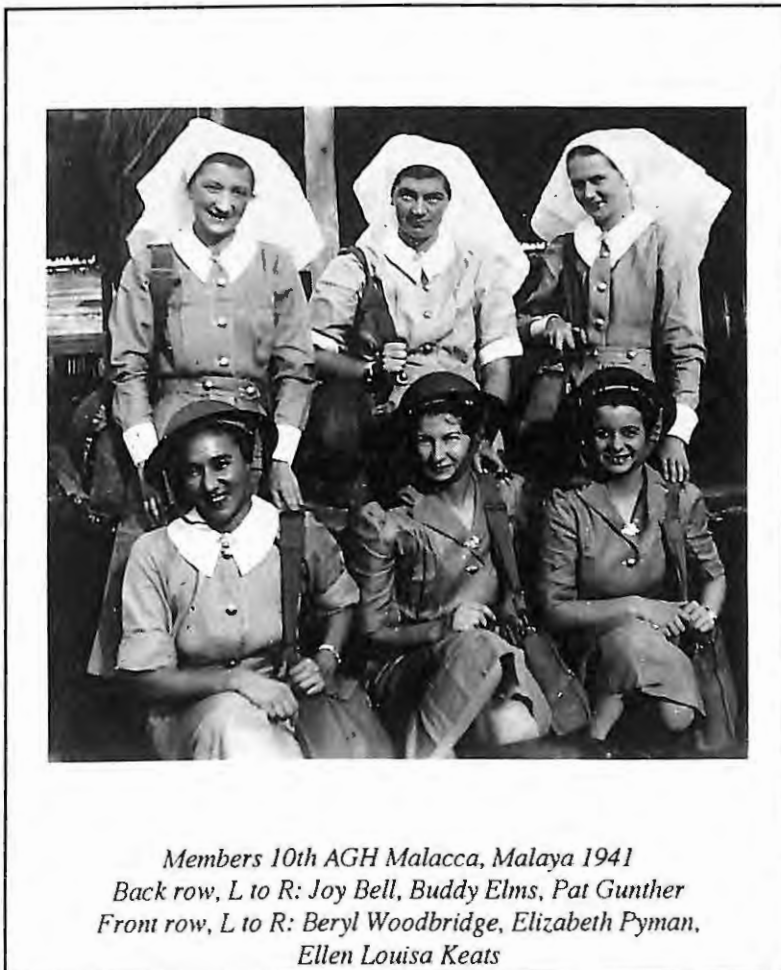
The 10th Australian General Hospital (AGH) was established in Malacca, Malaya in February 1941 with the 4th Casualty Clearing Station (CCS) at Port Sweetenam some miles further up-country. The newly arrived 13th Australian General Hospital had been set up in a partly completed Mental Hospital at Tampoi Jahore Bahru in November of 1941.

Singapore was bombed for the first time in December of that year.

With the rapid advance of the Japanese, the 10th AGH was moved to Singapore Island, occupying the Manor House and Aldam Hall schools. On 18th January, 1942, the 13th AGH and all its patients were also moved to the Island, taking over St. Patrick's School. On the night of 30th January 1942, all troops were moved onto the island and the Causeway linking Malaya to Singapore was blown up.

Because of the mounting casualties, on 10th February 1942, an old ship, the *Wahsui* was commandeered to carry 350 wounded and six sisters from the 10th AGH and take them to Batavia. The Australian sisters were off-loaded there and sailed back to Australia aboard the *Orcades*, departing on 21st February. The wounded went on to Colombo before returning home.

On 11th February, sixty Australian nursing sisters (thirty from each hospital) with English and Chinese sisters from a nearby English Hospital, were evacuated. With great difficulty because of the bombing, they boarded the cargo ship *Empire Star* which had accommodation for sixteen persons -- on board were 1,254 souls. Early next day the ship was attacked by planes and a number were killed and wounded.



Members 10th AGH Malacca, Malaya 1941
Back row, L to R: Joy Bell, Buddy Elms, Pat Gunther
Front row, L to R: Beryl Woodbridge, Elizabeth Pyman,
Ellen Louisa Keats

On 12th February the remaining sisters from both the 10th and 13th AGH and the CCS -- 65 all told -- were evacuated on the small coastal steamer, *Vyner Brooke*. With berths for only thirteen passengers the *Vyner Brooke* carried 300 women and children and elderly men. The *Empire Star* made it back to Australia but the *Vyner Brooke* wasn't so lucky.

MASSACRE ISLAND

The *Vyner Brooke* had been at sea for more than two days and had covered about 260 miles when the ship was spotted by a Japanese scout plane. Six medium bombers attacked, dropping 29 bombs on the helpless and overcrowded ship. There were three direct hits and the boat sank in about fifteen minutes. Most of the lifeboats had bullet holes in them and it was a struggle to reach the shore.

Only about 70 people survived the bombing and made it to nearby Bangka Island. About 50 of these were in a major group and the others spread along the shoreline. At dawn, the large group of survivors gathered and decided to surrender to the Japanese.

Twenty civilian women and children were sent to the nearest village to get food, where they were taken prisoner. In retrospect, they were more fortunate than those left behind. The treatment of those who remained was horrific.

The Japanese rounded up the big group, as well as 20 British soldiers who arrived later. The men and women were separated and the men were marched around a headland out of view of the beach.



*Damage to Empire Star,
after bombing, 12 February 1942*

WAR CRIMES TRIAL IN JAPAN

Sister Vivian Bullwinkel testified at the 1946 war crimes trial in Japan.

When she surrendered to the Japanese and was held at the Muntok POW camp, she made a pact with a group of Australian nurses, also prisoners. She told them about the massacre and they agreed never to discuss it again in the prison.

Sister Bullwinkel told the trial that she gave evidence not for revenge but for the sake of the 22 nurses who died around her in the water off Bankga Island.

The officer responsible for the massacre committed suicide before his arrest.

THE MASSACRE

There they stopped and the Japanese arranged them in single file. Suddenly, sub-machine guns opened fire and all the male prisoners were killed; bayonets finished off where bullets had failed.

The remaining women -- 22 of them nurses -- were ordered to wade into the water. When they were waist deep, the Japanese fired again.

Only one woman survived that massacre. Sister Vivian Bullwinkel was that survivor.

Though badly wounded, she teamed up with an injured soldier she met in the jungle and surrendered to the Japanese.

They were not aware that she was a survivor of the Bangka Island massacre. She was taken to the Muntok POW camp where she met 32 nurses who were also on the *Vyner Brooke*.

This group had escaped the massacre only because they had not been with the original party.

*Empire Star took 1254 souls on board
February, 1942*



SINGAPORE/MALACCA MEMORIAL JOURNEY 12th - 21st February, 1992

by *Betty Bradwell*

This was a nostalgic journey returning with four other friends who had served with the 8th Division Army at Jahore and Singapore. I am the only South Australian member of 10th AGH. The only other South Australian 10th girl, Nell Keats was shot on Bangka Island. As we approached, Singapore City was a blaze of lights; the buildings and even the tree trunks sparkled to the top-most branches. There were excited greetings in the foyer of the Mandarin Hotel where all ex-Army nurses were staying.

On Thursday we toured Changi Goal. This is a grim building; one can scarcely imagine what it must have been like for our soldiers with ten of them crammed into each small cell. After visiting the Changi Wartime Museum we went to the Selarang Barracks where the infamous 'Selarang Incident' took place. Selarang had once been the British Headquarters; here we enjoyed refreshments in the mess -- an elegant old-style building with revolving fans. No air conditioning there!

Our tour of the North West Front lasted almost six hours. It covered the whole of the Island and the position of all troops at a given time. We were supplied with maps and the recorded commentary with sound effects and music made it all seem very real. The tour started at HQ and bunker of Lt. Gen. Arthur Percival, to the signing of the surrender in, of all places, a room in the Ford Motor Factory.

(Contd. on p. 20)



Leaving for Singapore

13th AGH: Nell Dollman (née Bentley), Belinda Wood (Skeets), POW Veronica Turner (Clancy) and daughter Margaret, Bette Forwood (Garwood). 10th AGH: Betty Bradwell (Pyman) (seated)

QUEST FOR A FAIRER VOTE

By Reg A. Watson

The **Hare-Clark** electoral system, used for state elections, is peculiar to **Tasmania** and remains relatively unknown in most places of the world. It has been used continuously since 1907. It is interesting to learn the history of the men behind the scenes who forced its adoption, primarily **Thomas Hare**, an English barrister, and Tasmanian-born **Andrew Inglis Clark**.

Clark, who is buried in the old Queenborough cemetery, Hobart, lived an industrious and fruitful life. He was a liberal who attracted some animosity. Papers of the day (late 1870's) described him as *a mere fledgling and a stranger from Hobart*, while another states: *his proper place was among communists*. Alfred Deakin described Clark as *small, spare, nervous, active, jealous and suspicious in disposition and somewhat awkward in manner and ungraceful in speech; he was nevertheless a sound lawyer, keen, logical and acute*.

He was indeed a 'sound lawyer'. His refusal to accept anything but an honest and reasonable fee prevented him from making a fortune from his profession.

He is credited in his first year in the House of Assembly with initiating 150 Mimisterial Bills, only one fewer than Henry Parkes. Some of his Bills dealt with cruelty to animals, restricting the entry of Chinese, legalising trade unions, payment of Members of Parliament and reforming laws on lunacy.

Dr. George Howatt, expert on the system now operating in Tasmania, calls Clark *a father of Federation* for it was he who attended the first conference on Federation, held in Hobart in 1886.

Andrew Clark was born in the year of revolution, 1848, the son of a Scottish iron-founder, Alex Russell Clark. In his early years, Andrew was taught at home by his talented mother, Ann. Later he attended Hobart High and after



leaving school joined his father's firm and qualified as an engineer. At the age of 24, he decided to study law and in 1877 was admitted to the Bar.

His liberal ideas were already taking shape. He became a passionate devotee of Mills, Jefferson and Mazzine. Indeed, years later, a visiting American Assistant Consul described Clark as a *Tasmanian Jefferson*. Clark became a staunch republican who, almost to the point of obsession, admired American ideas, institutions and its constitution. In short, he could be described as a romantic nationalist.

In religion, he supported Unitarianism and with a number of other liberals he founded the **Minerva Club** -- Minerva being the Roman goddess of wisdom. The club discussed pertinent, topical problems of the day. He also belonged to the **American Club**.

As early as 1874, Clark was a promoter of proportional representation voting as opposed to the one-man, one-vote concept.

It was not till the year of his death that the system was adopted.

Thomas Hare attracted the interest of many, including the Australian writer, **Catherine Helen Spencer**, who lectured extensively on this system. Clark supported the system in the belief that it would improve the quality of members, make bribery practically impossible and broaden the elector's outlook. In 1878 he married Grace Paterson, daughter of John Ross, a Hobart shipbuilder. In the same year he was elected to the Assembly seat of Norfolk Plains, but lost it in 1882. Two years later found him forming the first true liberal political movement. Later a committee was formed, Clark included, and its main principles were **increased representation, manhood suffrage and municipal and electoral reform, land taxation and payment of members**. John Earle, later to be the first Tasmanian Labor Premier, belonged to the organization.

These liberals were termed *ferocious reformers* by conservative politicians and Henry Nichols, a one-time editor of a local daily. Clark later supported not manhood suffrage but **adult suffrage** and was successful in seeing his Bill passed in 1896. Braddon, the Premier, said, "They dealt with a proposal which ten years before would have been ridiculed."

**Movement promoting Commonwealth
had its birth in Tasmania**

In 1885 Clark founded the **Southern Tasmanian Political Reform Association** and stood for election once again in 1886, unsuccessfully. During the same year the movement promoting the establishment of a Commonwealth had its birth in Tasmania when on 25th January, 1886, the first session of **The Federal Council of Australia** was opened by Governor Strahan. Clark, of course, attended. Later as a member of the Federal Council, he would draft a **Federal Constitution** for the convention of 1891.

In 1887 Clark was re-elected and served as Attorney-General under Premier Fysh, till 1892. Meanwhile he visited the land of his admiration, America, and returned to Hobart further inspired by what he had seen. After the Fysh government fell in 1892, Clark joined the Opposition, but served another period as Attorney-General between 1894 and 1898, under Edward Braddon. Braddon was to urge the adoption of the Hare system.



MR. JUSTICE CLARK
"He was nevertheless a sound lawyer"

In August 1896, Clark was able to introduce proportional representation to Hobart and Launceston for the following year, after heated discussion. He also urged modification such as the transfer of surpluses and reducing the element of chance. In that year, he was unable to attend the Federal convention because he was back in America.

In 1896 he helped found the **Democratic League**. It discussed the Hare system, but, lacking popular support, the League ceased within a year. Opposition to the Hare-Clark system was vigorous, with petitions being received by the Parliament to abandon it. On the whole, however, it would appear electors mastered it quite well.

In 1898 Clark was appointed a judge of the **Supreme Court of Tasmania** and a senior judge in 1901. His system was still in trouble and though there were attempts to have it adopted statewide, he wasn't successful. It was not until the year of his death, 1907, that proportional voting was adopted for the whole state. Few of Clark's writings were published, his works being mainly written in exercise books for circulation among friends.

His name, naturally, is best remembered for our system of voting and though it has come under a lot of scrutiny, and improvements even today are still recommended by its supporters, its application mirrors the will of the electors perhaps better than any other system.

Tasmania's last state election (1.2.1991) saw a landslide victory for the Liberal Party, under the leadership of Mr. Ray Groom. Mr. Groom replaced Mr. Robin Gray, twice Premier, in January this year. Under Tasmania's Hare-Clarke preferential system, distribution of preferences to elect all seven members from each of the five electorates takes several days. The Tasmanian Labor Premier, Mr. Michael Field, barely obtained a quota (14 per cent of the over-all electoral vote) and his Party vote was substantially down on the 1989 results.

The Green Party was down 4.5 per cent on 1989 and the only sitting member to do well for them was Dr. Bob Brown who gained one and one-half quotas, although in the 1989 election, he attained two and one-half quotas. The other Greens retained their seats, hanging on only by their finger-nails and surviving because of the preference cut-up.

The new Parliament consists of 20 Liberals, 10 Labor and 5 Greens. The Tasmanian Liberal Parliamentary Party is probably one of the most conservative amongst the Liberals in Australia. They campaigned on a strong development platform, while taking into account the need to protect the environment in a balanced manner.

The Anglo-Saxon-Keltic Society together with the Australian National Flag Association (Tas.) have had dialogue and discussion with a member of the Upper House to introduce a Bill so that the State Tasmanian Flag cannot be changed except by the

concensus of 75 per cent of Tasmanians through referendum. Now with a sympathetic Lower House, there is a very good chance it will easily pass and become law. While in opposition, the Liberal Party introduced Neil Robson's Voters' Veto Bill, but was rejected by the combined vote of Labor and Green (18 against, 17 for). It remains to be seen whether the Liberals will re-introduce the Bill now they are in government. Premier Ray Groom said they may introduce a new Bill on Voters' Veto. Neil Robson has retired from State Parliament so his wisdom on the matter will be missed. As to its future? Time alone will tell.

* * * * *

Quota-preferential method Effective representation

The method that is now known as the **quota-preferential method of proportional representation** was first suggested in about 1820 by Thomas Hill, a Birmingham schoolmaster whose son Rowland became Secretary of the Colonization Commission of South Australia and later reformed the British postal system. We are told that Hill Snr. encouraged the boys in his school to use his method in the election of a committee. Although there is no detailed record of this election, it could have been somewhat as shown on page (11).

With 17 boys voting to appoint a committee of 5 from 7 candidates, we can imagine the schoolmaster pointing out that any candidate supported by 3 or more boys should be elected. Not more than 5 could each have 3 or more supporters and this means that anyone with 3 or more supporters must be among the 5 finally elected. This number of votes necessary for election is known as the **quota**. At the end of the election, 15 of the boys are grouped into 5 quotas and there are 2 boys left over. In fact, one of these is one who had originally supported the first candidate elected. The result then is that 15 of the 17 boys see their first-preference candidates elected and only one is disappointed.

In this case, every boy could see how the others voted. It was shown later by Thomas Hare in England and Carl Andrae in Denmark that the same method could be used with secret voting. Voters can show by preference markings on ballot papers which candidates they support and where they would transfer their support if it was not needed by their first-preference candidates. In fact, if the boys had voted in this way, the ballot papers might have looked exactly like those on page (11). Instead of the boys grouping themselves in support of candidates and eventually arranging themselves in quotas, the ballot papers would be examined and the counting carried out as shown on page (11). Each stage of counting corresponds exactly to one stage in the schoolboys' election.

With 16 voters out of 17 satisfied, this result is much better than with the **majority-preferential method**, which left 6 of the 17

disappointed. Each voter had a wide choice of candidates and bodies of opinion are represented by spokesmen in numbers proportional to the number supporting them, since each candidate elected is supported by a quota of voters.

Quota preferential method

This method has been developed for use in elections of all sizes, and several refinements have been introduced to make it as accurate and effective as possible. For example, in transferring Adam's surplus, it is not necessary to make an arbitrary selection of 3 of the ballot papers showing Adam as first preference. It is better to examine all of them and to find which candidates the voters have shown as second preferences. The surplus of 3 will be carried by the 6 papers so each is given a 'transfer value' of one-half. Each of the unelected candidates is then credited with the papers showing him as second preference, each with a value of one-half. A slightly simpler method that is quite accurate enough with large numbers of ballot papers is used to transfer surpluses in elections for the Australian Senate.

The method can be used to fill any number of vacancies. In each instance, the quota is calculated so that it is possible to form a number of quotas equal to the number of vacancies, but no more than this. The quota is found by dividing the number of formal votes by the next whole number above the number of vacancies, and taking the next whole number above the result of the division. For example, in an election with 40,000 votes to fill 7 vacancies, the result of dividing 40,000 by 8 is 5,000 and the quota is 5,001. If 7 candidates each have 5,001 votes (totalling 35,007), there are only 4,993 votes remaining. So, only 7 quotas of 5,001 can be formed and this is the smallest number that gives this result. It can be left to the voters to decide how many preferences they wish to indicate. There is **no need** to compel them to indicate preferences for all candidates.

What happens in practice?

We can check the performance of the various methods of election by examining the results of their use in Parliamentary elections. The **first-past-the-post** method was used in Queensland between 1942 and 1963. In several elections in that period the Labor Party won **more than half of the seats although it was supported by only a minority of the voters**. This method has given grossly distorted results in South Africa. In 1948 the National and Afrikaner parties with 443,719 votes won 78 seats, whilst the Opposition parties with 551,590 votes won only 60. Similar distortions have occurred in later elections.

Single-member preferential method

The **single-member preferential method** is used for most Australian state elections and for the Federal House of Representa-

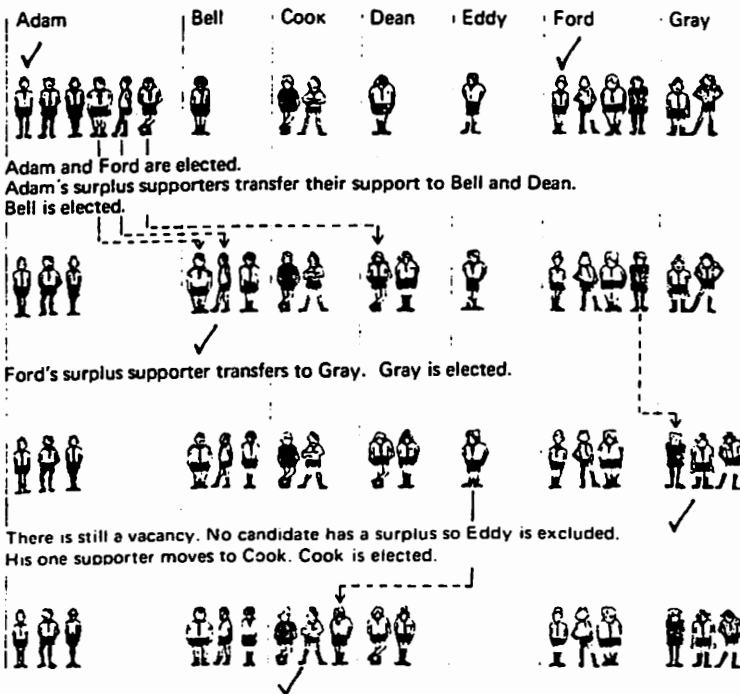
Majority-preferential method

Adam	①	①	①	①	①	①	2	3	5	5	5	6	6	5	7	7	7
Bell	2	2	4	4	2	2	①	2	4	4	4	7	7	4	6	6	6
Cook	3	3	3	3	3	3	①	①	3	2	5	3	3	5	5	5	5
Dean	4	4	2	2	4	4	4	4	2	①	3	4	4	6	4	4	4
Eddy	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	2	①	3	5	7	3	3	3	3
Ford	6	6	7	6	6	6	7	7	6	7	7	①	①	①	①	2	2
Gray	7	7	6	7	7	7	6	6	7	6	6	2	2	2	2	①	①

Result: Adam, Bell, Cook, Dean, Eddy- Elected

Quota-preferential method

A class of 17 boys is to elect a committee of 5 from 7 candidates. The supporters of each candidate stand together.



Adam	Bell	Cook	Dean	Eddy	Ford	Gray	
6 ✓	1	2	1	1	4 ✓	2	First preferences
3	3 ✓	2	2	1	4	2	A's Surplus
3	3	2	2	1	3	3 ✓	F's Surplus
3	3	3 ✓	2		3	3	E Excluded

(Contd. p. 12)

LETTERS

Adelaide should avoid suggesting that our present monarchy system and flag are confusing to our Asian neighbours. I personally find it as patronising and offensive as the ethnocentric reasons advocated by the 'monarchists'. If anything, I believe the Asian mind appreciates the subtleties of royalty, ceremony, symbolism and power better than most other races (except perhaps the British). Japan, Thailand and Malaysia have retained their monarchy for obvious reasons of stability. Why is the Malaysian flag red, yellow and blue and not the usual green of an Islamic nation? The issues of national symbols and structure are not as simplistic as has been debated of late.

So let us discuss and debate the pros and cons of republicanism and monarchy objectively to determine what is best for us Australians. Please do not trivialise it with racial and other biases.

Gladys Liaw (Norwood, S.A.)
The Australian

Mr. Keating's rather tenuous grasp of the fact/fiction of recent history is of little importance. What is important is his plan to "lead us into Asia".

Is there an historian who is brave enough to inform him of the historical fact that most Asian nations were civilized when our northern European ancestors were barbarians? And that most Asians consider us still to be barbarians?

If Mr. Keating is uncomfortable with the relatively watered-down diplomatic niceties, manners and protocol of the modern western world, how would he fare with the ancient and infinitely subtle protocol of the Orient? His current 'style' would cause him to lose face and with him, the nation he represents would lose face.

Not the best way towards amicable relations with our Asian neighbours.

A. Maclaren (Greenmount, W.A.)
The Australian

tives. In the December 1972 election for the House of Representatives, 3,080,450 people (more than 47% of all who recorded formal votes) gave their first preferences to candidates who were not elected. More than 1,000,000 Liberal and 150,000 Country Party supporters and over 1,100,000 Labor voters might as well have voted informally as their votes had no effect on the results. **The numbers of seats won by the various parties did not correspond with their shares of the voters' support.** Here are the figures:

	ALP	Lib	CP	DLP	Others
Seats corresponding to votes for parties	61	40	12	6	4
Seats actually won	66	38	19	0	0

The discrepancies between voting support for the parties and the number of seats won by their candidates were not as bad in this election as in 1966 and 1969, but the proportion of frustrated voters rose from 45% in 1966 to almost 47% in 1969 and to more than 47% in 1972. In Victoria, Queensland and Western Australia, more than half of those who voted in 1972 were left after the election nominally represented by people they had rejected when voting. It is not possible to predict which parties this method might favour in future elections, but it is certain that it will leave many voters frustrated whenever it is used.

The **block vote** method has not been used for Parliamentary elections in Australia since 1920. Before that, it was used for Senate elections, with very unsatisfactory results. For example, in 1910, three vacancies were filled in each of the six states. The Labor Party, with just over half of the votes [2,021,090 out of 4,018,218] won all 18 seats.

The **majority-preferential** method was used for Senate elections from 1920 until 1946. In that period, it gave a majority of the seats to parties with only minority support on three occasions, and gave no seats at all to parties supported by nearly half of the voters on three occasions. **In no case was the representation of the parties even approximately in line with the support of the voters for party candidates.** There was very little chance of the Senate being an effective **House of Review** through all the years when the block-vote and majority-preferential methods were used.

Results with proportional representation

The quota-preferential method of proportional representation has been used for the Senate since 1949 and since 1909 for the House of Assembly in Tasmania, where it is known as the **Hare-Clark** method. In Senate elections since 1949, party representation in each State and over the Commonwealth has agreed with the voting support for the parties and it has been usual for well

over **80%** of voters to see their first-preference candidates elected.

The record of Parliaments in Tasmania since the introduction of proportional representation differs in some striking ways from that in other states. Close agreement between voting support for the parties and the numbers of seats won by their candidates has been the rule in Tasmania. When voting support for parties has changed, the composition of the House has changed correspondingly. The political 'landslide', a well-known happening in places where single-member district methods are used, is unknown in Tasmania with proportional representation.

The most significant difference between election results in Tasmania and those in other States is that **nearly all Tasmanian voters get the representatives they want.** It is usual for 7 out of 10 voters to see their first-preference candidates elected and for another 2 to see candidates of the same parties as their first-preference candidates elected in their own districts. In May 1969, with 7 vacancies in each district, every voter supporting a major party had a choice of at least 7 candidates of his own party. In April 1972, most major party supporters had a choice of 8 candidates of their own parties. In each election, more than 9 out of 10 voters found acceptable candidates among those of the major parties. The method has generally tended to encourage parties to broaden their policies so that voters do not need to go outside the major parties to get effective representation.

The quota-preferential method does *not* depend on the existence of parties.

The quota-preferential method does **not** depend on the existence of parties. Another system of proportional representation, known as the 'party-list' system, offers voters a choice between lists of candidates submitted by various parties. Although this leads to reasonable agreement between voting support for parties and the numbers of seats they win, it does not allow the voter the wide range of choice within parties that is available with the quota method. Because of this, there has been a tendency, where the party-list method has been used, for considerable support to be given to minor parties.

With the quota-preferential method, voters can recognise parties if they wish. In elections where there are no defined parties, the method allows voters to assess the candidates as individuals and gives effect accurately to their indications of preferences. Committees and similar bodies elected by this method are likely to retain the confidence of the members of the organizations who elected them, since most of the members will be represented by the people they wanted as their representatives.

The examples and the results of actual elections show that only

one of the methods examined meets the requirements. All single-member district methods fail because they must leave large numbers of voters unrepresented and they do not ensure fair representation of bodies of opinion. The block-vote and majority-preferential methods can both leave substantial groups of voters without representation.

[Note: The Hare-Clarke method will be implemented in the next ACT election.]

Only the quota-preferential method of proportional representation

- gives a wide choice of candidates
- allows voters to be represented by the candidates of their choice
- gives each party or group representation corresponding to its voting strength.

A detailed description of the procedure for proportional representation with preferential voting and quota counting is given in *The Proportional Representation Manual* published by the Proportional Representation Society of Australia. The *Manual* includes complete rules, examples illustrating the method of conducting an election, and other information to assist returning officers. It is available from the Society.

For further reading, the following books are recommended:

How Democracies Vote, Enid Lakeman (Faber, London, 1970)

Proportional Representation, C. G. Hoag and G. H. Hallet (Macmillan, New York, 1926)

Elections and Electors, J. F. S. Ross (Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1955)

The Case for Electoral Reform, S. R. Daniels (Allen & Unwin, London, 1938)

Australian Government Today, G. Sawyer (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1970)

ABC of Politics, A. Jones (Cassell, Melbourne, 1970)

How we are governed, C.R. Forell (Cheshire, Melbourne, 1972)

KEEP THE FLAG

Our flag bears the stars that blaze at night, in our southern skies of blue,
And a little old flag in the corner, that's part of our heritage too.
It's the English, the Scots and the Irish who were sent to the end of the earth,
The rogues and the schemers, the doers and the dreamers who gave modern
Australia birth.

And you, who are shouting to change it, you don't seem to understand,
It's our flag of our law and our language, not the flag of a far away land.
(Though there are plenty of people who'll tell you, how when Europe was plunged
into night,
That little old flag in the corner was their symbol and their light)
It doesn't mean we owe allegiance, to a forgotten imperial dream:
We've the stars to show where we're going, and the old flag to show where we've
been.

M. McA. F.

AN AUSTRALIAN REPUBLIC : HERE WE GO AGAIN

by *Randall J. Dicks, J.D.*

When republican rumblings erupted at the Australian Labor Party's national conference in Tasmania last June, the event was nothing novel, but it made headlines nonetheless. What the Labor Party did was to insert a plank in its platform, calling for a national referendum on the question of whether Australia should become a republic by 1st January, 2001, the 100th anniversary of federation, and further calling on the federal government to commence a campaign of public education on the question of monarchy versus republic.

These proposals led to controversy and debate on a number of issues, but the call for a republic was nothing new in Australia's history. There were active republican movements in the 1850's and 1880's, and a variety of prominent writers and visitors of the 19th century, including Rudyard Kipling and Anthony Trollope, predicted that the nation or even its component states would become republics.¹ Even Britain harboured a republican movement at some periods of Queen Victoria's reign. The Australian Labor Party's national conference in 1981 also included a republican plank in its platform. Yet the 1991 Labor proposal for an Australian republic in the 21st century made headlines in Australia, and was reported or misreported around the world.

What caused the furore? To start with, the question of "monarchy or republic" was a non-issue. Next, the proposal was an obvious ploy by the party in power, an attempt to divert attention from a grim economic situation with no ready remedy in sight. Finally, people were angered and frustrated by the first two reasons.

In June of 1991, there was no popular unrest over the status of Australia's constitutional monarchy, no general demand for its replacement by a republic or even for debate on the question. The majority of Australians, as far as one can determine, were satisfied with the *status quo*. The average person probably gave little conscious thought to the fact that Australia was a monarchy. Queen Elizabeth II had just entered the 40th year of her reign, and was popular as Queen of Australia. But Australia was in its worst recession since the 1930's, unemployment was 10%, and bankruptcies were at an all-time high. What does the party in power do in such disagreeable circumstances? Create a diversion. President George Bush is a master of the technique: his favourite diversion, whether while running for office or trying to keep it, is the American flag. Create a smokescreen involving the Pledge of Allegiance or a proposed constitutional amendment to prohibit desecration of the national icon, and people *may* forget about one's lack of concrete solutions to economic woes or inadequacies of the educational system or the absence of a national health care programme.

So the ALP delegates in Hobart tried it. Former Liberal Minister Sir James Killen's reaction was typical: he called the Labor resolution "the most cultivated piece of political cynicism in this nation's history. ... This is just a diversion, to create division in society and try to get people's minds away from the

immense problems facing this country."² Sir James had served as deputy chairman of the advisory committee to the Constitutional Commission in 1987; "Our conclusion, after years of talking to people, was that [the republican question] was not an issue in contemporary Australia, and as far as I'm concerned, that still applies today."³

The Australian Constitution requires that for a referendum question to be approved, a majority of electors must vote in favour of the change. In addition, there must be a majority vote in a majority of states. In 90 years, only 8 of 42 referendum questions have been approved. Considering the outcry over changing the national anthem, and the persistent deadlock over changing the national flag, most commentators saw reason to doubt that a referendum on this question of monarchy or republic would face smooth sailing.

More than one newspaper editorial dismissed the resolution as "grand-standing", and *The News* pointed out that the party conference had also proposed a required 50 per cent quota of women in government appointments, which the Adelaide journal termed "fatuous".⁴ *The News* mentioned some basic stumbling blocks. What sort of president would an Australian republic have; would he be appointed, or elected? And appointed by whom, elected by whom? What would his powers be, if any -- would he be a figurehead, or have actual power? Further, the Royal Family is a source of great interest, and of pride; "we intend no offence, but Princess Diana captures the imagination in a way Mrs. Hayden or her successor never will." In addition, links with Britain are still felt strongly by a great many Australians.⁵

Polls have been conducted in Australia on the question of monarchy or republic for some three decades, and those polls have consistently shown a majority of about two-to-one in favour of the monarchy. (Not surprisingly, the polls tend to surge in favour of the monarchy after any royal visit.) There has never been a poll which showed fewer than 50 per cent of the people wanting to retain the monarchy.⁶ Several television and newspaper polls conducted after the Labor resolution showed the same two-to-one margin.

Less than two weeks after the ALP proposal, the "Australian Republican Movement" was launched in Sydney, under the leadership of author Tom Keneally. Mr. Keneally explained his

views in several articles and interviews, in which he tried to represent Australia as a grown child, ready to leave the nest.⁷ This republican spokesman seems personally offended by Britain's gravitation toward the European Community; but surely the fact that Mr. Keneally is forced to queue up in the "Other" (not British or EC) passports line at Heathrow is hardly reason enough to declare the Republic of Australia.

The Australian Republican Movement does not propose an American-style presidency, but rather a figurehead, a ceremonial chief of state. Australia would thus acquire, in 2001, as memorable and noteworthy a head of state as the Presidents of Italy or Portugal or Uruguay or Ireland or Sri Lanka, whose names and images come so readily to mind. Australia would trade "the most famous woman in the world" for an international nonentity, which seems a dubious method of announcing Australia's coming of age. Some critics of monarchy ask what is the good of a monarch who is a "mere figurehead"; surely a president who is a "mere figurehead" is the least attractive head of state of all, not only powerless but dull.

The supporters of the republican movement suggest that Australia would be seen as a real country, an independent nation, a nation come of age if it became a republic. Playwright David Williamson says, "We can't truly call ourselves a real nation unless we have a republic. I think the colonial days are over, surely. There is no advantage in retaining the constitutional monarchy."⁸ It would come as a considerable surprise to a number of nations to learn that empires, kingdoms, grand duchies, principalities, emirates, and sultanates are not "real" countries. The colonial fixation of so many of the vocal adherents of the republican panacea may say more about the speakers than the audience; most of the people who matter in the world are aware that Australia is an independent country.

Australian national identity has never been a victim of Australian monarchy. One scholar points out that "though republicanism has been present in both political and literary expressions of Australian nationalism for at least 140 years, Australian nationalism can be strong and proud without being republican, and, as more than a century of Australian nationalism has shown, without Australia being a republic."⁹

Former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser opposes the republic

Former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser opposes the republic. "This is a diversion. People should be arguing how do we get Australia out of its economic hole. The whole question of talking about a republic will divide the country. It is a false issue because whatever changes are made, no Australian family will be better off as a result.

"It's not just a question of whether we should become a republic but what type of republic, and whether we should have a president who is appointed or elected, with or without power. It would reopen a range of constitutional issues which would take years to settle ...

"I don't think most Australians worry about the issue -- if the Queen visits Australia, she is very popular. *It is good to have a head of state above and beyond politics.*

"When a government is in trouble, it starts arguments about the Constitution. Good people can make any democratic constitution work."¹⁰

Sir James Killen declares that "there is no advantage whatsoever in having a republic, and it's no argument." Sir Asher Joel notes, "The monarchy has worked well, and before any changes are made, Australians would have to be assured a presidency would work just as well. We don't know what the cost of becoming a republic will be."¹¹ Perhaps Sir Asher has heard that the cost of the Brazilian presidency is five times that of the British Royal Family.¹² The Queen of Australia receives no Australian 'salary'.

Other pro-republicans stress the feature of the 'shared' monarch. This arrangement seems to work well enough for New Zealand, Canada, Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Jamaica, and all the other nations (real' nations) of which Queen Elizabeth II is monarch. Nor is the shared sovereign concept unique or new; England and Scotland shared a monarch for more than a century, before the Act of Union (1707); Great Britain and Hanover shared a monarch for 123 years, until Salic Law intervened. Today, Queen Margrethe II of Denmark is also Queen of the Faeroe Islands and of Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland), and Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands is also Queen of the Netherlands Antilles and of Aruba. Although those islands are not fully independent, they are not colonies, either.

One republican, "whimsical cultural commentator" Daniel Thomas, suggested a facetious solution to the shared monarch question. "I feel very strongly that we should have our own head of state," he says; of course, Australia does. The Queen of Australia just happens to be the queen of some other places as well. Mr. Thomas continues, "The Queen of Australia is a wonderful monarch, and if she would give up her other kingdoms and come and live permanently in Canberra, I'd have her in a flash. Or if she'd give us Prince Charles to start a separate dynasty, that would be ok, too."¹³ The comments were meant facetiously, but Mr. Thomas has hit the nail, or one of them, square on the head. Perhaps what Australia needs is not so much a "head of state of its own" as a monarch of its own, an Australian dynasty. There is a Canadian monarchist faction which believes strongly that Canada should have its own monarch, perhaps one of the Queen's younger children.¹⁴ Such a step would surely be more effective in giving "Australia confidence about its own future" than venturing into uncharted republican waters.¹⁵

The ALP's call for the federal government to carry out a massive public education campaign, to culminate in a referendum, has caused concern on several counts. First of all, there is the argument that this is a false issue. Second, what would such a campaign cost, especially in such difficult economic times? Third, who would carry out the campaign; is it to be an impartial *educational* campaign, carefully presenting the pro's and con's for both sides, or a biased *political* campaign?

The very notion of a 'political education' campaign sounds a

sinister note to some ears, with echoes of the Khmer Rouge or late Soviet Union. One concerned citizen wrote to his newspaper, "Since Australia is currently safely and quietly governed under a Constitutional monarchy, one wonders what alleged benefits will be attributed to a republic by this campaign -- and what alleged evils will be blamed on our present system of government (even though our present system is envied by many people overseas who live in unstable and corrupt republics.)"¹⁵ In the atmosphere of a national educational campaign on the present system, Australian monarchists might be well advised to take full advantage of this opportunity, making their countrymen better aware of the benefits and advantages of Australian monarchy.

Since the conference in Hobart last June, the ALP has lost its head; there is a new Prime Minister. Priorities and motives may have changed, or at least shifted. The republicanism question, far from being a *cause célèbre*, was an attempt to divert, distract, and divide, "superficial change for change's sake", offering no improvements, no benefits, no advantages to Australia.¹⁷ Would-be sponsors of "relevance" and constitutional reform might have done better to work on a means to resolve Parliamentary deadlocks on supply bills, secure tenure for the Governor-General, whether or not to codify the reserve powers of the Constitution, and so on, to say nothing of the current problems of agriculture and industry.¹

The Australian Labor Party's republican resolution's most useful purpose might be as a reminder to those who value the monarchy in Australia that they need to be ever vigilant. This a blatant attack on the monarchy; many Canadian and Australian monarchists

perceive other attacks by *stealth*, such as whether *God Save the Queen* is to be played, or something else; the use of the royal cypher or crown on post boxes and government vehicles, or their removal; display of portraits of the Queen, or no display; inclusion or excision of an oath of allegiance to the monarch in a variety of circumstances (ranging from the swearing-in of new citizens to that of new police officers); and even whether or not there is a current definitive stamp bearing the Queen's portrait. Monarchists cannot merely sit back and hope for the best; they must be or become active advocates for their constitutional monarchy, the best guarantee of modern Australia's democracy, continuity, and tradition.

In recent months, some pro-republican commentators have spoken of monarchy as being irrelevant or outdated. It is the same people who tear down historic buildings, and erect in their place glass boxes and steel parking garages. If these progressive people have their way, every city in the world will eventually look like every other city: no distinction, no character, nothing extraordinary, everything conformist. Perhaps they wish to do the same with governments.

NOTES:

1. One of the prominent pro-republicans of the early days, Henry Parkes, had become an ardent admirer of Queen Victoria by the time of her Golden Jubilee in 1887, showing that patriotism for Australia could be successfully combined with allegiance to the monarch who resided in Britain.
2. "Killen Defends Role of Sovereign", *The Australian*, June 26, 1991.
3. "Killen Defends ...

(Contd. p. 18)



III

In the National Civic Council's *News Weekly* of May 12, 1990 Paul Gray, in reviewing *The Free Frenchman*, a novel by Piers Paul Read, wrote: "The fact that there was a communist dirty tricks campaign at the end of the war is seldom appreciated. Non-communist members of the Resistance found themselves in danger of assassination or arrest ..." Huddleston presented a truly shocking account of the evils of the Resistance. The tone of the period of Liberation was set by the suppression of Pétain's final speech just before he was deported. It amounted to an exhortation to support De Gaulle, provided that he established conditions of social peace involving reconciliation and the reciprocal pardoning of wrongs committed. In this noble testament there was not a word of reproach. "Why was this message not published by those who had come to power, in every newspaper?" wondered Huddleston. (229)

The answer was that a veritable Communist Revolution was being attempted in France. After the Allied landings in southern France, "Red flags were flying over public buildings, while the officials appointed by Paris -- or by Algiers -- were being driven away, and their successors, approved by the Communists, were being put in their place with the support of armed escorts. Communists were seizing the Municipal offices and acting as mayors." (236) Huddleston despised the moral weakness with which many citizens countenanced this behaviour: "The truth about the terrible transition period when France was without an effective government, and when nobody thought it his business to stem the tide of pent-up hatred, is that the Communists were in effective command: and it is sad to have to record that other parties, afraid of being thought less patriotic, affected the stern figure of implacable Roman virtue lest they too should be 'suspect'." (245)

The death statistics were amazing. "There has never been, in the history of France, a more bloody period than that which followed the Liberation." (239) Huddleston provided these figures:

- * killed in the 1789-1795 Revolution:
20,000 approximately
- * killed in the 1870-1871 Commune:
18,000 approximately
- * killed by the Resistance:
100,000 or more.

Huddleston suggested that "De Gaulle must of course be absolved from responsibility for the illegalities committed under the new regime." (241) But it is plain that he was partly to blame, as Huddleston noted later: "His inordinate pride, which led him to sweep aside every obstacle in his path to power, which prevented him from seeing that France had other servitors (notably the Marshal) at least as patriotic, at least as useful as himself, caused him to commit or to allow many injustices." (263) It is just such fatal *hybris* in great men which the internationalist plotters are so readily able to use in their grand strategies.

The Resistance was largely a political attempt to remove nation-

alist adversaries. Writers were especially ill treated. "Charles Maurras, who had spent his life fulminating against the 'Prussians', who had refused even to mention Laval, but who had supported the Marshal, was sentenced to life imprisonment. He was one of France's foremost thinkers, one of France's greatest writers, but he was a Monarchist and therefore strongly anti-Republican and anti-Communist, and never a man to pull his punches. Henri Béraud, who hated the Germans, but who also disliked the English and the Gaullists, was sentenced to death, in spite of his patriotism. Robert Brasillach, a brilliant young poet and an exquisite writer, was executed, and is now regarded in the same light as Chénier, who fell under the guillotine in the 1789 Revolution." (243) Huddleston reported that among the Resistance, as well as those who were genuine and chivalrous, there were congenial rebels against society (who did not respect private persons and private property), others who were glad to throw off the inhibitions of civilization, a considerable number of undesirables (who behaved like bandits). (185) In the south there were something like 15,000 Spanish Reds who had fled after Franco's victory in 1939. The British jurist, F.J.P. Veale, wrote an important study of the mass murderer, Dr. Marcel Petiot, in Chapter IV ("An Opportunist of Genius") of *Crimes Discreetly Veiled* (1958, republished 1979 by the Institute of Historical Review as Volume 2 of *The Veale File*). Veale pointed out that "An Iron Curtain of Discreet Silence" was placed over this sensational case, because Petiot's career could not have been publicly discussed "without disclosing the surrounding social and political conditions which alone made his crimes possible." Petiot's trial took place in 1946.

Huddleston was also critical of the behaviour in the later stages of the German occupation of the Vichy-controlled Militia and the Legion (which had degenerated). He pointed out that Pétainists and Gaullists would have agreed to a more controlled *épuration* (purge) "of those who had fought against the French, who had denounced the Jews, the Communists, the Resistants, who had collaborated with the Gestapo, who had tortured and killed their compatriots (and) who had acted as spies and agents for the enemy". (246) But something much worse occurred instead. "The *épuration* was carried out wildly, often against the wrong persons, often by the very persons who should have been incarcerated, and with a partiality and lack of proper control that were absolutely scandalous. The courts of justice were not the normal tribunals: they were composed of juries chosen from panels of partisans, and the proceedings were conducted amid shrill cries of 'Death! Death!', which made any judicious hearing impossible. The Communists were conspicuous on these juries. ... The sentences were of a ferocity that was appalling." (243) According to François Mauriac there were about a million incarcerations. (244) Sometimes people were imprisoned for years without any charge being made. Torture was widespread. "Death sentences were sometimes carried out after the accused had been kept in the death cell more than a year, chained up like dogs, expecting every morning to be taken out and shot." (248) These "courts of exception" functioned for six years and no general amnesty ("which normally follows a period of illegality and a change of regime in France") had been declared when Huddleston wrote his book. "Another innovation, which was reminiscent of certain Nazi or Soviet legislation, was the institution of what was called 'national indignity'. When it was impossible to find a punishable

offence, civil courts had the right to inflict a judgement which deprived a man or woman of the right to vote, the right to obtain a passport, the right to occupy an official post or to be employed in certain defined occupations, such as the law, the press, the cinema industry, teaching and the civil service. Those who are thus stigmatized are virtually deprived of the possibility of earning a living." (248-249) Self-appointed censors in various professions banned certain colleagues from pursuing their careers. There were confiscations of property. Now, the magistrates and others connected with the law had voluntarily taken oaths of fidelity to Pétain. Commented Huddleston: "I have never understood how the same magistrates could reconcile their conscience to the function they were afterwards called on to perform of judging and condemning to death or to prison many thousands of their compatriots who had shown fidelity to Pétain." (163) It was no doubt a widespread moral cowardice which thus led to a society "in which imprisonment ... and death" became "the penalties for deviation from official opinion". (138)

IV

Huddleston ended his book sardonically with a contemplation of the early disasters of the Fourth Republic, which was established in 1946 after the interregnum in which De Gaulle was virtual dictator. Most of the existing members of Parliament were debarred from the Chamber because they had voted in 1940 for Pétain. President, Senate and Chamber of the Third Republic were liquidated. The finances, which had been kept remarkably sound under the Vichy Government, collapsed. "All opposition was suppressed, first, because newspaper plants had been taken over, second, because permission to publish had to be obtained from the Government, third, because the Government controlled the supply of newsprint. Weekly and monthly organs were likewise suppressed or altered beyond recognition." (256) De Gaulle, "a military man with dictatorial inclinations", was fairly soon repudiated by the coalition of Communists, Socialists and Christian Democrats and forced to resign. Governments came and went with Gilbertian rapidity. The Senate was suppressed; France was governed by a single Chamber; both Parliament and the mass media became greatly degraded from pre-war standards; there was an absurd growth of bureaucracy and increase in the number of laws and decrees passed. Coal soon cost more than twenty times

(Contd. from p. 16)

4. One of the main advocates of the republic, Senator Chris Schacht, is also in favour of abolishing the States, as being irrelevant and "an entity we can no longer afford".
5. "A Republic Wasn't Meant to Be Easy", *The News*, Adelaide, June 26, 1991.
6. "Why They Will Fail", *The News*, June 26, 1991.
7. "No Hard Feelings, But the Time Has Come to Part", *The Daily Telegraph*, July 18, 1991. "Ready for Republicanism", *The Australian*, September 30, 1991.
8. "What Six Famous Aussies Think", *Sunday Telegraph*, June 30, 1991.
9. D.J. Markwell, *The Crown and Australia*, Trevor Reese Memorial Lecture, 1987, University of London, p. 5. Available from Australian Studies Centre, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 27-28 Russell Square, London WC1B 5DS. Price £2.
10. "What Six Famous Aussies Think", *op. cit.* Emphasis added.
11. "What Six
12. "Long Live the Emperor! After a Century of Chaos, a Return to Monarchy?", *The Vancouver Sun*, October 11, 1991. Brazilians are aware of the cost difference, too, as well as other advantages of monarchy. In 1993, they will vote on a return to constitutional monarchy.

what it had under the Pétain regime. "All positive action became virtually impossible in France. Nobody dared tackle the principal problems, and drift was the order of the day." (259)

Only in opposition did De Gaulle call for the release of Pétain and a general amnesty. "He called for the undoing of harms for which he had largely been responsible. ... It was he who had imprisoned Weygand, the man who had formed in North Africa the only real army that France possessed ... (and) Admiral Decoux, the man who had kept Indo-China loyal to France." (259-260) Despite this criticism, Huddleston stated in 1951 that De Gaulle remained "the only authoritative person in France" and foresaw his return to power at a later date. (De Gaulle presided over France again from 1958 to 1968 and his story can be studied in Brian Crozier's two volume biography.)

Envoi

Ad nauseam we read of the collapse of civilization among the cultured Germans between 1933 and 1945. Not very often do we read of the collapse of integrity in France which began in 1944. Huddleston's account warns us to take nothing for granted in Australia in 1992. There are powerful interests determined to suppress our traditional British liberties: Today it is alleged Nazi war criminals who are geriatrics; tomorrow it is intended that it be the works of the historical revisionists; later may follow the suppression of patriotic groups like the Australian League of Rights and show trials of 'contemporary neo-Nazis and anti-Semites'. The media are largely bought; the more important cultural periodicals will not address these unpopular issues; the parliamentarians attack patriots from the safety of parliamentary privilege; the intellectuals and professional classes are largely supine; the educational structure is to be deformed by "education against racism"; few indeed are the honourable voices raised in the tradition of Pasternak and Solzhenitsyn. *Pétain -- Patriot or Traitor?* warns us, too, that our opponents will stop at nothing. No matter how noble or distinguished be a man and his career, it matters nothing, from their point of view, if he threatens to frustrate their hidden (and not-so-hidden) agenda. These are the true barbarians of our times and every effort must be sustained in the campaign to "frustrate their knavish tricks".

Nigel Jackson

13. "Big Fella' Should Run the Country", *Sunday Mail*, July 21, 1991.
14. This is not the only solution which has been proposed. The late Shah of Iran is said to have felt that King Constantine II, deposed King of the Hellenes, would have made an excellent King of Canada. To underline the notion of a separate and distinct monarchy and dynasty, it might be better for a potential King or Queen of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, St. Lucia, or wherever, not to come from the Queen's immediate or even near family.
15. John Menadue, former head of the Prime Minister's Department under Mr. Whitlam, quoted in "Keneally: It's Vital to Our Growing Up Process", *The Sun-Herald*, July 17, 1991. Mr. Menadue also refers to Australia as "an independent country living in Asia" which might or might not be a selling point for a republic.
16. "An Education in Republicanism", letter from Michael Copeman, *The Australian*, July 1, 1991.
17. "Change for change's sake": New South Wales Liberal Party president Peter King, quoted in "The Royalist Reaction", *The Sun-Herald*, July 7, 1991.
18. D.J. Markwell, *The Crown and Australia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

IS YOUR CHILD A GOOD READER?

by Dan O'Donnell

Regardless of conflict in the community at large over the quality of modern education, everyone from concerned parent to trendy educator agrees that Reading is a skill of supreme importance. None but a fool would dispute the proposition that whatever else the school does in this age of the liberated curriculum, Reading is the only skill truly indicative of an educated person. What does cause conflict in this one area of agreement is how to assess that skill.

Just how do you measure a child's competence in Reading? Obviously the test should do what it is supposed to do, accurately and scientifically. It should be easy to administer, and it should be easy to correct and interpret so that the busy classroom teacher is not bogged down in time-consuming clerical trivia. Important above all else, however, is that the test should be a valid instrument for measuring the child's capacity to read with understanding.

On this fundamental criterion some of our tests fail abysmally notwithstanding their widespread popularity across Australia, their reputations enhanced by the imprimatur of some of the nation's most prestigious educators and institutions. Take the GAPADOL READING COMPREHENSION TEST, found in the libraries of all our institutes of learning, and used extensively by Departments of Education throughout the nation.

This test was devised by two Queensland academics, Professor John McLeod, now the Director of the Institute of Child Guidance and Development at the University of Saskatchewan, and Professor Jonathan Anderson, now Professor of Education at Flinders University. Born in 1972, in Brisbane, the GAPADOL test is based on the well-known Cloze Technique which requires the subject to fill gaps in a passage according to contextual clues. Here the problem arises because the two Professors insist that **there is only one correct answer** for every empty space in the passage. In their words:

There are a few items where alternatives to those included on the marking keys appears

(sic) to be plausible. However, unless a word is included on the marking key as correct, it should NOT be credited. It has been demonstrated that GOOD READERS do respond with the words shown on the marking key.

Therein is the major flaw of the test. Good readers also respond with words not shown on the marking key, but on the specific instructions of infallible academics, they are wrong. Over the ensuing years, countless teenagers have been penalised unjustly by this flawed instrument, and countless teachers have been frustrated and obstructed in their efforts to motivate and enthuse their students towards better reading.

Just have a look at one passage from one of the six passages in FORM G, remembering that there are actually two GAPADOL tests, FORM G and FORM Y. The passage, "Turtles may feed the hungry" begins:

The world is bursting with people. In 33 years there may be 14 billion ----- in the world.

According to the Professors, the only admissible word is "people". In 1974 when I first became angry that this test is inflicted on hapless children, some of my teenaged pupils, desperately anxious to prove to the world that they were really intelligent, worthwhile human beings, inserted "persons" and "souls: and "men" and "humans". They all seem perfectly correct answers to me, but the Professors have declared flatly that my students were wrong. WHY? Why do they stick pins in children on the basis of such a suspect instrument?

In the very same passage at least nine other instances of multiple answers occur, yet every answer not included in the infallible marking key must be penalised. Have a look at them:

Green turtles have been eaten for ----- of years.

The authors declare that only the word "hundreds" is acceptable. What about "scores" or "thousands"? The latest anthropological evidence demonstrates that the Australian Aborigines had developed a fairly sophisticated culture some 50,000 years ago. Surely "thousands" is more

correct than the Professors' answer! And what about the fourteen year-old, valiantly striving to improve his reading and his self-esteem, who answers "millions"? Is it not also indicative of perfect comprehension of the meaning of the words?

In the same passage occurs:

"Now ----- a few turtles are left."

Why is "only" the only correct answer? What about "just" or "merely"?

Then there is:

Radios, metal tags, and huge balloons were put on these green turtles to learn where they nest ----- the eggs were taken to a turtle farm.

The authors declare that "then" is the only correct response. Surely it is contrary to every reputable educational precept to penalise a child who demonstrates absolute comprehension of the question along with a burgeoning linguistic and literary talent by responding with "subsequently" or "later" or "afterwards"? Indeed, not only contrary to sound educational practice but unethical and repugnant to the very ideals of the teaching profession!

And again in the same passage:

"----- want to raise the green turtles for their meat."

McLeod and Anderson, with the assurance of Oracles of old, assert that "scientists" is the only acceptable answer. Please, someone, anyone, tell me what is wrong with "people" or "men" or "experts" or "humanitarians" or "greenies"?

One very perplexing feature of this reading test is the determination of the authors that faulty grammatical usage is to be penalised. Faulty spelling is acceptable but faulty grammar is a no-no. In their words:

A child should NOT be penalised for spelling a correct answer incorrectly. The test is a test of reading, i.e. input, and not spelling, i.e. output. However, it must be quite clear that the child was attempting to write the required word. Thus, for instance, if a child writes a singular

noun for a plural or a plural for a singular, this could be incorrect. Similarly 'loud' would not be accepted for 'loudly'.

It is most intriguing, and most confusing. Take, for example, the question

"Over 120 ----- of meat can be taken from a --- grown turtle."

The first answer is "pounds". Throughout this nation citizens have been exhorted to use metric, think metric, buy metric. The very pupils tested by the Professors have

been raised entirely in the metric system. Why, then, is "kilograms" wrong? But look at the second question. The correct answer according to the infallible answer key is "fully", the unfortunate student who answers "full" being penalised even if he inserts a hyphen. It obviously has something to do with that terribly clever explanation about spelling and grammar. Even after a life-time of classroom experience, I cannot comprehend the reasoning. Just take the fourteen year-old who answered "peepul" as the answer to "The

world is bursting with -----." He is rated by the Professors as a better reader than the child who answered "individuals" and spelled it correctly.

What about **your** child? Has he been tested on GAPADOL? Perhaps it is time that Consumer Affairs took a sharp look at some of the measuring instruments we use on children. It could be that the Justice Department might have to become involved.

(Contd. from p. 7)

The table used is in the Canberra Museum. After lunch we took part in the special Nurses' Memorial Service at St. Andrew's Cathedral.

It was a moving service and brought back memories of sheltering there from the bombing before we were able to board our ships on 12th February 1942. We placed a wreath of poppies on the plaque in memory of our Australian Army nurses. Then followed a reception given by the Australian High Commissioner.

In the evening we had our Nurses' Reunion Dinner: 8 ex-10 AGH with one physiotherapist, 9 ex-13 AGH and the one only-survivor of the 4th CCS. All told there were nineteen from among the original 120, as well as Mrs. Statham (née

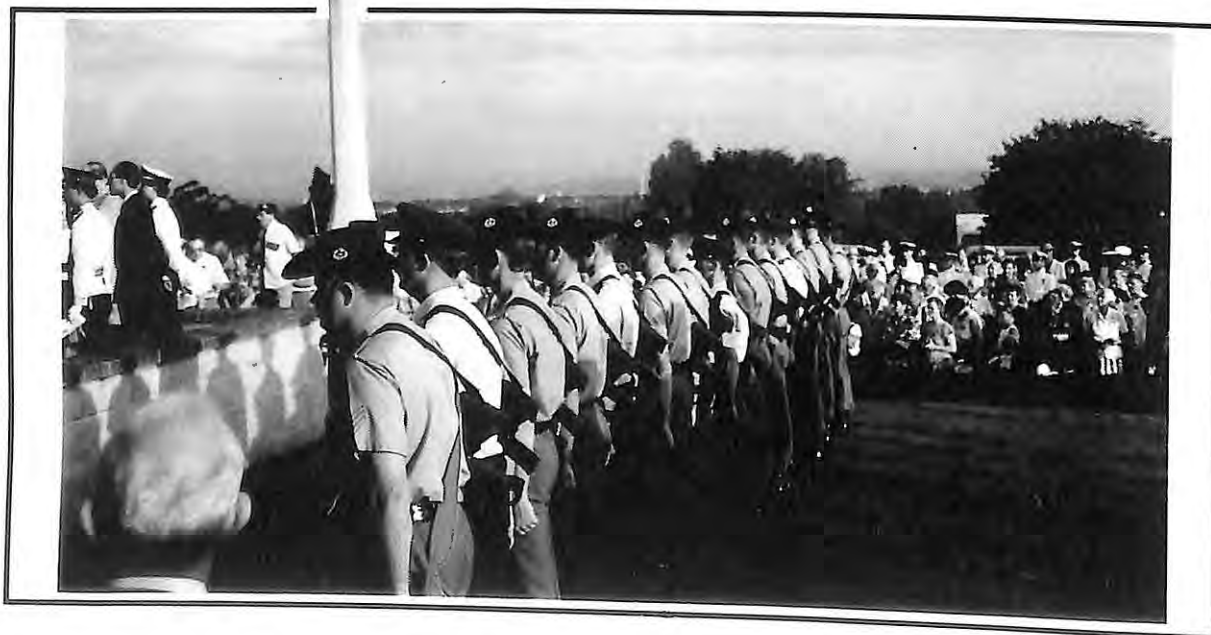
Bullwinkel), the only survivor of the Bangka Island massacre.

The most moving ceremony was at the Kranji War Memorial Service on Saturday, remembering the fateful day of 15th February 1942. We were called at 4.20 a.m. and boarded the buses at 5.15 a.m. It was dark and we were all very subdued. Two thousand people made the up hill ascent in the darkness, almost in silence. The only voices were those of the guides indicating the hazardous steps with the gleam of their torches. Dawn breaks very slowly in the tropics and the sun had barely touched the top of the cross as the service began. Robed officiants from several religions -- Indian, Chinese, etc. -- began with prayers and chants, followed by the service taken by an English Padre. Servicemen from the Aus-

tralian Army and Air Force formed the Guard of Honour. Tweedy Tweedell (POW) of Queensland 10th AGH and Nell Dollman (Bentley) of 13th AGH laid our wreath. During the tour of Malaya our visit to the Hospital in Malacca, which the 10th AGH had shared with the British, brought back happy memories. We were given a warm welcome by the Superintendent and Matron and then a tour of the buildings.

Our last days were free for shopping. But, as we farewelled each other, we couldn't help wondering when we would meet again -- many of us were already in poor health. We may be old, but our friends who did not return from those years of 1942-1945 have not aged one bit; they are happy, fresh-faced and young, just as we remember them.

Kranji Memorial Service



LETTERS

COURT SYMBOLS AND SUBSTANCE

(*The Australian*)

One would hope that the recent stylistic changes in South Australian courts have little to do with republicanism, because they do that cause no service. (Republicanism Creeps Into Courts, *The Australian*, 10/1/1992). The swapping of symbols may be done in a most aesthetically pleasing way and thus gain some popular acclaim, but the very object of symbols is not what they look like but what they represent. The coat of arms previously displayed in those courts was not there to symbolise any imperial pretensions, but rather the very way that law is applied.

Justice Millhouse of that State is reported as having considered that because the Queen is "Queen of Australia ... the royal coat of arms should be displayed in her courts". If this were the main reason then a coat of arms similar to her own personal flag for Australia should be displayed there. The South Australian Attorney-General is reported as stating some totally nonsensical things which indicate that in 1986 with the passing of the Australia Act he had an identity crisis wherein he realised 85 years after the event that he was no longer a colonial subject but now the citizen of an independent nation. We must all now welcome Mr. Sumner to the 20th century, before it is over!

Justice Millhouse should realise that the existence of the office of the Crown of Australia, as the original human source of all judicial, executive and legislative authority in his State, is not in fact the fundamental reason why the coat of arms of the head/figurehead of that office (actually in her right as the occupant of the same role with respect to a foreign land) is so often displayed on judicial paraphernalia. What it represents is nothing more than the fact that the law as applied in those courts is done according to the principles of our tradition of the common law and equity as developed in and from that foreign land. This living tradition has implicit in it that there are principles higher than the laws enacted by parliamentarians -- principles of justice and equity which derive ultimately from a tradition which attempted to encapsulate that there is a natural law of human nature which must at times take precedence to legislative enactments when there is serious conflict between them.

An additional factor clearly symbolised by that coat of arms is the very independence of the judicature from the intervention of the State's executive and legislative branches. To the non-legal observer, with the removal of the principal symbol of our common law and equity, and the imposition of the State's own coat of arms in all courtrooms, it could well appear that the judicature is now no more than another department of the State's Public Service. In the practical operations of the judicature this has far more significance than any fear of "creeping republicanism". Whatever way the head/figurehead of the office of the Crown of Australia is appointed does not necessarily bear on the way in which law is applied.

Mr. Sumner, by emblazoning his proud magpie to sit aloft judicial officers (judges, magistrates, registrars) in his State, has not only hoisted his government's symbolic declaration of the supremacy of their fickle wills, but also subjected those officers to the disdain implicit in the visual impression that they may at any time suffer from magpie droppings falling on their heads!

The principal symbol of our tradition of the common law and

equity, and the most important indication of the independence of the judicature, should not be treated with disdain, for that is the only logical intention I can perceive from the South Australian Government's outright removal of it from all its courtrooms. Republicanism has nothing to do with it.

QUENTIN SCHNEIDER
(Chatswood, NSW)



A DISTINCTION (*The Advertiser*)

Having heraldry as a hobby, I have been interested in the recent comments on the use of the royal arms in courts of law. First, of course, the authority of the court derives from that of the Crown, not of the elected government, and predates any authority of parliaments by some centuries. It's a nice distinction, perhaps, but an inability to distinguish between the various arms of governance has made more than one politician look foolish -- Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen being but one of recent memory.

Elizabeth is now monarch of Australia in her own right and title, which her father was not. However, while there is a coat of arms for Australia, a version of which is on the reverse of the 50c piece, there is no distinctive coat of arms for the Australian monarch. The Queen has adopted a personal banner in Australia, but that is not quite the same thing. Until arms are adopted for the monarch of Australia as a separate kingdom, such as already exist, for instance, in Scotland, the proper arms are the customary ones as used to date.

As there is no such separate title as the Queen of South Australia, the S.A. arms (as rather poorly redesigned by the State Government some years ago) would appear to have no place in the courts at all, except where worn on the property and by servants of the S.A. Government. Unless, of course, the S.A. Government has decided that the courts are nothing more than its appendages, property and servants, rather than the courts enjoying their ancient independence and authority.

If so, I don't recollect the Government having informed the public of it before, and it could come as something of a surprise to the judges, as well.

R.J.M. SWANSON,
(Warradale Park, S.A.)

HMAS SYDNEY: HER LAST FIGHT, Wednesday, 19th November, 1941

"In an unmarked grave at Flying Fish Cove, beneath the soaring cliffs of Christmas Island, lies the only man from HMAS Sydney to find a grave ashore." "When found, in February 1942, on a damaged Australian made RAN Carley float drifting offshore of the Island, it (the mummified body) was clad in a boiler suit with four press studs to the waist. The suit had been blue, but the upper surface was bleached white by the sun. There were no markings on the clothing; there was nothing in the pockets, no identity disc. The body was identified only as 'Caucasian'. Fish had nibbled away part of the arm on the slatting. Birds had pecked away at the face." "A lonely death on a float pitted with shell splinters, a tiny speck borne for months across empty seas."

These sentences from page 240 to page 244 of Barbara Winter's book, *HMAS Sydney, Fact, Fantasy and Fraud, 1984*, make a poignant introduction to one of the sea's mysteries, viz., how was the Sydney lost with all 645 hands, on Wednesday, 19th November 1941, in the Indian Ocean not far from Carnarvon, Western Australia? At least four books have dealt extensively with the disappearance of the crack ship of the Fleet, which had, in the previous year of 1940 sunk the Italian cruiser Bartolemeo Colleoni and the Italian destroyer Espero in the Mediterranean Ocean. It is a lasting puzzle as to how an armed merchant raider, the German "Kormoran", could destroy a naval vessel of superior armament. We have only the German survivors' accounts of the action, and their stories conflict. Also perplexing is the lack of evidence of oil slicks and/or floating debris to be found, although these could have been dispersed by wave and wind action in the lapse before searches were organized several days later.

There is and always will be a mystery attached to Sydney's disappearance, even though half a century has passed; the most likely account is that towards dusk on Wednesday 19th November 1941, while returning south to Fremantle from escort duties, and about 200 miles off Carnarvon, W.A., HMAS Sydney encountered the Kormoran. In the ensuing engagement both craft sank, Sydney with all hands, Kormoran with relatively few losses of eighty from a total of three hundred and eighteen crew. It would seem, from accounts of the Germans, that the Sydney was taken by surprise but fought bravely. It was not seen to sink and it disappeared off the surface of the sea. Her resting place has never been found.

Heros finds Carley float

Naval records only refer to one Carley float being found, by the naval tug *Heros*, and this is the one in the War Museum at Canberra. The one found just off Christmas Island three months after the action was not returned to Australia and it was officially denied as being RAN equipment. However, it was examined by a military staff on the Island and found to be branded 'Made in Australia'. Another important fact is that the only other RAN ship up to that time which could have lost both a man and a Carley float was HMAS Parramatta, torpedoed eight days later off Tobruk. A float could not have drifted thousands of miles to Christmas Island from the Mediterranean, but the Christmas Island one could have quite conceivably have drifted north to the Island.

Although she had seen much active service in the Mediterranean under Captain Collins, both he and many of the ship's company were drafted to other postings before her last fight. There were

many new hands on the last fateful voyage; in numbers she was over normal strength, but lacking an experienced crew; for the many seventeen to nineteen year old lads on board it was indeed their "First and Last". A moving tribute was paid to her last ship's company in *The Advertiser*, Adelaide, 1st December 1941, as follows"

"If her latest fight should prove her last, then she has met her end gloriously. She has rid the seas of a heavily-armed raider and placed all who sail the sea in ships under a great and lasting obligation to remember her crew and honour them."

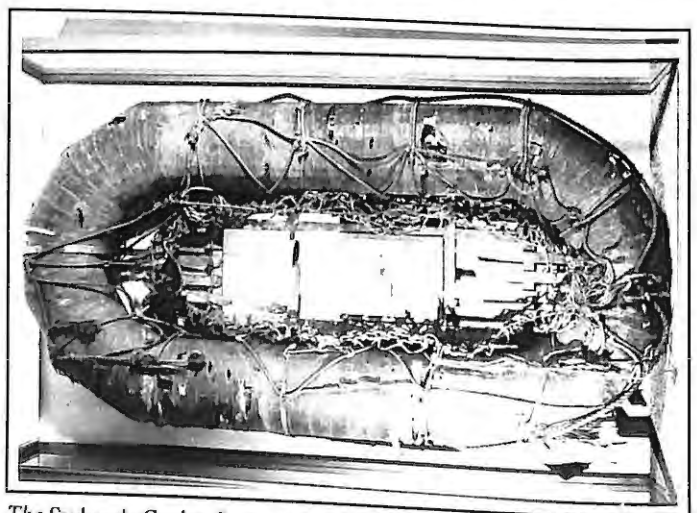
It is suggested that the last lines of the naval hymn form a fitting end to this article:

O hear us when we cry to thee,
For those in peril on the sea.

LEST WE FORGET!

J. Underhill FCPA
ex-RAN 1942-46.

[Note: It is the opinion of the writer and others that, in view of the millions of dollars being spent on alleged war crimes committed outside Australian jurisdiction, an exhaustive enquiry should be conducted by the Government to discover the fate of 645 Australian sailors, half a century ago. After all, we should have a moral commitment to care for our own before others.]



*The Sydney's Carley float recovered by the Heros and now on display at the Canberra War Museum.
(Note the numerous machine-gun bullet punctures.)*

BOOK REVIEW

(Dawn Thompson)

WHO SANK THE SYDNEY? (*Michael Montgomery*) [Reprinted in 1983 by Camelot Press, Southampton; it is available from Fremantle Maritime Museum, Cliff Street, Fremantle 6160, at a cost of \$32 posted)

Where are our Australian film makers? Even the sibilant title of Michael Montgomery's book *Who Sank the Sydney?* set the scene for a rattling good mystery, and the story that unfolds has a wealth of action from drama, heroism, trickery and deceit and tragedy down to bungling and cover-up.

These events happened early in the Second World War when the *Sydney* was the pride of the Australian fleet, and in this encounter off the coast of Western Australia, she and her complement of 645 men were lost without trace in sinking the German *Kormoran*, from which 318 survived.

The book begins by describing the backgrounds of both protagonists; the *Sydney* with its dashing successes under Captain Collins in the Mediterranean, and the *Kormoran* under Captain Detmers in cutting a swathe through supply ships in the Indian

Ocean and elsewhere. The activities of Japanese submarines and their spotter planes all around the Australian coastline from Sydney north to Fremantle are also documented here, at this time when the attack on Pearl Harbour was shortly to take place.

Then comes the action. When the *Sydney* came upon the *Kormoran* on 22nd November 1941, the signals she sent received scant official recognition, and what actually occurred is clouded in obscurity and deception. Did the *Kormoran* deceive the *Sydney* by assuming the identity of the Dutch ship *Straat Malakka* and flying the Dutch flag from under which she then attacked? (This was categorized as an act of piracy and punishable by summary execution.) Or was the *Kormoran* flying the Norwegian flag? Did the *Kormoran* at some stage pretend to surrender, or under the guise of *Straat Malakka*, pretend distress, only to open fire and devastate the *Sydney* and the boarding party setting off from her? Was the *Kormoran* in the act of supplying a Japanese submarine when approached by the *Sydney*, which was then secretly sunk by a torpedo from the submarine? Were all the traces of the action including the *Sydney's* survivors, machine-gunned by the Japanese and sunk beneath the waters to conceal what had really occurred, particularly with Pearl Harbour in the offing?

The location of the battle was out to sea off Edel Land west of Shark Bay in the shipping lane running from the Sunda Strait down to Fremantle, and the survivors of the *Kormoran* came ashore north of Carnarvon at Red Bluff, in the beautiful but desolate station country known to locals as Seventeen Mile Well. Then began the endeavour to unravel the truth of what had occurred. The Germans, particularly the officers, were very cagey, and interrogation produced a variety of accounts, as the scene shifted to Carnarvon gaol and then south to Perth and various internment camps.

Several characters stand out as the story emerged in all its complexity. The *Kormoran's* captain, Detmers, stars as the anti-hero, with a ruthless reputation, hungry for glory and recognition, and prepared to perpetrate acts of piracy, trickery and murder to achieve this -- acts which haunted him through his captivity to an early death, and the book he wrote on the battle is often quoted.

Then there is Dr. List, who brought ashore and allegedly hid in a cave a camera containing shots of the action with the *Sydney*; valuable evidence, never recorded -- did it in fact ever exist? Dr. List was a clever man: he made little sketches containing short-hand messages amongst the feathery pencil strokes.

Sub-Lieutenant Bunjes featured strongly in the interrogation -- he seemed to be the spokesman for the officers, some of whom were fanatical Nazis, from whom the lower ranks were much more comfortable when separated. From the latter, the various interrogators were able, at various times, to extract all sorts of amazing crumbs of information. Among the survivors were three Chinese, whom the Germans had captured and pressed into service as laundry men. Of these Shu Ah Fah gave evidence that should have been of value, but this was not officially recorded.

Amongst the *dramatis personae* must be included a lonely corpse picked up in a shot-up Carley float three months later and 300 miles north of the action; bleached, decomposed, unrecognizable -- the only man to be found from the *Sydney*? Then there were tenuous rumours of survivors of the *Sydney* being taken as prisoners to Japan. Although investigated, the rumours were never substantiated, the men never found.

Montgomery, whose father was among the lost crew, concludes the book with a summary of the official cover-up which intensifies the mystery. What had the authorities to hide? These are disturbing conjectures, but suspicions which need to be aired, and Montgomery's extremely factual and well-documented account of a tremendous chapter in Australia's naval history brings to the fore many questions still not answered.

REPUBLICANISM IN AUSTRALIA by John Gully (obtainable from John Gully, PO Box 148, Brighton, Victoria 3186; \$5 posted)

The superficial nature of the debate on both sides of the Monarchy versus Republic question cries out for concepts to get one's teeth

into. The puerile exchanges on the level of "I think the Queen's lovely" versus "Those parasites cost too much" and "It's tradition" against "We must show our Asian trading partners we're a mature nation" are not worthy of the gravity of the discussion. Should the Monarchy be lost to Australians only because we do not realize its value in our daily lives, it will be gone for ever. Too late if, under the emptiness and excesses of Republicanism, we look back and grieve for what we once had.

John Gully's small essay of only 20 pages clearly set out and sub-headed, gives a good framework for concerned Australians to equip themselves to do justice to this discussion.

Gully begins with what he sees as the basic difference between Monarchists and Republicans, stated as the way they see the relationship between people and government: Republicans put the power of government before the desires of the people; Monarchists put the wishes of the people before the power of government. This seems to me a relevant starting point for making a case either way. Is this true? What facts support this claim?

Most Republicans, Gully says, well placed in positions of influence such as the media, public life, the schools, belong to a "New Class" which disparages and down-grades our past, and would promote rather a sickening "dinkum Aussie" ockerism. This we have noticed, I'm sure. Gully continues raising points for debate in contrasting the Monarchical system's call to the realm of spiritual and moral concepts, of which the Queen, Defender of the Faith, is the embodiment, as against the "sterile organizational and situational concepts" of Republicanism, which leave the nation to "scramble and stumble along aimlessly". He queries the nature of the beneficial changes a Republic would bestow; discusses the claims that the Monarch is remote; that migrants and the young have objections; the divisiveness of Presidential elections as against an hereditary, non-political Head of State; the actual meaning of 'independent', and much more.

For me, one of his most telling points is a quote from Sir Ian Gilmour in *The Body Politic* -- "modern societies still need myth and ritual. A monarch and his family supply it. There is no magic about a mud-stained politician."

We do need our moral and spiritual dimensions, our pageantry, colour and tradition, these intangibles that raise the human spirit above the hum-drum. But equally we need the strengths and balances and the protection that the Monarchy provides, within which we may safely go about improving our human condition.

John Gully's thoughtful booklet is a timely beginning to the underpinning of our gut-feeling that the Monarchy is worthwhile with a few concrete and sensible arguments. But I'm sure he would agree that it is only a start, and there is much more to be understood and disseminated, and quickly, if we are to have informed debate on this vital subject.

Further reading: *Freedom Wears a Crown* by John Farthing (\$13 posted)

The Servile State by Hilare Belloc (\$17 posted)
[From all League bookshops]

Back cover: H.M.A.S. *Sydney* about to berth at
Circular Quay, Sydney
(10 February, 1941.)

