

Front Cover: Captain James Cook

in this issue...

2. **The Toast "Australia"**
Sir David Smith
5. **Government: Its Power and Its Place**
Eric D. Butler
7. **The Suicide of Europe**
Nigel Jackson
11. **Hawker the Standard Bearer**
Andrew Barton Paterson
12. **The Time Has Come**
Randall J. Dicks
14. **The Young Queen**
Rudyard Kipling
16. **The Responsible Vote**
Geoffrey Dobbs
18. **Common Law -- Common Sense**
Vernon Wilcox C.B.E., Q.C.
23. **Book Review**
Dan O'Donnell
24. **Letter to the Editor**
The Man From Oodnadatta

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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. Your subscription to *Heritage* would be a constructive step in the regeneration of Australia.

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THE FIELD EXISTS FOR THE FLOWER

When Jesus taught His followers that there was a higher order than those developed by men, His followers were very surprised as evidenced by the New Testament account, ". . . the crowds were amazed at His teaching, because He taught as one having authority and not as their teachers of the law."

After all, they had been taught from the Torah that if they obeyed the teachings of the Law, they would be blessed. But He spoke of an higher order, a spiritual dimension to life that they had to learn about. He gave them the keys, the teachings, that would open the doors of their minds, give them the insight -- if they would only obey His words and continue in the direction He had set for them.

He asked them, "Is not Life more important than food and the body more important than clothes?" He went on to answer His own question by insisting that Life is more than food and the body more than clothes. "Consider the fowls, they do not sow or reap; they have no storeroom or barn, yet God feeds them." To reinforce the instruction, He used the example of the Sabbath institutions: "The Sabbath was made for Man, not Man for the Sabbath." The pattern of the Sabbath was based on God's creation rest; the goal of the Sabbath was freedom under God's laws. The Sabbath acknowledged God as the Creator and Sustainer of all life and the people were to find rest in Him.

Divine authority is manifested in Divine or Natural Law, the Law which governs Creation -- the Law to which the stars and planets are obedient, the Law which governs all forms of life, the structure of matter and the nature and behaviour of light. "Consider the lilies of the field ..." suggests it is not simply enough to glance at and admire, but rather, study, observe carefully, think or deliberate on. Look at how everything works together to produce such a flower. The rain, the sun, the soil, the microbes in the soil, the worms -- all that makes up the field contributes to the growth of the lilies. The field benefits the lilies; there are symbiotic relationships within all that comprises the field, but it is the lilies that flower. God 'clothed' the lilies.

"They do not labour or spin (economic activity). Yet I tell you, not even Solomon in all his glory was dressed like one of these." Solomon was renowned for the splendour of his possessions, palace, etc., and yet his economic systems were contrasted with the creative works of God. One man might sow and another water, but it was God who gave the increase! Solomon's systems oppressed and exploited while God's systems were there for Man's benefit. Today, as then, there are unmistakable signs of decay in the systems and institutions which have tended to enslave men. We need to go back to first principles.

In the field of economics, the Christian 'first principle' is: "The system exists to serve the needs of Man." This is an eternal truth that must be rediscovered and observed.



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

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THE TOAST: "AUSTRALIA"

by Sir David Smith



Sir David Smith retired recently after many years of service as Official Secretary to the Governors-General. He delivered the following toast at an Australia Day Luncheon held in Melbourne on 25th January, 1991.

I propose to take two themes -- our Australian system of Government and our Australian way of life -- and say something about each of them. Though I make no claim to be an expert on either, I believe I have a degree of special knowledge about each, and I propose to disclose to you the basis of this belief in each case.

As for my qualifications to speak about our system of government, I retired recently after 37 years in the Commonwealth Public Service. I spent the last 32 of those years working in what I would describe as the machinery of government. Those 32 years began as Principal Private Secretary to a Minister in two Menzies Governments, and as Official Secretary to five Governors-General, while the nine years in between were spent working directly for Governors-General, Prime Ministers, Ministers, and the Permanent Heads of the Department of the Interior and the Prime Minister's Department, though not, I am happy to say, all at the one time. My time in the Prime Minister's Department included a period as the head of the Government Branch in the Parliamentary and Government Division, and as Secretary to the Federal Executive Council.

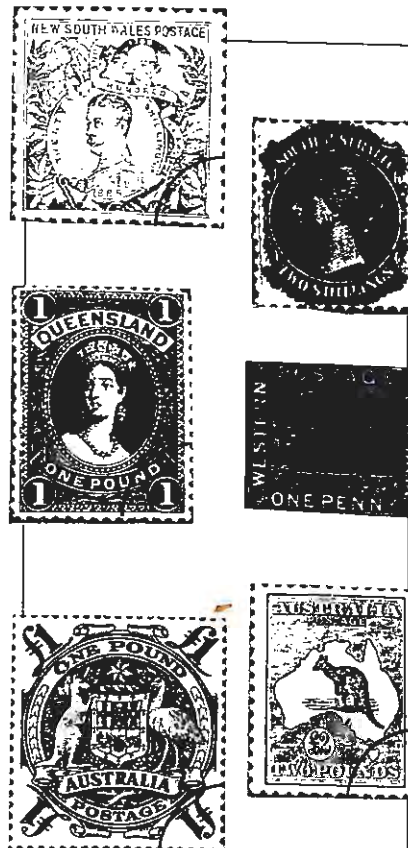
Having thus served our system of government over almost my entire working life, I proudly proclaim it, with all its weaknesses, its faults and its defects, as the best system of government in the world. And, despite our current economic problems, and the undoubted hardships which many Australians are enduring at the present time, we have produced a society which is one of the most comfortable and safest in which to live and to work and raise one's children. The many thousands of migrants who queue up to come to this country are ample testimony.

When he spoke here just two years ago, Sir Ninian Stephen was trying to disabuse us of the popular conception that Australia is a young nation, with all the excuses that might provide us for national inexperience, or for taking our national responsibilities rather more lightly, or for excusing our national failings rather more readily, than we might otherwise feel able to do. He went on to say that only Britain, the United States of America, Canada, Switzerland and Sweden could look back on a period as long or longer of democratic rule, uninterrupted by dictatorship of the left or right, or by foreign conquest and occupation, as could Australians. Sir Ninian concluded by reminding us that even today, democracy, as we have so long known and understood and enjoyed it, is a relative rarity among the nations of the world.

It is interesting to observe that, of the six oldest democratic nations he listed, four (including the United States) were British or of British origin, and four (including Sweden) were monarchies.

My definition of our system of government is this: Australia is first of all a democratic country, which means that the people are involved in the processes of government through elected representatives. The dictionary defines a democratic state as one which tolerates minority views, and we certainly do that. We have a parliamentary system of government, which means that our laws are made by a legislative assembly to which we have elected our representatives. We have a responsible system of government, which means that the Government and its Ministers are answerable in Parliament -- responsible to the Parliament -- for their actions, and hold office, and may continue to govern, between elections, only while they continue to have the confidence

of the Parliament. We have a Westminster-style system of government, based on the British model, to which our founding fathers added, from the United States of America, a federal element involving a division of functions and responsibilities between the National and the State governments, and an upper house, the Senate, the composition and the electoral features of which were also modelled on those of the United States of America. We have a constitutional system of government, which means that we have drawn up a set of fundamental principles by which the country is governed, and we have committed these fundamental principles to



writing, so that anyone who wishes may read our Constitution. It is a commentary on our national complacency about such matters that few Australians even know that we have a written Constitution and even fewer have ever seen a copy, let alone read it. I sometimes wonder how many people, in so many countries around the world, have given their lives, and still continue to do so, for the things we take for granted.

The final component in our system of government, and the one which holds all the other components together, is the Monarchy: we have a monarchical system of government, in which the powers and functions of the Head of State reside in an hereditary Monarch who rules only by the consent of those who are ruled

over, and who acts on the advice of their elected representatives. In our particular case, as with that of the sixteen other monarchical countries within the Commonwealth, the absent monarch is represented by a Governor-General who performs all the duties of the Head of State.

THE MONARCHY has provided strength and stability to our system of government, and a sense of unity to our nation. What is more, the periodic opinion polls tell us that a majority of Australians still want to retain the monarch. To my mind, the sad part in all of this is that the majority of Australians look at the monarchy, and at the Sovereign in particular, through the eyes of the women's magazines and the coverage given from time to time by the tabloid newspapers to the activities of members of the Royal Family.

Of course, the personal qualities, as we perceive them, of the Sovereign and of the Heir to the Throne are important. If we are to respect them, it is nice if we can also admire them, but that is not the essential point. The essence under our system of government as a constitutional monarchy is that the Queen, and the Governor-General who represents her, have certain duties, powers and prerogatives, and these are set out in our Constitution and in legislation passed by the Commonwealth Parliament.

I recall, in the years leading to the 1988 Bicentenary, the clamour that we should celebrate two hundred years of white settlement by scrapping the Constitution, changing the flag, and starting again. There was no attempt at discussion or debate -- the fact that they were old, and British in origin, was considered good and sufficient reason to discard them. All we needed to solve our (unspecified) problems was to become a Republic and, apparently, any old Republic would do: there was no analysis of the various forms of republican government already in existence around the world, and no pointer to which one we should seek to emulate. The important point, apparently, was that we should celebrate our achievements by pretending that they didn't happen.

When I first set out to prepare this speech I wrote the following sentence: "My one fear is that, with the approach of the centenary of federation in the year two thousand and one, the same mindless anti-traditional, anti-British rhetoric will start up again, and the magic date will be good and sufficient reason to change the Constitution and change the flag." By the time the first draft had been typed, at least one feature writer and one journalist had appeared in print in daily newspapers saying that 1st January 2001 would be a good date on which to declare Australia a Republic.



Again, no discussion, no debate, just a date, and absolutely no recognition that republics come in all shapes and colours and sizes. What really astounds me is the logic behind the notion not that our system of government has to be changed, but changed in ten years' time. If our Constitution is the cause of our problems then we should have been looking at it long ago: if it is okay for the next ten years then there can't be too much wrong with it.

Australia is one of the oldest continuous democracies in the world, with more than 130 unbroken years of democratic government.

We are, after all, as Sir Ninian Stephen reminded the nation in his last Australia Day address two years ago, "one of the oldest continuous democracies in the world, with more than 130 unbroken years of democratic government behind us, and with a much longer experience of making decisions for ourselves, by democratic means, than all but a handful of the almost 200 nations of today's world". Hardly a prescription for change, is it?

So far as the flag is concerned, it is a constant reminder of our origins as a nation, and of our history. Not only did we get our first white settlers from Britain: we also acquired from them what Prime Minister Bob Hawke described last year in a speech to the National Press Club as our "fundamental principles of parliamentary democracy, freedom of the individual and the rule of law". We also received from Britain the great heritage of her laws, her customs, her language, her literature and philosophy -- in short, her culture, but more of that later.

As for our Constitution it may need amending, it may need some fine tuning, but it would be madness to discard it or change it in any radical way. Fortunately, the Commonwealth Government and some of our universities have recognised that. In that same speech to the National Press Club, on 19th July 1990, the Prime Minister said that "the time had come to form a closer partnership between our three levels of government -- Commonwealth, State and Local. The first task, he said, was "to move by sensible, practicable steps to get better co-operation within the framework of the Federal Constitution as it stands". As for the second task, this was defined by the Prime Minister as "to apply the spirit of national co-operation in a new approach to reform of the Constitution itself". I believe that, in this second task, the views of those governed, and not just those who do the governing, should be sought and taken into account.

There is some hope that this might happen; last December Melbourne University ran a two-day seminar which looked at both constitutional change and the alteration to governmental arrangements in relation to the environment. Later this year a convention jointly organised by Professor Cheryl Saunders, from Melbourne University's Centre for Comparative Constitutional Studies, and Professor James Crawford, Dean of Sydney University's Law School, will review the whole constitutional system. According to a press report by David Solomon in *The Australian*, the two Professors have said that the aim of the debate should be to identify and deal with aspects of the constitutional system which are unsatisfactory now, or which are likely to cause significant problems in the foreseeable future, and the debate should not be confined to the text of the Constitution but should also include its operation in practice.

When they get to those sections of the Constitution which deal with The Queen and the Governor-General I hope they bear the last point particularly in mind, and look carefully at their operation in practice. If they do, they will see that the monarchical system of government has served us well, and continues to do so. I know it has been said that the system whereby the Queen appoints the Governor-General on the advice of the Prime Minister of the day is unfair and undemocratic. But is it? What is the alternative? An elected Governor-General or, rather, an elected President, is the reply. Well, let us think about that for a moment. We have had some pretty distinguished Australians in the office of Governor-General. Whether we called it Governor-General or President, how many of them would have stood for election if that was the only way to attain office? Our present system provides for an elected Head of Government, with all the powers and responsibilities of decision-making, and an appointed *de facto* Head of State, who does not have to offer himself or herself as a candidate, who does not have to defeat other contenders to attain or retain the office, and who is thus better able to represent the nation at a level above party or partisan politics, as a symbol of national unity.

If I were Prime Minister of this great country, with all the awesome responsibilities of that high office, the last thing I would want breathing down my neck would be an elected Governor-General or President claiming to represent his or her own constituency. And that is not such a fanciful notion. In my travels overseas on duty with our appointed Governor-General, I was present at a gathering of a number of Governors-General, both appointed and elected. One of the latter was heard to propose, quite seriously, that, as their respective Prime Ministers gathered together periodically for important multilateral conferences of one kind or another, it was time they, too, should come together in a similar fashion, for they also had important constituencies to represent. Fortunately, our appointed Governor-General was able to say that such a proposal could not concern him, but if I were Prime Minister it would concern me.

So, as the debate hots up in the approach to the centenary of Federation, and as the politicians and the lawyers and the academics look to see how we might improve our system of government and our constitutional framework, I hope that those of us who value our particular brand of constitutional monarchy, above all the various forms of republican government that we see around us, will speak up, for we are still in the majority in this country.

One final point before I leave my first theme and move on to my second. You have all heard the anti-British argument being trotted out to argue for a casting-off of the British Monarchy, and a severing of all legal ties with the British Government and with Britain. Let me assure you that Australia has long since severed all legal and constitutional ties with Britain and with its Government. We are an independent nation and our formal links with Britain are today no different from our formal links with any other country with which we maintain friendly relations.

Our monarchy is not a British one; it is an Australian one; and this is so by virtue of legislation passed by the Australian Parliament -- the *Royal Style and Titles Act* of 1953. And notice the date: though popular mythology has it that it was Prime Minister Whitlam who introduced the legislation to make the Monarch Queen of Australia in 1973, it was actually Prime Minister Menzies who did this twenty years earlier, in 1953. As

Queen of Australia, Her Majesty has a distinct and separate role from those which she has as Queen of the United Kingdom, or as Queen of Canada, or New Zealand, or Papua New Guinea, or any of the other monarchical countries of the Commonwealth. This separation of powers and functions, this separation of identities, is not well understood. Even such a distinguished and experienced journalist as Padraic McGuinness, in articles in *The Australian* last November and December about Britain's membership of the European Community, has assumed, quite wrongly, that any consequences of that membership for the British Monarchy would also apply to the Australian Monarchy. They would not! Our Monarchy is an Australian one, and no case for its abolition can be based on the fact that we share the same Sovereign with Britain or with a number of other, equally sovereign and equally independent nations.

I now move to the second matter which I would like you to consider this Australia Day. I described it earlier as our Australian way of life; I should have said our Australian culture, but I was fearful that someone might want to insert the word 'multi'. But now that I have said it, let me go on to add that the so-called issue of multiculturalism has been misused by all sides of politics, for the most cynical of vote-catching reasons. There is an Australian culture, contrary to what some would have us believe, and, like our Australian system of government, it must be nurtured and defended. It is British in origin and it has been added to, and enriched, by successive generations of immigrants. We must continue to welcome and encourage such enrichment, but we must not forget or apologise for the basic culture.

I said when I began that I would set out my qualifications to speak on each of my two themes. Let me now stake my claim on the second one, but before I do, may I read you a sentence from Professor Manning Clark's second volume of his autobiography *The Quest for Grace* in which he wrote about us, about all Australians. "We were a society of immigrants: we were all either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants -- including the Aborigines."

I am a first-generation Australian, born here in Melbourne. My parents were non-English-speaking migrants from Poland. Just for the record, my wife June is also a first-generation Australian, born here in Melbourne. Her parents were English-speaking migrants from Britain. Neither set of parents had any difficulty in becoming loyal and patriotic Australians. My father arrived as a young man in 1932, on his own: the parents and the brothers and sisters who stayed behind in Europe subsequently perished in the Holocaust. My mother had arrived in 1929, in her late teens, with her brothers and sisters and her mother. They, in turn, had been preceded the previous year by their husband and father -- my maternal grandfather -- who, in the late 1920's, had seen the rise of Nazism in Germany and feared it would soon spread across Europe. So he chose Australia as a safe haven for his family, came out first to make sure he was right, then sent for them. Most of the family they left behind also perished, except for two cousins who survived the horrors of the concentration camps and came to Australia soon after the end of the Second World War.

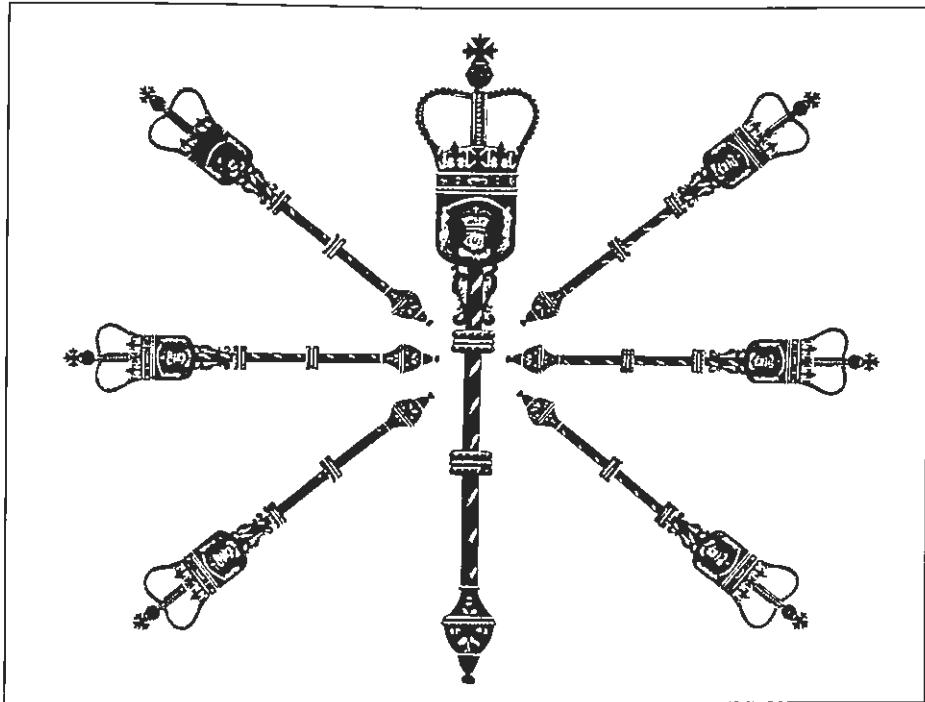
To complete the personal side of the story, my parents married here in Melbourne; I was born here; I went to school and started university in Melbourne; June and I were married in Melbourne; and two of our three sons were born in Melbourne.

My purpose in telling you this brief history is to establish
(Cont. on p. 20)

GOVERNMENT

Its Power and Its Place

by E. D. Butler



It would seem that few people today understand the true role of government and their responsibilities in ensuring its correct function. The following article is reprinted from "The New Times" of some years back and provides an outline of the issues that are becoming immensely important to our nation's future.

The famous statement by Lord Acton, that all power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely, is one of the most profound observations ever made. **No individual or group of individuals can be trusted with too much power.** The obtaining of power results in the striving for still more power. Power is particularly dangerous when those wielding the power cannot be made directly responsible for their actions.

The central theme of the history of the British people in particular, has been the constant endeavour to prevent power from being centralised, to keep all power decentralised by limiting the powers of Governments in various ways. There is no more vital issue confronting us than the urgent necessity to attack the totalitarian idea of more powers for Governments -- particularly centralised Governments. It should be remembered that **Governments are merely instruments** through which the individual should lay down the general rules under which the game of life is to be played. We hear much about what wonderful things Governments have done, or are going to do, for the individual members of society, but the facts of history prove that most reforms have been initiated by individual members of the community and have been forced upon reluctant Governments. Writing of this matter in 1867, the English historian, Thomas Henry Buckle, said:

That the civilization of Europe is chiefly owing to the ability which has been displayed by two different governments, and to the sagacity with which the evils of society have been palliated by legislative remedies, is a notion which must appear so extravagant as to make it difficult to refer to it with becoming gravity. ...

No great political improvements, no great reform, either legislative or executive, has ever been originated in any country by its rulers. The first suggestions of such steps have always been by bold and able thinkers, who discern the abuse, denounce it, and point out how it can be remedied. ... At length, if circumstances are favourable, the pressure from without becomes so strong that the government is obliged to give way; and, the reform being accomplished, the people are expected to admire the wisdom of their rulers, by whom all this has been done. ...

It is only with the greatest difficulty that parliament is induced to grant what the people are determined to have, and the necessity of which has been proved by the ablest men. Posterity ought to know that great measures are extorted from the legislative by pressure from

without; that they are conceded not cheerfully but with fear, and carried out by statesmen who have spent their lives in opposing what they now suddenly advocate. ...

... since the most valuable improvements in legislation are those which subvert preceding legislation, it is clear that the balance of good cannot be on their side. It is clear that the progress of civilization cannot be due to those who, on the most important subjects, have done so much harm that their successors are considered benefactors simply because they reverse their policy, and thus restore affairs to the state in which they would have remained if politicians had allowed them to run on in the course which the wants of society required. ... The effects produced in European civilization by political legislation compose an aggregate so formidable that we may well wonder how, in the face of them, civilization has been able to advance. That under such circumstances it has advanced is a decisive proof of the extraordinary energy of man. ...

The world has been made familiar with the great truth, that one main condition of the prosperity of the people is that its rulers shall have very little power, that they shall by no means presume to raise themselves into supreme judges of the national interests, or deem themselves authorised to defeat the wishes of those for whose betterment alone they occupy the posts entrusted to them.

It is obvious that we no longer have the political wisdom of our forefathers.

In his essay, "The Situation and the Outlook", C.H. Douglas says that "... Government is inherently and inevitably restrictive and therefore ... the amount of Government which a community can stand without collapsing is definitely limited, and if Governments are competitive, the most governed community will collapse first. And, there, the first policy to be applied to over-

Government, i.e. Socialism, is and must be, a negative policy a retreat from Government: less Government."

Let us now consider the main ideas developed by our forefathers in an attempt to limit the power of Governments and thus prevent the growth of that corruption Lord Acton warned about and of which we have appalling evidence on all sides today. The idea of limiting the powers of Governments which we understand best, is the decentralisation of political power by decentralised Government -- small political units in which the representatives of the people are more easily amenable to electoral control than is the case in big political units. Decentralised Government is local Government. Local Government is Government on the spot by those who understand the conditions of their own locality. In Government close to the people there is less chance of delegated authority to an irresponsible bureaucracy -- a feature of all centralised Governments. Centralised Governments, striving as they do for more and more power, try to legislate on so many matters which should either be the province of local Governments or right outside the control of all Governments, the excuse is that there is too much legislation and that some responsibility must therefore be delegated to a bureaucracy. All Governments have argued in modern times that modern conditions have so complicated Government that some powers must be delegated to a bureaucracy. The complications mentioned can be traced to the policies of Governments interfering with matters over which they should have no control.

Another very good reason why local, decentralised Government is necessary, is because the smaller the political unit, the less chance there is of majorities being used to destroy the rights of minorities. There has been no more dangerous definition of democracy than that which says that it is majority rule. In *Sham Democracy* James Guthrie writes:

"Those in control of the modern State can, and do, penalise minorities, because they claim that they represent a majority -- the fact being overlooked that we are all, at one time or another, a member of a minority. Parents are in a minority; farmers are in a minority; the country dwellers are in a minority; skilled men are in a minority; the politically wise are very much in a minority. **But so-called democratic governments demand the right -- and they continually exercise this right -- to over-rule every minority, which, together, make the majority.** In other words, in practice we are witnessing governments using the techniques of the manipulated mass-vote to disfranchise successive minorities, and transfer their rights to the manipulators." (Emphasis added, Ed.)

The success of the political vote depends upon whether the individual can preserve and extend his sovereignty by the use of it. We can best study the menace of the majority vote by considering the creation of a one-world political unit. Under such conditions, nine million Australians would, in the world central Government, obviously be hopelessly outvoted by the representative of say, China. Now surely no one in his right senses would suggest that Australian affairs should be controlled by a majority on a world scale.

Another aspect of the political vote is the use of the secret vote which permits not only majorities to be used to disfranchise minorities, but also permits this to be completely irresponsible.

In his address, *Realistic Constitutionalism*, Douglas said: "... the individual voter must be made individually responsible, not collectively taxable, for his vote. The merry game of voting yourself benefits at the expense of your neighbour must stop. ... There is a clear method by which to approach this end -- the substitution of the open ballot for the secret franchise."

The following extracts from an article by Hewlett Edwards, first published in the *Social Creditor*, will provide the student with the basic arguments concerning the secret vote:

"Decisive exercise of judgement is that policy formation which is the function proper to an individual, as an elector. This is the basic factor in any system which approaches the reality of democracy, and it can only be operative in the choice between practical, well defined alternatives. This is the antithesis of what exists, for the keynote of elections is confusion, not clarity; they are contests between catchwords, slogans, vast generalisations and diffuse abstractions. ... a technique of perversion ... has reduced the political system to an effective bar between the ordinary man and his commonsense. The commonsense which is at once his compass and his arm. So bereft, he is unable to take part in the

formation of directive policy, and must submit to the imposition of other policies, alien to his own. ...

Probably the most debilitating factor of current political action is the irresponsibility of those concerned. Freedom -- the ability to choose or to refuse -- is primary, but it is commonsense that a man should be simply and directly answerable for his actions; it is that which binds him back to facts. This is dependent on action being open and avowed; it is the free expression of opinion which is a part of the English tradition, not the secret ballot which dates from 1892? At the present juncture

it is not easy to find many who will admit to having put the present government into power; the elector hides behind the secret ballot when it suits him; Party members are screened by 'Party decisions', and those who enact so many regulations ... are shrouded in an anonymous service. Such devices are so many channels for the exercise of power without responsibility. ... Measures which diminish the integrity of the economic vote have been accomplished by an increasing advertisement and use of the political vote; to the effect, e.g., that the only recourse left to a man who wants to buy a banana is political. ...

It is often said, without realisation of what lies beneath the surface, that 'the world is going mad'; and there is something in it. Only the ordinary man by use of his compass and his arm -- his commonsense -- can reverse the process. But he cannot vote with commonsense unless the issues presented for decisions (at elections) are reduced to such as commonsense can deal with. This manner of summing up a proposition -- its consequences and its cost; whether this is what you want, and whether this is what you want to pay for -- forms a medium in which the ordinary man is still capable of the decisive act; and wherein he is accustomed to take direct responsibility, profiting if he 'buys well' and losing if he does not."

Douglas suggests that the secret vote be abolished and replaced by an open, recorded and published vote, and that those who vote for the Government pay all increases in taxation, etc., which that Government may levy.



(Contd. on p 22)

BOOKS THAT SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN

PRINCE MICHEL STURDZA'S "THE SUICIDE OF EUROPE"

by Nigel Jackson

This book, published in the USA by Western Islands in 1968, has been acclaimed as one of the most important studies of the causes and events of World War II. The author was born into a Rumanian family of boyards (nobles) whose family name could be traced back over six hundred years. He was a devoted patriot, a Catholic Christian, a World War I officer and a career diplomat who during the thirties strove in vain to warn his country against the machinations of the corrupt and avaricious King Carol II and his clique of pro-Soviet supporters, including the sinister foreign affairs minister, Nicolae Titulescu, and a variety of bought or blind politicians. Sturdza also celebrates the rise and struggle of the Legionary Movement, founded in the name of the Archangel Michael by the charismatic and heroic Comeliu Codreanu ("The Captain"), who was wickedly assassinated in November 1938 with the active connivance of the King. Sturdza records (p. 73) the repeated attempts of the German leaders (including Hitler) to get Rumania's assurance that she would defend her own territory against a Soviet incursion and remarks: "The constant refusal of Rumania's responsible statesmen ... to give this assurance was one of the principal factors in the shaping of the series of situations that led the world to the last conflagration, and is therefore not only of Rumanian but of universal interest." Sturdza presents a convincing case that the murder of Codreanu and the destruction of the Legionary Movement were the essential disasters that prevented Rumania from maintaining a solid anti-communist wall, in conjunction with Poland, Germany, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, which could have averted World War II and overthrown the Soviet tyranny in the forties. He firmly believed that the responsibility for the war and all its horrors lies "chiefly with a certain international camorra that used the influence and control it had over Roosevelt and Churchill to apply irresistible pressure upon the Polish, the French and the British Governments, forcing them into a decision that was absolutely contrary to their genuine national interests and fatal to the destiny of Christian Civilization". (p. 287) Moreover, Sturdza's painstaking chronicle of Rumania's decline is an object lesson for an Australia that is in a comparable downward slide: "The activities of those statesmen, which culminated in the disappearance of Rumania as an independent state and a free nation, show how easy it is for a clique of no more than a dozen persons, if they are the **wrong** persons in the **right** places, to bring a country -- and perhaps a whole civilization -- to its perdition by preventing the will-to-live of the majority from having an opportunity to manifest itself before the occurrence of the catastrophe." (p. 73)

I - The Old Rumania

"Every race, every country, every province, every hamlet even, has not only the right but also the duty to cherish and respect its history," writes Sturdza (3). He argues that the forgetting of a country's past by its leading class is one of the greatest misfortunes that can occur to it. "This is what happened to Rumania after World War I with the disappearance of the traditional Conservative Party."

Sturdza fiercely rejects as a falsification of history the picture of Rumania presented by Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber in *The European Right* (University of California Press, Berkeley 1965). Rumania's feudality was a paternal feudality," he claims. "Nobody died of hunger, of cold or of misery in the villages of the boyards. Help was always to be found at the court, as our homes were called, where the church of the village was also to be found. Every newly married couple received as a present a pair of oxen and a plough." (9-10). Sturdza adds that the friendly relationship between peasants and boyards is implicit in the national folklore. "The *haiduc*, the beloved Robin Hood of our legends and of our history, is never represented as hostile to the boyards, but only to the *ciocoi*, the *parvenu* (newcomer), generally of foreign origin." The boyards had also established through their generosity over the centuries the two big charitable foundations, Brancoveneasa and Sanct Spiridon. "These foundations had covered Walachia and Moldavia with hospitals and infirmaries where the poor were cared for, absolutely free, by the best available practitioners." (10)

Sturdza insists that during the Nineteenth Century his noble ancestors were reformers who in 1860 had freely made the peasants owners of the lots they had previously cultivated as tenants. During the next sixty years 92 per cent of the country's arable land was given to them. However, the fraudulent application of the 1917-1921 agrarian reform's expropriation law destroyed the Conservative Party. Gone was "the complete independence of the material means of its leaders from political pursuits and from other worries than those for the public welfare and for the security and greatness of the fatherland." (28)

The reform had been brought into Parliament by a coalition government of the Conservatives and the Liberals. But a change of government, the devaluation of the currency and the actual payment in bonds which quickly fell in value by two-thirds, meant that the expropriated landlords received only one-150th of the compensation originally intended. Thus financial manipulations (there was also a drop of wages and salaries to the lowest level in Europe) "transformed a country where everybody had known *la joie de vivre* into one where only the profiteers of the general misery and restricted political camarillas lived far removed from ... starvation." (8) Sturdza is naturally a partisan of his own elite and may be guilty through sentiment of some exaggeration and simplification; but it should be noted that Douglas Reed, in his chapter on Rumania in *Insanity Fair* which is written with less sympathy for the Conservatives, points out Rumania's abundance of natural resources. Rumania is a nation *sui generis*, being of Latin ethnicity (descended from the old Roman province of Dacia), Catholic and with a long tradition of culture (with a distinct French flavouring, according to Reed), yet set amidst Slav and Orthodox neighbours.

II - Enter Bolshevism

Sturdza was born in the closing decade of last century and in his early manhood observed the peculiar phenomenon of the



Minister of Foreign Affairs Nicolae Titulescu of Rumania; to his right, Tewfik Rushtu Bey of Turkey



Corneliu Codreanu



King Carol II of Rumania, in 1933



Premier Léon Blum of France

preservation of Bolshevism in the Soviet Union by the allied powers and especially President Woodrow Wilson, the godfather of the League of Nations and master of the Supreme Council in Central Europe after World War I. Wilson's policy of "collective security" and "indivisible peace" in fact meant a pro-Soviet crusade in the event of a German-Russian conflict.

Sturdza cites as evidence the way in which the Supreme Council attacked the liberators of Hungary rather than the communists they ousted. "The continuation of Bela Kun's government in Hungary in 1919 would have meant ... mortal danger for Rumania ... the end of heroic Poland ... the spreading of Communism in Germany and Italy ... and perhaps the end of Europe. ... Nevertheless, the Allied and Associated Powers tried everything in order to save Bela Kun's regime. ... The advance of the Rumanian troops in Hungary against Kun's regime took place in spite of the violent opposition of the Western Powers ... (and) was only due to the high sense of responsibility of Rumania's King Ferdinand and of his government." (20)

Sturdza viewed such scenarios from an uncompromisingly traditionalist viewpoint. Here is a comment based on his first diplomatic posting in old Albania: "Living in Albania at that time was like living in the Fifteenth Century, with all the enchantment of an incomparable tradition of chivalry, of courage, and of unshakable fidelity for the recognised leader." (13) So great was the comparable loyalty that the Sturdza family still felt for the dethroned Prince Alexander John Cusa that forty years later neither Prince Michel nor his brother chose a military career. And the young prince had quickly developed a repulsion "for all the political and electoral comedy though which one had to pass" in his country "as in so many 'democracies' of our era, in order to be able to exercise any influence on public affairs." (12)

Sturdza illustrated the contrast between traditional civilization and modern 'democracy' by describing the sequel to the death of his 72 year-old uncle George Donici in a cavalry charge: "The German colonel in command of the regiment with which (Donici's squadron) had collided, in a gesture of military courtesy completely forgotten today, sent over the lines to my family in Bucharest the row of medals won by Donici in the 1877 war against the Turks." (16) Sturdza contrasted this gallantry with "the Nurnberg travesty" and General Eisenhower's opinion, expressed in his memoirs, that "chivalry toward the adversary is a deplorable mediæval inheritance from the time when soldiers were paid mercenaries and not patriots".

Sturdza refers to several incidents of forgotten history in which the Bolshevik cause was mysteriously aided. There was Kerensky's arrest of General Lavr Kornilov, who "represented the only possibility of saving Russia's capital from the repeated murderous attempts of Lenin and Trotsky's ignoble rabble". (16) There was the assassination on 4 May, 1919 of General Milan R. Stefanik. "In the team of three, Tomas G. Masaryk, Stefanik, Dr. Eduard Benes, militating for an independent Czechoslovak State, he was number two in importance, representing the conservative element. ... With Stefanik, and not Benes, guiding the foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia, the history of that country would have taken a different turn -- one for the greatest benefit of Europe and the cause of peace." (17) There was President Wilson's decision, inspired by Masaryk, not to give any more aid to the Russian nationalist forces that were on the point of defeating Bolshevism. And there was the extraordinary counterpart betrayal of Admiral Aleksandr Kolchak by the French General Maurice Janin and his

Czechoslovak accomplices: "General Janin was the man picked by the French Government (or by the hidden hands behind it) and by Masaryk to command all the Allied forces (including the Czechoslovak Legion) that were fighting in Siberia under Kolchak, the Supreme Ruler of Russia and leader of the anti-Bolshevik forces. ... At 6 p.m. on 14 January, 1920, two officers of the Czechoslovak Legion, acting under orders from Janin, kidnapped Kolchak and his staff (his government) in the Glaskov railway station at Irkutsk and handed them over to the Bolshevik Political Centre in exchange for one-third of the 650 million roubles in gold and platinum bullion that formed the Imperial Russian Treasury which Kolchak was transporting toward Vladivostock. On 2 February the Bolsheviks executed Kolchak and his prime minister, Victor Pepeliaev. General Janin was never court-martialled, arraigned or even blamed." (19-20)

Sturdza could also report a personal glimpse of the powers that seemed to lie behind such treachery. He was in the USA at the end of the twenties. "I helped float for my country a loan of some three hundred million dollars on the New York market. ... I realized with amazement that before a single dollar could enter the Rumanian treasury we had to leave in the hands of middlemen and French bankers about 33 per cent of the loan's nominal value. ... From several sides I had been advised that Mr. Louis Marshall's co-operation could be a decisive influence for our project. Mr. Marshall was the lawyer of important New York banks including, if I remember well, the Otto Kahn, the Warburg, the Jacob Schiff and Kuhn-Loeb institutions." Marshall told Sturdza: "Look what we can do for a country we love. In Russia we have shown the world what we can do to a country we hate." (23)

III - Codreanu's Legion

On 30 September, 1920 the Rector of the University of Iasi, one Bujor by name, tried to suppress the traditional religious ceremony and the hoisting of the flag at the beginning of the academic year. This provoked a violent reaction among the students, who were led by the young Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu, "who later was to become the symbol, the hero and the martyr of the fight against the international conspiracy in Rumania". (21)

Sturdza analyses the common features of the rightist movements which rose up in Europe in several nations after World War I. They were essentially spontaneous reactions against the communist danger in all its forms and disguises. "These movements owed their popularity, and sometimes their existence, to the inability of the established powers, on both domestic and foreign policy fields, to meet the communist danger with appropriate force and decision. It was the strange and unexplained collusion between those established powers and the communist world ... that brought the major clashes between these powers and the young nationalist movements, and also brought the final clash between non-communist countries." (26) Sturdza emphasises that it was "their identical reaction to the communist danger and to this collusion" that united the various nationalist movements, rather than uniformity of their own doctrines. This introduces a theme that recurs later in his study -- the considerable differences between Germany's Nazi movement and Rumania's Legionary Movement.

Sturdza reports that a Legionary text states that all great changes in human history are provoked by a paroxysm in the collective aspirations of some human community and the simultaneous appearance of a creative leader representative of

those aspirations, who has "enough spirituality to ring them to life and enough discernment to steer a course towards realization". Such a person was Codreanu. Sturdza adds that often, however, "such a personality is fated to disappear violently, long before he sees the outcome of his toils and of his calvary." (31)

In January 1918 Codreanu, aged nineteen, organised some young comrades to prepare a guerrilla war against the bolshevised Russian Army, which had entered Moldavia and was menacing Iasi, the provincial capital and seat of both the royal court and the Government. Codreanu continued his fight against insidious Communist ideas and infiltration at the University of Iasi and founded the Guard of National Conscience. In March 1922, before graduating from the faculty of law, he organised an Association of Christian Students. On March 27th he and twenty-six others in a solemn religious ceremony bound themselves by a pledge of honour to continue for the rest of their lives the nationalist fight.

Codreanu proceeded to form the League of National Christian Defence from forty-two sporadic nationalist movements. "There followed three years of continuous and often violent agitation, caused in part by the mass naturalization of more than 500,000 Jews suddenly introduced by law into the organism of the nation." (33)

On 25 October, 1924 Codreanu shot the Iasi Police Commissioner, Manciu by name. This was an act of self-defence and he was acquitted by a jury of twelve. Codreanu later graduated from the University of Grenoble in political economy. On 24 June, 1927 the League of the Archangel Michael was founded and organized into nests of not less than three but not more than thirteen legionaries. Codreanu was their Captain and his authority was unquestioned. The educational methods of the nests are clearly indicated by Sturdza (35), when he quotes the six fundamental laws written in the nest-chief's manuals:

- (1) **The Law of Discipline:** Legionary, be obedient; without discipline we will not win. Follow your chief for better or worse.
- (2) **The Law of Work:** Do your daily work. Work with joy. Let the reward of your work be not any material profit, but the satisfaction that you have contributed something to the glory of the Legion and the greatness of your country.
- (3) **The Law of Silence:** Talk little. Talk only when you must. Your eloquence is in deeds. Let others talk; you act.
- (4) **The Law of Education:** You must become another man. A hero.
- (5) **The Law of Assistance:** Help your brother in distress. Do not abandon him.
- (6) **The Law of Honour:** Follow only the ways shown by honour. Fight. Never be coward. Leave to others the way of infamy. Better fail fighting the way of honour, than to conquer by infamy.

Sturdza rebuts firmly the claims (partly endorsed by Douglas Reed in *Insanity Fair*) that the Legionary Movement was anti-semitic and insists that it was not persecuted by a succession of Rumanian governments for that reason. "There were ... political parties and organizations that were flagrantly anti-semitic; but at no moment were they ever treated with the brutality and sadism that were used against Codreanu ... and his companions, of whom about 600 were to be assassinated by King Carol and his stooges." (54) Sturdza tells that Codreanu opposed absolutely physical violence against Jews or their property. "It was a former Jew, Father Botez, who officiated at Codreanu's wedding. There were always one or two Jews in the Movement. ... One of

Codreanu's most beloved lieutenants, Vasile Marin ... had married, with Codreanu's approval, a Jewish girl." (55) Sturdza is emphatic that the persecution of the Legionary Movement occurred because its unyielding anti-communism was an obstacle to "the Beast", to the Anonymous Powers which are internationalist in outlook.

In 1933 Leon Blum, the Jewish chief of the French Socialist Party, called for the dissolution of the Iron Guard (an aggressively anti-communist aspect of the Legionary Movement). This led to murders, tortures, beatings, imprisonments and other atrocities against legionaries by the Liberal Government of Ion Duca, whose foreign minister was the sinister Titulescu. On 29 December, 1933 Duca was murdered, an event which suited Titulescu and his French leftist allies. "Despite the military court's acquittal of Codreanu and all the Legionary chiefs of any complicity in Duca's murder, this tragedy forced the Movement into a long period of inactivity." (56) Duca would never have consented to the free passage of Soviet troops through Rumanian territory in the eventuality of a new European war.

On 8 March, 1936 Sturdza was shown an order from the Minister of Public Works, Richard Franasovici, to the director of the Rumanian railway system. ... (which) meant simply that that system was being put at the disposal of the Soviet Army. To Sturdza this was clearly treason; yet the preparation for the move had been entirely hidden from Rumanian and Polish public opinion. This prompted him to the decisive step of personally contacting the Legionary Movement, because he knew its independent and fearless patriotism. "The very existence of Rumania was at stake! Contrary to the wishes of the King and the intentions of his Government, the passage of Russian troops had to be opposed with force. I knew of no organization that could take charge of this protective and imperative action other than the Legionary Movement." Thus Sturdza met Codreanu. "I had before me a hero in the legendary and the historical meaning of the word. He was wisdom and daring, dream and reality, vigor and handsomeness as of a demigod with evangelical simplicity and purity, and above all -- from his serene forehead, from his ardent mien -- a comforting breath of Rumania's soul, Rumania's past and Rumania's soil," (93)

Codreanu responded to the emergency with strength. "The first Soviet transport was to be attacked and annihilated. The Legionary Movement would pursue the fight, whatever the circumstances." (94) However war, which had appeared imminent, did not break out in Europe at that juncture.

(To be continued)

HERITAGE

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HAWKER THE STANDARD-BEARER

The grey gull sat on a floating whale,
On a floating whale sat he;
And he told his tale of the storm and the gale,
And the ships he'd seen under steam and sail,
As he flew by the Northern Sea.

"I have seen a sign that is strange and new,
That I never before did see --
A flying ship, that roared as it flew,
The storm and the tempest driving through;
Now what would that be?" said he.

"And its flag was a Jack with stars displayed,
A flag that is new to me,
For it does not ply in the Northern trade,
But it drove through the storm-wrack unafraid;
Now whose is that flag?" said he.

"I have seen that flag that is starred with white,"
Said a Southern gull, said he:
"I saw it fly in a bloody fight,
When the raider *Emden* turned in flight,
And crashed on the Cocos lee."

"Now who are these whose flag is the first
Of All the flags that fly
To dare the storm and the fog accurst
Of the great North Sea, where the Bergs are nursed,
And the Northern Lights ride high?"

"The Australian folk," said a lone sea-mew
"The Australian flag," said he.
"It is strange that a folk that is far and few
Should fly its flag where never there flew
Another flag!" said he.

"I have followed its flag in the fields of France,
With the white stars flying free,
And no misfortune and no mischance
Could turn them back from the line of advance
Or the line they held," said he.



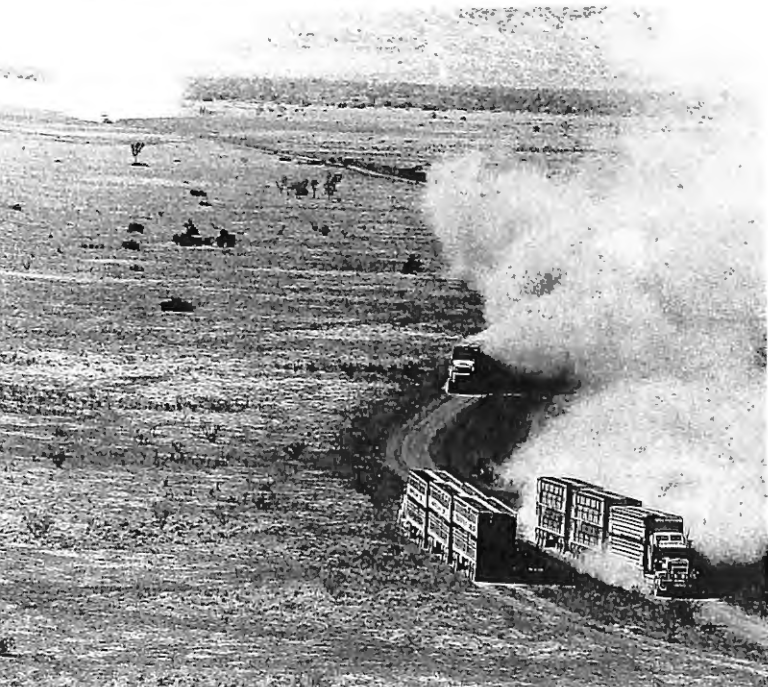
"The Australian folk," said a lone sea-mew.

"Wherever on earth there's a rule to break,
Wherever they oughtn't to be
With a death to dare and a risk to take,
A track to find or a way to make,
You will find them there," said he.

"They come from a land that is parched with thirst,
From vast dry plains," said he;
"On risk and danger their breed is nursed;
And thus it happens their flag is first
To fly o'er the Northern Sea."

Though Hawker perished, he overcame
The risks of the storm and the sea,
And his name shall be written in stars of flame
On the heroes' scroll in the Temple of Fame,
For the rest of the world to see.

Andrew Barton Paterson.



"They come from a land that is parched with thirst,
From vast dry plains," said he

Harry G Hawker -- Born at St. Kilda, Victoria, in 1890; was a pioneer Australian airman before World War I and a leading test pilot in England during that war. While attempting to fly across the Atlantic from Newfoundland, he fell into the sea only 100 miles from the Irish coast. He was killed during a practice flight at Hendon aerodrome in 1921.

From the book, *Selections from Australian Poets*, edited by Bertram Stevens and George Mackaness, M.A. (10th edition, 1927).

THE TIME HAS COME

by Randall J. Dicks, © 1992

At a recent annual celebration of the Monarchist League of Canada, members of the League from the Atlantic coast, the Pacific coast, and all provinces in between joined to celebrate the Canadian monarchy and the jubilee of their Queen. Those who came together for the occasion represented every age group, every occupation, every race. There were teenagers on the one hand, and on the other, a charming lady, a founding member of the League, who was born during the reign of Queen Victoria. There were schoolboys, there was a headmaster, there were housewives, there were princes. There was a postal clerk, and a metre away stood a former Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. Some of those present were born in Toronto, or Edmonton, or Vancouver, while others were born in Prague, or Hong Kong, or Bucharest, but had become naturalized Canadians.

One knows that Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II is Queen not only of the United Kingdom, but of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Belize, St. Lucia, Jamaica, and so on, but on that occasion, the specifically **Canadian** nature of the monarchy was strongly felt. In recent decades, in the face of constant lateral attacks, the monarchy in Canada has gained more and more character and identity of its own. If the monarchy is to survive in a meaningful form in all those lands of which Elizabeth II is Queen, it is both necessary and desirable that some distinct local characteristics be encouraged and clearly manifested.

The Monarchist League of Canada was born in 1970, in times of trouble for the Canadian monarchy. The same old questions were being raised: Why should Canada share England's Queen? Why have a head of state who does not live in the country? Why have a monarchy at all? A group of patriotic monarchists, encouraged in part by a distinguished senior statesman, set out to do something to answer those questions, to acquaint people with the facts about the monarchy in Canada, and to dispel some of the misconceptions and outright untruths. The League grew rapidly, with branches being formed in many cities and regions. Representatives of the League met with the press and government officials, the League held public meetings, successful campaigns were launched to preserve some of the symbols of the monarchy which were being threatened, well-written and attractively designed materials were distributed to schools, libraries and similar institutions, popular events and demonstrations of every kind were organized. (The Victoria Day parade in Toronto has become a popular tradition in recent years.)

The League made articulate and well-informed spokesmen about the monarchy -- the **Canadian** monarchy -- available to the press and to anyone else who had questions about the role and need for monarchy in modern Canada. The League's members are enthusiastically active across the country, organizing events which focus public attention on the Canadian monarchy, its long history (one of their highly informative displays is "Kings and Queens of Canada", going back to Jacques Cartier's 'founding' of Canada in 1534, during the reign of King Francis I of France), its French and English heritage, its place in the country since Confederation in 1867, and its role now and into the next century.

The League's quarterly magazine, *Monarchy Canada*, frequently underscores the Canadian character of the monarchy: covers showing the Queen visiting Ottawa, "Canada's Queen at Canada's Day"; Princess Anne, "Our Princess Royal"; the Queen and the Premier of Quebec, "Vive la Reine". One of the Monarchist League of Canada's brochures asks, "In today's Canada, what role can the monarchy play?" (The reverse side of the brochure is printed in French, as Canada is a bilingual monarchy.) The brochure stresses that Canadians "can be proud of their monarchical heritage", explaining that "from the days of earliest settlement, the only form of society that this part of North America has known has been monarchical. The native peoples themselves had a tribal idea of kingship. Our tradition of monarchy was French and British and became as it is now -- distinctly Canadian." The brochure accentuates pride in the person of the monarch: "At the apex of our government, we have a Queen who is loved by millions and who is widely regarded as the best-informed and most respected public figure in the world." As for why the country should share a head of state with others, this should be seen as an advantage which is explained in a special feature, "By sharing our Monarch with sixteen other countries, Canadians participate in a global civilization that is not a superpower but that encompasses peoples of widely varying conditions from around the world."

Some Australian republicans suggest that because so many new Australian citizens do not share British or even European heritage and culture, the monarchy, with its Anglo-Saxon roots, should be scrapped in favour of a homogeneous republic. Canada has had just as many immigrants from just as many different ethnic, religious, racial and cultural backgrounds. The League's brochure says, "Through her office and her person, the Queen reflects a civilized character that transcends nationalism. This civilized character preserves and yet reconciles the distinct contribution to the development of Canada made by our aboriginal peoples, by the French settlers, by the British settlers, and, more recently, by peoples of widely varying ethnic origins."

As for constitutional monarchy itself, "Constitutional monarchy alone is capable of integrating the executive, legislative, and judicial functions of government. The Crown's authority lends a universal legitimacy to the many particular decisions made by and at different levels of government. Constitutional monarchy allows the celebration of public social events, such as the marking of collective anniversaries and the bestowal of honours, to be free of the taint of partisan politics. In a world of rapid social change, where there is a price to be paid for uncertainty, be that price only economic, constitutional monarchy provides continuity, especially in times of political transition."

The Monarchist League of Canada summarizes its objectives as:

- To promote loyalty and respect for the Sovereign of Canada and understanding of the constitutional monarchy.
- To foster among students an appreciation of the value of the monarchy and promote its study in our educational institutions.
- To make the Canadian public aware of the historical and

contemporary importance of the monarchy to Canadian identity through the use of displays, speakers, festivals, media appearances, publications, and related activities.¹

The time has come for Australian supporters of the monarchy to take an active stand, if an observer from across the Pacific and beyond may say so. The monarchy is under attack in Australia, both officially and unofficially. The Prime Minister even says that the government which he heads does not wish to have the Queen's portrait appear on the \$5 banknote. Through such indirect means, anti-monarchists will chip away at the monarchy and its symbols until nothing remains.

In addition to the assaults on the monarchy in Australia, the monarchy and dynasty have recently been subjected to unprecedented attacks by journalistic hyenas. Part of this onslaught has been carried out by a press baron who used to be an Australian, but gave up his citizenship for business reasons. Unhappiness in several royal marriages has been at issue, although no reasonable person can wonder that a marriage would crack under such relentless scrutiny and omnipresent, inescapable telephoto lenses.

The Press Complaints Commission in Britain has condemned the recent round of sensationalism as "an odious exhibition of journalists dabbling their fingers in the stuff of other people's souls in a manner which adds nothing to legitimate public interest in the situation of the heir to the throne". The Commission, chaired by Lord McGregor of Durris, added, "Frequently, the manner and tone of the reporting of the private lives of the Prince and Princess of Wales has beyond doubt been in breach of the code of practice." While sensational headlines asked whether the furore threatened the future of the monarchy and the House of Windsor -- a blatant case of newspapers manufacturing stories, rather than reporting news -- cooler heads weighed the history and worth of a thousand years of monarchy against unsupported allegations and dubious conclusions of the latest crop of "Princess Di" books.

As one editor wrote, "These are troubled times in Europe, and with ethnic tensions on the rise, people are looking for symbols of unity and continuity. All through Central and Eastern Europe, Russia too for that matter, people are debating whether their deposed royal families could be brought back to serve such a purpose. To-day's constitutional monarchs, standing above the political fray, are uniquely able to do that. Let it be forgotten, it was Spain's King Juan Carlos who saved that country's democracy after the death of Franco. And just a few weeks ago, it was Thailand's King Bhumibol Adulyadej who brought the warring parties in his country to their senses as protests and bloodshed were spiralling out of control. Britain faces no such extreme tests. But the monarchy is a living monument to hundreds of years of history, a history rich in triumph as well as travail. Hopefully, the British will realize the value of that before they succeed in its destruction."²

The time has come. Monarchists in Australia (and elsewhere) need to make a mighty effort to champion and promote their monarchy before it suffers harm. The monarchist who sits back complacently may find himself living in a republic in a few years. A **Monarchist League of Australia** or its equivalent might adopt the objectives of the Monarchist League of Canada virtually verbatim.

Perhaps the first step was taken last June, when 700 people attended the inaugural meeting of "Australians for Constitutional Monarchy" in Sydney, with three cheers for the Queen of Aus-

tralia, and the singing of "Advance Australia Fair" and "God Save the Queen".

At that meeting, Judge Michael Kirby of Sydney presented a Charter for the Defence of Australian Constitutional Monarchy, which summarized the opinions of members, some of whom support constitutional monarchy as the least imperfect form of government devised -- terminology which would find sympathy with many monarchists throughout the world, some of whom might be willing to consider a different form of government at some time, but believe that other issues are of greater present urgency; some of whom believe that Australia is already a republic of sorts, under the Crown, and thus enjoys the benefits of both systems; and some of whom simply admire the Queen.

Former Chief Justice Sir Harry Gibbs told the meeting that "Australia today has many problems, but the fact that we live under a constitutional monarchy is not one of them". The Chancellor of Sydney University, Dame Leonie Kramer, stated that the republican movement had not given a reason for abandoning one of the best political systems in the world, under which people enjoy freedom of speech and freedom of association.

The republicans are pressing for an educational campaign. Monarchists should not hesitate; a pro-monarchy campaign should be started now. The time has come. The people of Australia -- young and old, natives and immigrants -- should have an opportunity to hear why the monarchy is good for Australia, why a monarch shared with a number of other countries is good for Australia, why a constitutional monarchy will be good for Australia in the 21st century, why monarchy is no more outdated than republics are, why the continuation of monarchy does not mean the continuation of colonialism.



H.M. The Queen, wearing the Order of Canada (blue) and the Order of Military Merit, Canada (red).

The Monarchy may not yet be under seige, but there are undeniably raiding parties on the horizon.

THE TIME HAS COME!

1. Address of the Monarchist League of Canada: 3050 Yonge Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4N2K4.

2. "The House of Windsor Under Siege", *The Washington Times*, June 13, 1992.

THE YOUNG QUEEN

THE FIVE NATIONS

Rudyard Kipling

(THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA,
INAUGURATED NEW YEAR'S DAY 1901)

Her hand was still on her sword-hilt, the spur was
still on her heel,
She had not cast her harness of grey war-dinted
steel;
High on her red-splashed charger, beautiful, bold
and browned,
Bright-eyed out of the battle, the Young Queen rode
to be crowned.

She came to the Old Queen's presence, in the Hall
of Our Thousand Years -
In the Hall of the Five Free Nations that are peers
among their peers:
Royal she gave the greeting, loyal she bowed the
head,
Crying -- 'Crown me, my Mother!' And the Old
Queen stood and said:-

'How can I crown thee further? I know whose
standard flies
Where the clean surge takes the Leeuwin or the
coral barriers rise.
Blood of our foes on thy bridle, and speech of our
friends in thy mouth --
How can I crown thee further, O Queen of the
Sovereign South?

'Let the Five Free Nations witness!' But the Young
Queen answered swift:-
'It shall be crown of Our crowning to hold Our
crown for a gift.
In the days when Our folk were feeble thy sword
made sure Our lands:
Wherefore We come in power to take Our crown at
thy hands.'

And the Old Queen raised and kissed her, and the
jealous circlet prest,
Roped with the pearls of the Northland and red with
the gold of the West,
Lit with her land's own opals, levin-hearted, alive,
And the Five-starred Cross above them, for sign of
the Nations Five.

So it was done in the Presence -- in the Hall of Our
Thousand Years,
In the face of the Five Free Nations that have no
peer but their peers;
And the Young Queen out of the Southland kneeled
down at the Old Queen's knee,
And asked for a mother's blessing on the excellent
years to be.

And the Old Queen stooped in the stillness where
the jewelled head drooped low:-
'Daughter no more but Sister, and doubly Daughter
so --
Mother of many princes -- and child of the child I
bore,
What good thing shall I wish thee that I have not
wished before?

'Shall I give thee delight in dominion -- mere pride
of thy setting forth?
Nay, we be women together -- we know what that
lust is worth.
Peace in thy utmost borders, and strength on a road
untrod?
These are dealt or diminished at the secret will of
God.

'I have swayed troublous councils, I am wise in
terrible things;
Father and son and grandson, I have known the
heart of the Kings.
Shall I give thee my sleepless wisdom, or the gift all
wisdom above?
Ay, we be women together -- I give thee thy
people's love:

'Tempered, august, abiding, reluctant of prayers or
vows,
Eager in face of peril as thine for thy mother's
house.
God requite thee, my Sister, through the wonderful
years to be,
And make thy people to love thee as thou hast
loved me!'



THE RESPONSIBLE VOTE

The next step towards Democracy

by Geoffrey Dobbs

There is little doubt that there is an increasing feeling of contempt and betrayal held by the electors of this nation towards government and politicians -- this despite the frequency of elections and the handsome rewards offered to attract "better men" to office.

The current pressure for reform of our electoral system can only improve things if it is based on correct principles. The following thought-provoking article examines the principles involved and is reprinted from Home (U.K.). Readers should note that the article discusses aspects of U.K. politics. It is however just as applicable to our situation.

Anyone who has stayed up on an election night to listen to the declarations of results and the running commentary on the state of the Parties must have realised that they were spectators at a game or sport, not unlike a Test Match, or the Grand National.

It is, of course, a War Game, as are most games, even one as gentle as chess; but in this case it is a War Game which has actually been substituted for civil war as a means of deciding who shall govern us. And since no sane or responsible person can possibly want civil war or accept it as the lesser of two evils, unless the other is of the direct nature, the substitution of a vote-counting game may be welcomed as a step towards democracy (defined as government in accordance with the will of the governed).

But there is a saying that the substitution of means for ends is the very essence of sin, and the identification of the 'rules' or conventions of the electoral game, and especially the assumptions which underlie those conventions, with democracy itself, provides a notable example of its truthfulness.

What our electoral system does is to substitute a numerical record of partisanship, as manipulated by the propaganda 'campaigns' of the parties, on one day every few years, for the armies of vassals and mercenaries which, in former years, could be summoned to the fray by rival contenders for the power of government. The 'rule' now is that the biggest battalion wins and takes the jackpot (the power of office).

This is all very well as a game, just as the most runs win in cricket or the most goals in football. But when erected into a Great Moral Principle of Democracy, the assumption underlying 'majority rule' turns out to be inhumanly oppressive and disastrously out of touch with reality. This assumption is that every elector is a cypher, equal and identical in every respect, possessing no human qualities except that of ability to make a mark in the space provided to supply the numerical feedback required by his would-be rulers. No human quality, such as courage, skill, intelligence, loyalty, wisdom, will-power, experience, responsibility, or even commonsense, counts for one iota. The vote of a vicious hooligan or a doped drug-addict is precisely equal to that of a responsible citizen. The vote of a bitterly anti-British Irish republican is precisely equal to that of a loyal subject. And this, which is a mere electoral convention, has long and far over-stepped its bounds and has become a violently promoted ideology of egalitarianism, since de-personalisation is absolutely essential to the collective manipulation of mankind.

SECRET MEANS IRRESPONSIBLE

A further convention erected into a principle is that the ballot should be 'secret' -- from the public, that is, though the numbering of the ballot-forms provides for 'secret' information to corrupt agents of an oppressive Government. This is ostensibly to protect the voter from improper pressure, e.g. from an employer or trade union. That is, it absolves him from all human properties such as courage, or responsibility for his vote, since he cannot be held to account for it.

Thus de-humanised into an anonymous, irresponsible number, the voter remains subject to the collective pressures of centrally broadcast, mass-psychology and mass-bribery, penetrating into every home. This uses modern technology to evade the former need for physical assembly in transforming the entire population into a mob, passively manipulated by words and images.

In recent years techniques for routine manipulation of what is called 'public opinion' have been much improved by the frequent 'feedback' provided by statistical sampling for 'opinion polls'. Moreover the tendency to reduce people to the status of mere units in a manipulative statistic now obviously permeates our whole society. Our bureaucracy seems now incapable of human communications; it can only send out standard forms or print to the units of population. All but the smallest businesses now treat customers as statistics, and seem incapable also of reading or understanding a letter. Trades Union Leaders slap down a card-vote of a million or so equal and identical unit-workers and woe betide any standard unit of the working-class-solidarity-lump which imagines it is a human being and can make its own decisions as to whether to work or strike, or its own bargains with the employer.

All this is backed by a propaganda-induced puritanical emotion which is confused with 'morality', and which regards 'discrimination' between units of the collective human herd, especially on any natural basis such as race or sex, as the ultimate 'sin'. With it goes the conviction that 'private' persons are inherently more wicked than politically appointed status-holders who are infallibly superior, and the aim of all parties for 'full employment' -- hiring status and hiring mentality for all during their years of strongest will and energy. This is matched by the collective pauperisation of the unhired, the sociological 'do-goodism' of the Welfare State, and the extreme example of collective fluoride-dosing of statistical tooth-bearing units, ig-

noring their protests as human beings.

Necessarily there is some truth behind all perversions of the truth, even the most gross. The truth behind egalitarianism which gives it its strength is that, while to say that any two men are equal is to deny their humanity and personality, there are fundamental respects in which we must treat them 'equally', though the correct word is 'equitably'.

WE ALL DESCEND TO BE EQUAL

When we are reduced to our lowest common denominator as mere biological mechanisms we all need the necessities of life: air, water, food, clothes, shelter, and, in our modern society, money to buy these things, because our greatest basic need is life itself. We all equally need our life, which is not to say that the life we need is equal, for it is different for every person. Never was a confusion of meanings more disastrous than that which transfers the 'equality' to the whole person, who is thereby reduced to a unit in a collectivity. The extent to which the numerical-unit concept of people has now permeated our society may be judged by the widespread acceptance of abortion, and even more by the current controversy about in vitro fertilisation, in which units of human-embryo are cultured and may be subdivided with the ultimate prospect of 'successful' production of the numerical 'ideal' -- the collective mass of equal and indistinguishable, cloned man-units.

Have we now got far away from the ideology of 'numerical democracy' by universal suffrage with secret, anonymous ballot? By no means! It can be seen to lead directly to the one-party, egalitarian Work-State, in which every life is controlled by the Government regulation of the necessities of life, and in which the grossest inequalities are those which are State-imposed (e.g. between secret policy and ordinary citizens). How then are we to escape this fate?

Surely, the only way is to bring back humanity and personality into the relationship between people and their rulers and controllers of every sort, in business as well as politics, and to do so before it is too late. In this, the demand of minority parties such as the Liberals and the SDP for mathematically 'fair' representation of their voters as numerical units is a step in the wrong direction, toward the consolidation of the collective treatment of human beings. It is, in fact, the logical anomalies of our 'first-past-the-post' system (note the horse-racing reference) which make it just workable, and especially the one-member constituency in which the M.P. is expected to represent all his constituents as people, and not merely those who voted for him. The better ones do, in fact, regularly meet their constituents and represent them to the Government Departments, at least on personal matters and those of special interest to them. To give this up for a multi-member constituency in which it is the parties which are represented would indeed be a backward step. A person is a person all the time. A voter is a voter once every few years if he bothers to vote.

The first step, then, is to increase our personal contact as far as we can with M.P.'s, Councillors, bureaucrats, service monopolists and suppliers and bosses of every kind and to insist, where it is appropriate, on being treated as persons, not as 'units', to be put off with a standard form or circular.

A CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSAL

When it comes to our electoral system which is now under strong pressure to change, the last direction we want it to move is towards greater impersonalisation, as for instance, with proportional representation of people as numerical units. But it is no use being purely critical. We ought to have something constructive to offer as an objective to aim for in the right direction of representation of the will of people as people, i.e. possessed of free will and responsibility. Responsibility implies being prepared to abide by the result of their choices, as we all do, for instance, when we make an economic choice by buying something.

This means, first of all, abolishing the secret ballot -- except perhaps at first in cases of extreme intimidation, in some trades union ballots and in Parliament where it ought not to be introduced to evade the tyranny of the Party Whips. But in general, a vote which the voter is not prepared to acknowledge or be held to account for is a mere whim or opinion held without knowledge or conviction, which ought not to have any influence on our national affairs. Though, incidentally, publicity is usually a better protection against victimisation than a secrecy which is vulnerable to potential oppressors.

But then, given that our responsible voter is prepared to make his choice openly and to stand by it and bear the consequences, good or bad, what sort of choice is he offered, at present? Always a vague package, eulogistically described in terms more reminiscent of a confidence trickster than an honest trader, the cost of which is left to the imagination, but is presumed to be paid mainly by some other class or group than that of the elector in question. Voting oneself supposedly someone else's money is not an exercise of will but merely of covetousness. Democracy is government in accordance with the will, not the greed, of the people.

The right direction to look and work for, as the next step towards a better, not a worse, democracy, is surely towards the presentation of far more precise, and carefully costed programmes by the parties, as candidates tendering for the contract of Government; while the responsible elector, in making his choice, must be prepared to back it with his money, as he would expect to do with any other choice. This would mean that, for a time, he would be taxed, not only in relation to income as at present, but also in relation to the cost of the programme for which he voted.

A RESPONSIBLE DEMOCRACY

Such a proposal, known as *The Responsible Vote*, would need a great deal of amplification and working out in practical detail but it represents a continuation of the historic progress towards a responsible democracy, which was diverted back towards the Servile State with the introduction of universal, anonymous, irresponsible, secret, numerical suffrage. Now, when our electoral system is the subject of much criticism, dissatisfaction, and even contempt, is the time to infuse into the minds of both politicians and people the idea that there is a hope for real progress and an escape from our present disastrous path, but it lies in moving in precisely the opposite direction to that which is at present reducing human beings to the status of manipulated numerical units.

COMMON LAW

- and Common Sense

By Vernon Wilcox C.B.E., Q.C.

What is the Common Law? Do you know? Does the phrase mean anything to you?

When I was asked to say something about the Common Law I sought an easy definition from several law books. I did not get a lot of help. I suppose the authors of the books to which I referred (including a law dictionary) thought that everyone would know all about the Common Law. After all, some of us who were at school when they taught a few more fundamentals or basics than they have taught in Australia for a number of years, knew that the Common Law was part of our system of justice. But that might have been all we knew.

Lawyers have no excuse -- they would, of course, have some learning on the Common Law but the number of lawyers who would really understand its role could be diminishing. One reason would simply be that Parliaments pass more Acts of Parliament than ever before; public servants make more regulations than ever before -- regulations made pursuant to a power given under the relevant Act of Parliament.

As a consequence lawyers spend more and more of their time worrying about Acts of Parliament -- known as the Statute Law -- and regulations; and of course, Government intervention and control as a result of these Acts and regulations.

These regulations have as much force as any Act of Parliament so in total we can safely assume that we have more laws made by Parliament; that is, more Statute Law than we have ever had before. When I left Parliament a few years ago I said how disappointed I was that Parliament passed so many Acts -- laws the effect of which was not understood in the Parliament itself let alone outside the Parliament.

What has this to do with the Common Law? Well, the Common Law started before we knew what a Parliament was.

What is the Common Law? In a nut shell I think you could say that it is the **common sense of the people**. In all the trials, tribulations and problems of life, how often do you hear people say, "All we need is more common sense"? Why can I define the Common Law as the common sense of the people? Let us look at some history.

From the start of modern society, in England, a concept emerged and despite Viking, Roman and Norman invaders, despite the attempts of the Monarchy to trample over it when it stood between them and their will, it grew strong and was constantly enhanced with judicial decisions -- this is what we call "the Common Law of England".

This same Common Law was fortunately inherited by Australia and it confers upon each citizen inalienable rights -- rights not to have one's private property invaded; rights not to have one's reputation unfairly sullied; rights not to have one's body unlawfully assaulted; rights to expect others to behave reasonably and not to negligently injure you. Rights and duties, not the creatures of the Parliament of the day, but the product of centuries of infinitely painful refinement and development in the world of real human experience, so that they operate fairly, not only throughout the land, but to each individual and furthermore,

*It is a sad reflection on our education system that some of the most basic institutions upon which the cohesion of our nation depends are so little understood. In this article, the author, a former Attorney-General of Victoria, looks at that priceless part of our heritage, **Common Law**, under threat from the proposed **Bill of Rights**.*

rights which can be protected and enforced by the judicial process, unconcerned with the Executive and Legislature, but concerned to ensure that justice must not only be done but must appear to have been done.

The Common Law has taken a beating at the hands of the people through Parliament, but much of it fortunately remains. For example, the right to sue for damages for negligence is part of our inheritance and forms part of the fabric which preserves the delicate interplay of rights between members of a free society. Furthermore, the Common Law has entrusted the protection and enforcement of these rights to the Courts.

"The moment we start tampering with something as precious as inherited rights, we start tampering with the foundations of a free society"

Trial by jury has always been an "inalienable" right. But beware, if we are not vigilant, the Parliament will take it away from us.

I believe I see a campaign against juries getting under way in Australia at present -- arising from the much publicised Chamberlain, Gallagher and Murphy trials. For my part, if you attack the jury system you attack the people themselves -- and I have always thought that the law was there for the people, not for governments.

With the blatant political appointment of judges now taking place in Australia, the traditional Westminster and Australian independence of the judiciary is fading. So our Common Law rights, including trial by jury, become more important than ever.

I regret to say that the Parliament tampers with our rights all the time. Look at the Taxation Act; that is one of the outstanding examples of taking our rights away from us. I know it all sounds in a good cause but where does it stop? **We had a Liberal government give retrospective powers to the Taxation Commission -- surely that indicates how far we have gone down the wrong road.** To get back to an example of the Common Law. An example understood most easily is the right to sue for damages or negligence. Everyone understands motor cars, and they give rise to many personal claims for damages.

Now negligence is a common law principle. Briefly, in relation to motor cars it means that when you drive your motor car you immediately owe a duty of care to other users of the road be they passengers in your car or another car, the driver or drivers of

other cars, or pedestrians. If you fail in carrying out your duty or, as the law says, if you are in breach of your duty, you will be found to be negligent and ordered to pay any damages to someone injured by your negligent driving.

The law of negligence is also an example of how the Common Law moves with the times. For instance, actions brought by parties injured on the roads would have started with horses and horse-drawn vehicles. Obviously, when motor cars first came onto the roads it could well have been negligent to drive along your suburban street at 25 m.p.h. -- probably whatever the circumstances; today there would have to be special circumstances for it to be negligent to drive at 25 m.p.h. along a suburban street. This shows how the Common Law moves with the times and -- without the Parliament passing another law. In other words,

"... the Common Law can respond to changed circumstances and changed community standards often with more community backing than a new Act of Parliament."

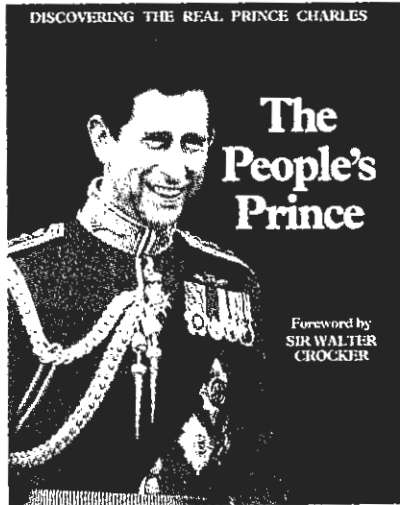
If the Common Law is alive and well, if the Judges are courageous and not automatically on the side of Government, there is no need for a Bill of Rights. I am afraid that, whatever the words used, a Bill of Rights would not enhance our freedom.

The rights of people are all there in the Common Law if these rights are not neglected by the people themselves, by the Courts or overridden by Acts of Parliament. It seems to me that a Bill of Rights would cause endless litigation over a whole lot of new words written into the statute comprising the Bill of Rights as opposed to the Common Law rights referred to earlier -- these have been tried and tested over the years and, in case after case, many of which never get to Court, the Common Law rules are understood and the law works its way for the citizens it is there to serve.

[Reprinted from *HERITAGE*, Feb., 1986]

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The Australian Heritage Society invites you to join a campaign of protest against Prime Minister Keating's outrageous proposal to change Australia's flag. Generations of Australians have risked their lives under this flag, defending a free, independent Australia. It is dangerous nonsense to suggest that Australian independence can be advanced by rejecting our heritage.

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The Australian Heritage Society is a division of the Australian League of Rights, a non-party, non-sectarian, non-profit service organisation. The Heritage Society was formed in Melbourne in 1971, as a permanent body to defend Australia's spiritual, cultural, political and constitutional heritage "Linking the past with the present — for the future"

The Toast 'Australia' (Contd. from p. 4)

the fact that I know, from personal experience, that the immigrants who came to this country prior to the Second World War, and immediately after it, had no difficulty in accepting the way of life -- the culture -- which they found here. They brought with them their own languages and customs and traditions, and some they chose to hold on to. The same had been done by the waves of immigrants who had preceded them, before and after the First World War, during the gold rushes, and before that, too. But they all became Australians and adopted Australian customs, at the same time making their own contributions to what they found here, so that the resultant mixture became all the richer.

But none of them lost sight of the fact that they had chosen to come here, because for them, life in their own country had become, or was likely to become, intolerable, and this country offered them something better.

The first thing that needs to be said about that, if I might hark back to my first theme for just a moment, is that, for one reason or another, the system of government from which they fled did not offer to them, as citizens, the fundamental freedoms and protections which our system of government offers to its citizens. That being the case, I shall never see the sense in the argument that the presence of non-British migrants in this country should be used as an excuse to do away with anything and everything that is of British origin.

More to the point, virtually all of our immigrants of necessity, as distinct from our immigrants of choice, have fled from countries governed by one version or another of the republican form of government. Is it really seriously suggested that we should therefore become another version of what they left behind? Maybe, just maybe, the reason they chose to come here is because we are what we are, and not because of what we might become.

Writing in 1935, P.R. Stephenson, in his book *The Foundations of Culture in Australia - An Essay Towards National Self-respect*, had this to say about culture in Australia: "We inherit all that Britain has inherited, and from that point we go on -- to what?" And then he answered his own rhetorical question in

this way: "As the culture of every nation is an intellectual and emotional expression of the *genius loci* (the spirit of the place), our Australian culture will diverge ... from that of Britain. ... [A] gum tree is not a branch of an oak; our Australian culture will evolve *distinctively*." Stephenson then went on to say that, when people migrate and take their culture with them to a new place, the culture becomes modified: the spirit of the place gives it a new distinctiveness. Stephenson was right, for we have adapted and moulded our heritage and our culture to produce Australian versions. Once upon a time new arrivals were asked to accept what they found here, adopt it as their own, and then, if they wished to, add something to it. They did it, and they did it gladly. My family did, sixty and more years ago, just as generations before and since have done.



*A gum tree is not a branch of an oak;
our Australian culture will evolve distinctively.*

We have turned New Australians into ethnic Australians.

But what do we do now? Somewhere along the line we have turned New Australians into ethnic Australians. Official government publications tell them that "Multicultural policy based on the belief that all Australians -- Aboriginal Australians, descendants of the First Fleeters, recent arrivals -- have the right to develop their cultures and languages". We have become a great country for allowing everyone to claim their rights, haven't we? But what do we do about making everyone aware of their duties, their obligations, their responsibilities? Once newcomers were expected to learn and understand our language, our culture, and participate in our political processes and many did, and still do. But we also see, under the guise of multiculturalism, foreign political hatreds being fought out in Australia.

As well as my statutory appointments as Official Secretary to the Governor-General, I also held a separate appointment, under Royal Letters Patent, as Secretary of the Order of Australia. With the publication of the Order of Australia honours list each Australia Day and Queen's Birthday, I soon came to expect a barrage of criticism from so-called representatives of the ethnic communities, that foreign-born Australians were being discriminated against in the award of honours. Such claims were, of course, patently untrue, and regularly my staff and I would produce the statistics which showed the absurdity of such claims. On the last occasion on which I was involved in such an exercise, I decided that it was time we provided a much more detailed response to the criticisms. A brief reference to that exercise may illustrate the point I am trying to make.

The critics had gone through the published list and identified, by reference to their names only, seventeen foreign-born people whose citations were for service to multicultural activities or to a particular ethnic group. This, it was claimed, was evidence of discrimination against those who were foreign-born. There were, in fact, twenty and not seventeen recipients in this category. Much more important, however, there were another 43 foreign-born recipients, who happened not to have foreign-sounding names, whatever that means, who had received awards for service to Australia and to the Australian community generally, and not just for service to a particular migrant group. Furthermore, as many of these people had operated at the national and even international level, they had received awards at the higher levels of the Order of Australia. As I wrote at the time, these people had exemplified the objectives of true multiculturalism and had contributed to the social blending of the wider community by giving service outside the confines of their own particular ethnic community. They were thus contributing to the well-being of all Australians, and were doing so in open competition, so to speak, with the native-born. That, I thought then and still do, was the real test of the maturity of Australian society and of the way the foreign-born were encouraged to take their place within it, as equal citizens with the native-born. Professor Donald Horne has described Australia as the most tolerant country in the world, and I agree with him. If I may again personalise this account for just a moment, so did my late father. As he lay dying in a hospital in Canberra just five years ago, I heard him several times quite literally thank his God that He had brought him to this country. In our last few conversations, when we both knew they

would be our last, he repeatedly expressed his gratitude for the peace and contentment he had known here for the last 55 years of his life. Just as repeatedly, he expressed his amazement that, having stepped ashore at Port Melbourne at the age of 24, with ten shillings in his pocket and only a few words of English he had learned on the ship coming over, 25 years later he saw his son, a first generation Australian, appointed Private Secretary to a Government Minister, and 40 years after his arrival, he saw his son appointed Official Secretary to the Governor-General, the *de facto* Head of State.

You see, my father knew that, had I been born in his country, where I could have traced my ancestry back for many generations, I could not have aspired to such a career and to such appointments -- I would have been of the wrong religion to have been allowed to serve my country in such a way. Indeed, if you and I were to migrate today to any of the countries from which our immigrants come, in most of them we would be denied all kinds of rights and privileges which this country confers, and rightly so, on all who come here. We would face discrimination on the



grounds of our race, or our religion, or the colour of our skin, or simply that we were foreign-born, so we certainly have no reason to be apologetic about what the immigrant finds in this country.

So Donald Horne was right -- Australia is the most tolerant country in the world. It is our own particular set of values which has made us so; which has made this country so attractive to migrants in the first place. We have no business inventing a word like 'multiculturalism' and then using it to divide our society into ethnic groups, to declare ourselves a cultural BYO -- bring and retain your own culture because we haven't one to offer you. To be sure, there are some Australians -- there always will be, I guess -- who are intolerant, bigoted, unfriendly towards people who are different. But most of us are not, and, importantly, our institutions of government are not. There is a distinctly Australian culture supported by a distinctly Australian system of government, and we have the right, and the duty, to be proud of both.

Well, I have spoken at length, probably for too long, but the subject "Australia" was irresistible. We must all learn to appreciate what we have, and to speak up when others want to make changes to our collective disadvantage. We must stop taking the things we value for granted, because if we don't stand up for them, the next time we look they may not be there.

[Permission to publish: Social Credit School Studies, 3 Beresford Drive, Sanford 4520, Queensland.]

The most dangerous conception of responsible Government is that which insists that, once a Government has been elected to office, it should have all power to do as it likes.

A little thought will indicate the menace of this conception. Writing in his book, *The King and His Dominion Governors*, Dr. H.V. Evatt points out how a Government is only the Government for the time being and should not be unlimited in its powers. He instanced how the Government of Newfoundland abolished itself without consulting the people of Newfoundland. Our British forefathers learned through hard experience that definite checks were required on elected Governments. This brings us to a study of the Upper Houses, the Crown, and other checks on Governments. In his address, "Realistic Constitutionalism", to the British Constitutional Research Association, Douglas said:

In some form or other sovereignty in the British Isles for the last two thousand years has been trinitarian. Whether we look on this trinitarianism under the names of Kings, Lords and Commons, or as Policy, Sanctions and Administration, the Trinity-in-Unity has existed, and our national success has been greatest when the balance (never perfect) has been approached.

... by the strengthening and elevation of Common Law, and its repository in the care of an effective Second, non-elective, Chamber, or by some other method, clearly defined limits must be placed on the power of a House of Commons elected on a majority principle. ... Common Law is something which, if it changes at all, ought to change very slowly indeed, and the greatest difficulty should be placed in the path of an attack upon it, both by insisting on its supremacy over House of Commons enactments, and by making it subject only to something at least as arduous as an Amendment to the United States Constitution. ...

English Common Law can be traced right back to Magna Carta. It was built up to protect the rights of the individual. When the Common Law was more widely understood, before the growth of what the former Chief Justice of England, Lord Hewart, termed "bureaucratic lawlessness", the individual's rights were firmly protected. The Courts existed to ensure that his rights were upheld, even against the Crown itself. Today the Courts don't uphold the Common Law; they are used by the "new despotism" for its own ends.

Sir Henry Slessor has said:

"The future of the Common Law is plainly more than a matter for lawyers. The Law of England is a unique contribution to Christian civilisation; its decay may prove to be one of the greatest tragedies of our age."

In Australia, as in America, we do not have a non-elective Upper House such as the House of Lords in Great Britain. The Upper House in the Federal sphere, the Senate, was the result of the Federal Constitution, and was intended to be a protection for the local State Governments. The Party system has destroyed the value of the Senate, and it is indeed fortunate that the Australian people have been protected to some extent from the predatory designs of the Federal Government, by the written Federal Constitution. One of the most important tasks confronting Australians is to make a positive defence of the Federal Constitution, the great bulwark against a complete centralised despotism from Canberra.

Those who have never studied the history of Government complain that the Upper Houses are anti-democratic and oppose the will of the people. It is amazing how many people accept this nonsense. The basic idea of the Upper House, brought to this country from Great Britain and based upon sound tradition, was to preserve the trinitarian balance in Government. The Upper House, restricted to those with specific qualifications, was intended to be elected by a more responsible vote. Its function is not, as some people contend, to block all legislation, but to ensure that legislation is not rushed through Parliament, legislation which could destroy the rights of the electors before they knew what was happening.

Those people who complain that Upper Houses insist on opposing legislation affecting property rights, completely ignore the fact that the ownership of property of some description provides the individual with some degree of liberty and security. The most serious charge that can be levelled against Upper Houses is that they have failed to protect the basic rights of the people.

A classic example of the great benefit of a responsible Upper House, is the manner in which the Tasmanian Upper House refused in 1944 to permit the Tasmanian Parliament to transfer enormous powers to the Federal Government, thus destroying the Federal Constitution. All the totalitarians were loud in their cries protesting how an "anti-democratic" Upper House was preventing a "democratic" Lower House from doing as it desired. Now, the Tasmanian Upper House accepted its responsibilities and insisted that no powers should be transferred to Canberra without the people's direct consent at a Referendum. The responsible action of the Tasmanian Upper House resulted in the 1944 Referendum, at which the Tasmanian electors voted overwhelmingly against surrendering to Canberra the powers willing to be granted by the Tasmanian Lower House. In other words, if it had not been for the Tasmanian Upper House, the Tasmanian people would have had their rights destroyed without redress.

Those who oppose Upper Houses also rail against Constitutional limitations to Governments. How often do we hear it said that it is ridiculous that the Federal Government, elected by a majority of the people, should be restricted by the Federal Constitution? We also hear the High Court attacked. Like most written Constitutions, our Federal Constitution embodies the political traditions of our race. Tradition may be termed the accumulated experience of the past; it is what has been found to work. The idea of tradition is essentially sound and even the most primitive people develop it in order to ensure the survival of the tribe. Over a long period of time our forefathers learned that Governments must have their powers limited, otherwise "snap" legislation could destroy what took hundreds of years to build up.

All British constitutional safeguards can be directly traced to our Christian background. In an article, "Under What King?" Douglas wrote in 1945:

"The Church (during the Medieval period) claimed to be, and was to quite a considerable extent, a living body of Superior Law, not different in intention but far higher in conception, to the Constitution of the United States."

Compared with the Australian Constitution, the American Constitution has the advantage of being much more difficult to amend. We can best understand the conception of a tradition, whether it is embodied in a Common Law interpreted by a non-corruptible judiciary, a House of Lords such as in Great Britain,

or in a written Constitution, by referring to that most English of games, cricket. Although there are specific rules under which the game is played, the actions of the players are also modified by a code of sportsmanship. How often do we hear, "That is not done" or "It isn't cricket"? This code is not continued by a "voting" process; it is a living, permanent tradition.

The Monarch -- Natural Embodiment of Honours & Sanctions -- Culture and Tradition

We now come to a brief examination of the function of the Crown. It is often contended that the major principle of the British Constitution is the omnipotence of Parliament. So far from this being the case, the great Bill of Rights specifically lays it down that the individual may petition the King.

The essential idea behind the Bill of Rights was ... that the British people had certain rights and liberties, established by custom and not subject either to the whim of Parliaments or the conspiracies of politicians, and the King was the supreme Defender of these Personal Rights. In his *Realistic Constitutionalism* Douglas writes:

**"The essential soul of a nation is in its character,
its culture and tradition.**

The King is the natural embodiment of Honours and Sanctions -- of Culture and Tradition and, as such, is naturally the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces."

Because of his embodiment of the nation's culture and tradition, the King, or his various representatives in all parts of the British Empire, represents all the people and has the power to veto all legislation. If used, the veto could compel legislators either to place legislation directly before the people, or if they felt that the people would not sanction it, not pursue it any further. It is interesting to note that even in a Republic such as America, the trinitarian idea of Government has been maintained, with the President having the power of veto of any legislation.

So far from legislation being easy to pass, it should be made a process which permits the greatest possible consideration to be given to it. If Upper Houses and The Crown were functioning as they were conceived by our forefathers, they would be ensuring that legislation be reduced to a minimum and carefully examined.

BOOK REVIEW

Fevers and Frontiers by John Pearn and Mervyn Cobcroft (eds.), Brisbane, Amphion Press, 1990. Pp. vii + 276. Illustrated. Maps. \$24.95 hardback.

Reviewed by Dan O'Donnell, historian and freelance writer.

Edited by Dr. John Pearn, School of Child Health, University of Queensland) and Mervyn Cobcroft (Curator of the Marks-Hirschfield Museum of Medical History at the University of Queensland), *Fevers and Frontiers* is an important and wide-ranging examination of our still-evolving health care. Of the twelve contributors, most are directly involved in health care in Queensland today, their impressive medical expertise, derived in the field, enhancing their historical conclusions. The fundamental theme of this anthology of valuable studies is the taming of the frontiers of medicine, the contents separated into three roughly-homogeneous compartments.

The first section looks at "frontiers on land and sea": John Pearn's fascinating and absorbing portraits of a dozen remarkable doctor-explorers; Jeanette Covacevich's overview of 40,000 years of 'risky business' with 'phangs and physis'; and Peter Fenner's examination of the medical frontiers in Australian seas.

The second section concerns the treatment of fevers and includes Ralph Doherty's study of Cecil Cook, a frontiersman of Australian health care, and Mervyn Cobcroft's historical outline of clinical thermometry from the time of Galileo's crude but ingenious endeavours to measure temperature in 1592. Within twenty years, Galileo's colleague, Santoria, had refined the primitive initial effort to enable the use of thermometry in physiology. Dr. Cobcroft, co-editor of *Fevers and Frontiers*, is a specialist anaesthetist in private practice in Ipswich.

The third section covers the "frontiers of the health profession", the opening chapter (by John Theame) treating complementary medicine, the increasing popularity of such alternative medicine being itself depicted as a "new frontier" (p. 133) to be confronted by the profession: challenged, tamed and accepted, or flatly rejected by orthodox medicine. There is a chapter by

Lesley Williams (author of *No Easy Path*), the excellent biography of Dr. Lilian V. Cooper, Queensland's first woman doctor) with portraits of other medical women including Dr. E.D. Greenham, Dr. E. Ure, Dr. S.A. Lochhead, Dr. H. Shaw, Dr. E.E. Bourne and Dr. A. Jones. Another chapter traces the controversial history of birth control, a frontier still unresolved across the nation. Dr. Pamela Chick, Medical Director of the Family Planning Association of Queensland, has surveyed with much sensitivity practices in birth control from colonial days along with contemporaneous attitudes, her conclusion being that contraception is "very much an individual matter with medical, social, moral and psychological factors all contributing to the choice" (p. 176). This is an extremely valuable sociological (as well as historical) record of a highly sensitive medical and social issue, one inescapable and irrefutable element in the interminable debate being that women have "the right to safe and effective contraception" (p. 177). The section also contains chapters on nursing and hospitals, including "From the bush to tertiary education at last!" (by Lorie Harloe), maternity hospitals and baby clinics (by Wendy Selby), ambulance transportation (by Vincent Little) and orphanages (by Berenice Wright).

All told, this compendium of gems from Queensland's medical past is absorbing reading. But it is much more, as evidenced by the often startling insights, and the compelling re-examinations of old problems and issues. Take, for example, John Pearn's arresting metaphor that many of our latterday medical "frontiers" are "in one sense a vanity of the European perspective" (p. iv), the Aboriginal experience over some 40,000 years demonstrating an harmonious "symbiosis millennia before the latterday health frontiers of Western medicine were defined" (p. iv). Witness also the timely reminder that the Aborigines, with a timeless affinity with the land of their birth, had practised preventive medicine with Nature's assistance for millennia, their ancient ways still to be "relearned by the often paternalistic and patronising new-chums who had displaced the original inhabitants" (p. iv). History should inform and entertain (as the editors tell us on p. iv), but it rarely suffers if it occasionally jolts us into stark awareness. This book does all three superbly well.

TO THE EDITOR ...

Sir,

In 1989 you featured in Issue No. 62?52? the work of Rev. John Flynn and his Mantle of Safety over the isolated areas of Australia.

This year is the 80th anniversary of his ordination in 1912, and special celebrations were held in Alice Springs on 26th and 27th September.

The Uniting Church conducted a number of travelling seminars as buses went from Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane, under the leadership of Ministers, to Alice Springs for those celebrations.

I am the daughter of the Re. Bruce Plowman who was John Flynn's first patrol padre. Flynn was ordained in September 1912; Dad caught the train out of Adelaide to join him in Beltana on 6th November 1912. He worked under Mr. Flynn's direction for the next five years -- until the end of August 1917. By then his parish extended to Tenant Creek in the Northern Territory -- a parish of 256,000 square kilometres-- and he had changed from horses and buggy to a string of camels.

From 19th September until 7th October I led a group of people who travelled to some of the places where the work of John Flynn began. We bused from Albury-Wodonga to Port August, north through Hawker to Beltana, up the Oodnadatta Track to meet the highway at Marla and on to Alice Springs to take part in the celebrations. Then we took the Plenty Highway into Queensland to Cloncurry (where the Flying Doctor Service began), through Winton and Longreach, and then south-west to Windorah, Betoota and Birdsville, down the Birdsville Track visiting station folk, to Maree and through the Flinders Ranges from west to east and thence back to Albury-Wodonga.

On board we had a geologist, a botanist and an astronomer

to help people understand the country, as well as a cook and a doctor.

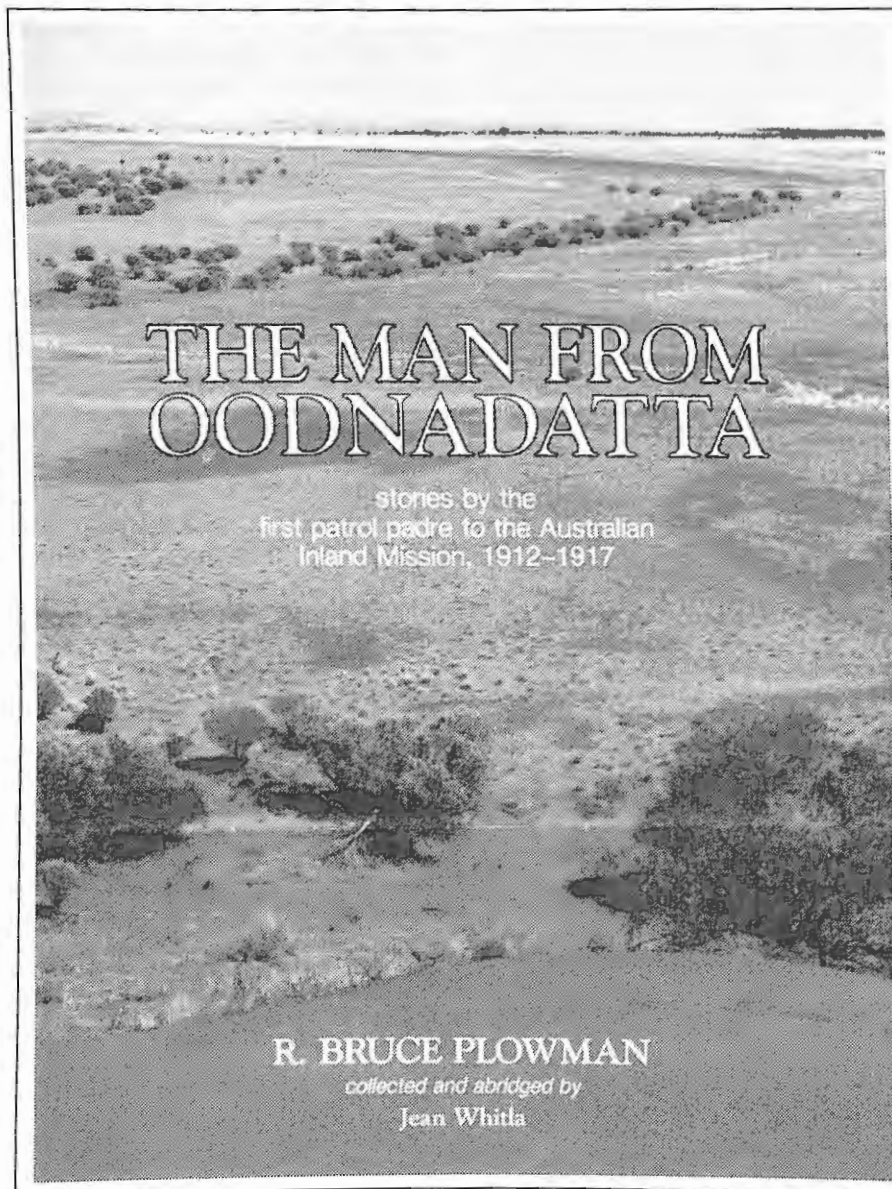
In the 1930's my dad wrote several books about his experiences among the people living in central Australia. They were: *The Man from Oodnadatta*, *Camel Pads* and *The Boundary Rider*. No one was interested in publishing them in their original form so I rewrote and heavily edited them. A book containing some of his best stories has been published by Shoestring Press of Wangaratta, Victoria 3677. There was a small launch by the

publisher in Wangaratta in early September but the main launch was in Alice Springs on 26th September, by Rev. Arch Grant who was the first minister appointed to the John Flynn Memorial Church in Alice Springs.

The book, *The Man from Oodnadatta, First Patrol Padre, A.I.M., 1912-1917*, is available through Shoestring Press, 10 Chisholm Street, Wangaratta, Vict. 3677, for \$20 plus postage. (A.I.M. stands for Australian Inland Mission, the organization formed with John Flynn as its superintendent to implement his projects.)

Yours faithfully,

(Mrs.) Jean Whitla.
Wodonga, Victoria.





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