

# HERITAGE

LINKING THE PAST WITH THE PRESENT – FOR THE FUTURE

MARCH - MAY 1993

No. 67



## THE CROWN & NORTH AUSTRALIA





*in this issue*

1. **The Queen's Christmas Message, 1992**
2. **Great Expectations**  
*Randall J. Dicks*
4. **Valedictory Note on Paul Hasluck**  
*Walter Crocker*
7. **A World Christian View**  
*Robert Crawley*
12. **Holy Thursday**  
*William Blake*
13. **No Coward Soul is Mine**  
*Emily Bronte*
14. **The Crown & North Australia**  
*K.T. Borrow*
17. **Professor Roger Scott in the Goss Government**  
*Dan O'Donnell*
19. **The Suicide of Europe (Part 3)**  
*Nigel Jackson*
22. **Our unwritten Constitutional Heritage**  
*David Mitchell*
24. **Keating's Pipe-dream**
24. **Realistic Constitutionalism**  
*C.H. Douglas*



**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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**HERITAGE**

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF  
THE AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE SOCIETY

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(Tel 08 381-3909)

**PUBLISHED BY**

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

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

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## THE QUEEN'S CHRISTMAS MESSAGE, 1992

This year, I am speaking to you not from Buckingham Palace, but from Sandringham, where my family gathers every year for Christmas.

My great-grandfather, King Edward VII, made Sandringham his country home in 1862, and it was from this house that my grandfather, King George V, and my father, used to speak over the radio -- originally to the Empire and then to the Commonwealth -- on Christmas Day all those years ago. It was from here that I made my first Christmas broadcast forty years ago, and this year I am very glad to be able to speak to you again from this family home.

I first came here for Christmas as a grandchild. Nowadays, my grandchildren come here for the same family festival. To me, this continuity is a great source of comfort in a world of change, tension and violence. The peace and tranquillity of the Norfolk countryside make me realise how fortunate we are, and all the more conscious of the trials and sorrows that so many people are suffering both in this country and around the world. My heart goes out to those whose lives have been blighted by war, terrorism, famine, natural disaster or economic hardship.

Like many other families, we have lived through some difficult days this year. The prayers, understanding and sympathy given to us by so many of you, in good times and bad, have lent us great support and encouragement. It has touched me deeply that much of this has come from those of you who have troubles of your own.

As some of you may have heard me observe, it has, indeed, been a sombre year. But Christmas is surely the right moment to try to put it behind us and to find a moment to pray for those, wherever they are, who are doing their best in all sorts of ways to make things better in 1993. I am thinking especially of the Servicemen and women, and the aid workers with them, trying to keep the peace in countries riven by strife, and to bring food to the weak and innocent victims. They do not have an easy task and they need all the moral and practical support that we can give them.

Curiously enough, it was a sad event which did as much as anything in 1992 to help me put my own worries into perspective.

Just before he died, Leonard Cheshire came to see us with his fellow members of the Order of Merit. By then, he was suffering from a long drawn-out and terminal illness. He bore this with all the fortitude and cheerfulness to be expected of a holder of the Victoria Cross. However, what struck me more forcibly than his physical courage was the fact that he made no reference to his own illness, but only to his hopes and plans to make life better for others. He embodied the message in those well-known lines: "Kindness in another's trouble, courage in one's own".

One of his Cheshire Homes for people with disabilities is not far from this house. I have visited others all over the Commonwealth and I have seen at first hand the remarkable results of his, and his wife's, determination to put Christ's teaching to practical effect. Perhaps this shining example of what a human being can achieve in a lifetime of dedication can inspire in the rest of us a belief in our own capacity to help others.

Such talents and indomitable spirit are not given to all of us. But if we can sometimes lift our eyes from our own problems, and focus on those of others, it will be at least a step in the right direction, and Christmas is a good time to take it. I hope that his example will continue to inspire us all in the years ahead.

1993 will certainly bring new challenges, but let us resolve to meet it with fresh hope in our hearts. There is no magic formula that will transform sorrow into happiness, intolerance into compassion

or war into peace, but inspiration can change human behaviour. Those, like Leonard Cheshire, who devote their lives to others, have that inspiration and they know, and we know, where to look for help in finding it. That help can be readily given if we only have the faith to ask.

I and my family, as we approach a new year, will draw strength from this faith in our commitment to your service in the coming years.

I pray that each and every one of you has a happy Christmas and that we can all try to bring that happiness to others.

God bless you all.



# GREAT EXPECTATIONS

by Randall J. Dicks

Crown Prince Naruhito of Japan is going to be married. The news is interesting in several ways. First is the enthusiasm which greeted the news; the Chairman of the Japan Chamber of Commerce and industry described the news of the imperial engagement as "the greatest news of the century", and anticipated that it would "stimulate suppressed consumer demand".<sup>1</sup> The Foreign Minister was only a trifle more moderate when he said, "The people have been waiting for this, and I don't think any other news in this new year could be more auspicious."<sup>2</sup>

The engagement is also interesting because of the choice of bride, who will one day be her husband's consort on what may be the world's oldest throne. The Japanese monarchy dates back 27 centuries, more or less, originating in the mists of pre-history. Providing the future heirs to the Chrysanthemum Throne will be a young career diplomat, Masako Owada, whose father is one of Japan's most senior diplomats, and a likely future Ambassador to the United States. Yet Miss Owada is a commoner, only the second commoner to be chosen as the bride for a Crown Prince of Japan. The Crown Prince's father and younger brother also married commoners.

The future Crown Princess, because of her father's diplomatic duties, spent some years in both the United States and the Soviet Union, before attending a public high school in Massachusetts. She graduated from Harvard University with a degree in economics in 1985, and subsequently studied at Tokyo University and Oxford, and has spent nearly half her life, 14 years, living abroad. Miss Owada and the Crown Prince first met in 1986, at a social function. She has been working at the Foreign Ministry, specializing in negotiations on U.S.-Japan semiconductor trade. There are already comparisons between Miss Owada and Hillary Clinton, the first career women to occupy their respective new positions.

But the most interesting aspect of the imperial bridal quest has been the Japanese press's handling of the matter. The Crown Prince's search for a bride was important to Japan not only to secure the succession to the throne, but as a matter of national pride. Crown Prince Naruhito's search was subjected to increasing scrutiny by the media, developing into such far from sublime reportage as speculation on the effects of his hairstyle on his courtship. (One newspaper then published ten retouched photographs of the Crown Prince, showing various proposed changes in coiffure.) Contact with any woman led to speculation, if not headlines; a meeting with actress Brooke Shields led to speculation that *she* might be in the running. Some sixty women were eventually to be featured in the newspapers and glossy magazines as possible candidates.

Because the intense media attention was starting to interfere with the actual search, the Imperial Household Agency, staid administrator of the monarchy's activities, requested that the press observe a blackout on the subject of the Crown Prince's courtship. The Imperial Family is still held in special reverence in Japan, and the press agreed to the request ... and turned its attention to the unhappiness in the British Royal Family. The Japanese press remained silent on the Crown Prince's courtship for a year, until an American newspaper broke the news that Miss Owada had accepted the Crown Prince's proposal. "After a year of silence, the mass media switched into their wretched excess-

mode, churning out page after page and hour after hour of news on the empress-to-be."<sup>3</sup>

Mixed

with the jubilation ("all of Japan went wild"<sup>4</sup>) were expressions of concern for Miss Owada, who would be giving up a promising career in the Foreign Ministry for the rigidly prescribed, essentially ceremonial life of a member of the Imperial Family. In one view, "Many [prospective brides] have been scared away by a job that makes the pressures and obligations facing the Princess of Wales look as easy to swallow as a piece of sushi."<sup>5</sup> Other sources suggest that the Crown Prince persuaded the young diplomat to accept his proposal by saying that, as Crown Princess, she would still be representing Japan.

The Japanese media's voluntary restraint may have helped the situation; at any rate, it was while the blackout was in effect that the Crown Prince made his choice and was accepted. "In Japan, the traditional desire for *wa*, or group harmony, out-weighed the reporters' universal zeal to be first with a good story. ... Last February, the Imperial Household Agency asked the press to stop its exhaustive coverage of Naruhito and his long, frustrating search for a mate. The agency argued that relentless reporters were driving away women who might otherwise welcome the Prince's attention. The press agreed -- voluntarily. The conflict between press freedom and personal privacy comes up in every modern society, but it's unlikely that any other free country could have dealt with it the way the Japanese did.

"Japan's constitution, written by American lawyers during the postwar occupation, guarantees freedom of the press. Nobody would dare suggest any legal or official restraint on reporting about Naruhito. But then, there was no need to. The innate respect for authority and the pervasive need to do what everybody else does muzzles the press corps as effectively as any law. In a consensus-minded society ... the desire to fit in kept the news from leaking out."<sup>6</sup>

Reports on the Japanese Imperial Family by the Japanese press offer contrasts to reporting on the British Royal Family by the British press. In Britain, after the excesses of recent times, including stolen letters and photographs, intrusion by megatelephoto lenses, electronic eavesdropping, and egregious speculation, many have dared to suggest curbs on what little privacy is left to public persons. One proposal was for a Press Complaints Tribunal, which would draft a code of conduct for the press, and levy fines for abuses. Other proposals have included restraints on the use of telephoto lenses in non-public areas, and on wiretap-



ping and electronic eavesdropping. A Conservative M.P., Sir Ivan Lawrence, asserts that "control is long overdue; the press has been warned for over a decade, and told to stop their abuse of power. But all of the old problems continued, leading to the near destruction of the Royal Family, among other things".<sup>7</sup>

Many of the arguments over such proposals have become clichéd, questions of balancing personal privacy against the public's right to know, and so on. Do persons in public life have any right to privacy, on the one hand, and if not, will anyone want to enter public life, on the other. The press is not entirely to blame for the marital problems in the Royal Family during the *annus horribilis*, but the press's role cannot be ignored. In a sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral, where the Prince and Princess of Wales were married in 1981, a senior minister asserted that present laws had allowed the press to "render any civilized family life almost impossible for those who are, justly or unjustly, the victims".<sup>8</sup> This raises the question of who was or was not a *victim*.

News of some of the privacy proposals was leaked to the press in Britain a few days after the Japanese news broke. Another leak occurred the next day; no wonder that Britain has such a reputation for dampness, with so many leaks.

According to this story, involving a leaked letter from the Chairman of the watchdog Press Complaints Commission, both the Prince and Princess of Wales had used rival newspaper groups to place their versions of their marital problems before the public. This news of royal leaks caused a brief furore, and appeared to slow down the government's attempts to place any restrictions on the press. If this report is true, it is neither very surprising nor novel. Members of the Royal Family, both by custom and, by extension, constitutional constraints, do not normally give interviews. There may be occasional exceptions, such as royal engagements, or to discuss architecture or pet projects, but they are exceptions, and the Queen herself has never given an interview. If the Prince and Princess of Wales are being pictured on the covers of nearly every tabloid newspaper in the world, with speculation about every conceivable aspect of their private lives, it is understandable that they might wish to make some accurate information available indirectly.

Members of the Royal Family have been favourite and easy targets of the tabloids largely because they cannot fight back. Membership in a royal family, or being a public figure, whether politician, rock musician, or actor, surely does not include a total vow of silence, a perpetual turning of the other cheek. When the press is in a feeding frenzy, without restraint, without taste or discretion, its victims ought to be able to offer some measure of self-defence without opprobrium.<sup>9</sup>

The leaked letter made scant mention of the Prince of Wales, but later reports from tabloid reporters alleged that both the Prince and Princess "had orchestrated leaks and spin control through third parties -- [the Princess] through her friends, [the Prince] through his staff".<sup>10</sup> Shocking? Hardly; it is standard procedure in public life. Senator Edward M. Kennedy explains that, "frequently events matter less than ... spin control -- who in which campaign can explain why something doesn't mean what it seems". Efforts to ensure a favourable interpretation of words and actions are not despicable; spin control and spin doctors, those media-wise wizards who publicize such favourable interpretations, are indispensable to modern public relations (and to American politics, though that may be little recommendation).<sup>11</sup>

On the other side of the Pacific from Japan, on the other side of the Atlantic from the United Kingdom, the media has been

indulging in excessive expectations of the newly-elected Bill Clinton since the day after he was elected. Although the election took place on 3rd November, President Clinton did not take office, did not become president, until 20th January. Nonetheless, he was expected to have solutions readily at hand for every manner of problem, domestic and foreign, before the last vote was even counted. In the week before he took office, Mr. Clinton was faced with challenges on the business dealings, ethics and possible conflicts of interests of several of his cabinet nominees, on his choice of school for his young daughter, and on the role of his vice-president. Foreign affairs would not be denied, even though he had repeatedly stressed his desire to concentrate on domestic needs. However, renewed war in Iraq, potential Balkan catastrophe, the continuing disintegration of the former Soviet Union, an uncertain humanitarian mission in Somalia, and the prospect of the arrival of thousands of Haitian refugees, may have made the president-to-be wonder what sort of quagmire he was falling into. As Mr. Clinton put it, he felt like a dog who had chased a pick-up truck, and caught it. He was expected to work wonders before the magic wand had been handed over to him. The excess of problems is not the fault of the press, but exaggerated expectations are often seen to be encouraged by it.

\* \* \* \* \*

People have come to expect great things of the Royal Family, Britain's and Australia's. Perhaps some of the expectations are unrealistic; life, even in a modern royal family, in a palace or a castle, rarely reaches fairy tale stature. In real life in 1993, there are not always happy endings, sometimes there are settlements, compromises, arrangements, and disappointments. If royal marriages founder, it is regrettable, but not unusual or unthinkable. In the United States, there have been more than one million divorces per year since 1975, and British figures are comparable: half of marriages end in divorce. It must be realized that these recent unhappy developments in the Royal Family are not relevant to the monarchy itself. The British monarchy, the Australian monarchy, the Canadian, New Zealand, Solomon Islands, and Jamaican monarchies are institutions, not individuals.

The institution is represented by an individual, currently Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, but the institution is greater than any individual representative. There is a need to differentiate between fairy tale fantasy and political reality, "political" in the sense of political science rather than party politics. Monarchy is a political system, a system of government, with benefits and advantages separate and distinct from its human interpreters, independent of the nice frills of tiaras and coaches and ermine. The institution will adapt to the times, to the changing needs of the nation, but its best features will not only survive, they will be strengthened through challenge and evolution.

1. "Princess Bride: Japan's New Sweetheart", *Newsweek*, January 18, 1993. The imperial engagement is expected to be a boon to the jewellery and clothing industries, as well as increasing the demand for newsprint.
2. Irene Kunii, Reuters News Agency, "Japan's Crown Prince Picks Commoner as Wife", *The Washington Times*, January 7, 1993.
3. T.R. Reid, "An Imperial Betrothal", *The Washington Post*, January 7, 1993.
4. Yumiko Ono and Michael Williams, "Japan's Naruhito, Despite His Haircut, Finally Finds a Bride", *The Wall Street Journal*, January 7, 1993.

[Contd. p. 18]



# A VALEDICTORY NOTE ON PAUL HASLUCK

Walter Crocker

Paul Hasluck died on 9th January, 1993, at the age of 87.

A good age; but his long-tested vitality led to expectations that he would live well into his nineties. His father reached 97.

The Right Honourable Sir Paul Hasluck, K.G., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., was Governor-General from 1969 to 1974. Before that he had been a senior Cabinet Minister for eighteen years, first as Minister for Territories, a portfolio which at that time embraced Papua New Guinea, the Northern Territory and Aborigine interests Australia-wide (1951-63); then as Minister for Defence (for less than a year); and then as Minister for External Affairs (1964-69). He was the third Australian to be Governor-General and he was one of only two Australians to be given the Garter.

His tertiary education had been at the University of West Australia, the research thesis for his degree being on Aborigines. He began work as a cub journalist. A natural writer, he soon learned to write with the mixture of speed and accuracy and plainness essential to a good journalist. He learned, moreover, much about segments of real life and its rough and tumble as a reporter assigned to the police courts, the gambling dens, and the brothel districts -- a valuable supplementary in the education of a young man conditioned by the taste for high-brow reading and the talking fostered by university students' clubs -- as well as by his upbringing in the Salvation Army farm for delinquents and rejects run by his parents, both of them Salvo officers of the most dedicated kind. From his youth he thus knew about unhappy slices of humanity and also about nobility in trying to cope with it.

In 1940, by which time Australia was engaged in the Second World War, he left his newspaper to join the Department of External Affairs in Canberra, to work under Evatt for planning Australian policies for the post-war world. In that post he learnt more realities -- about the public service and about how the politically exalted can lose their balance. He worked closely, if not always peacefully with Evatt, a gifted jurist but subjected to bouts of paranoia which at times verged on madness.

He accompanied Evatt as a senior member of his staff to, and at, the San Francisco Conference which drew up the Charter (i.e. the Constitution) of the United Nations. The war over, he represented Australia at the U.N., both in London and New York, when Evatt was unable to do so. After two fruitful but stormy years he fell out with Evatt on a point of policy and principle, resigned, made a statement about Evatt which was witty but most telling (on the urge when seeing a bright light to heave a stone at it) and which was taken up by the press in Australia. He returned to Perth.

His university appointed him to a Readership. Soon he was invited firstly to be War Historian and secondly to be the candidate on the Liberal list to the House of Representatives. He won the seat in 1949. As far as I know he had had no party affiliations before then; I do know that he remained on friendly terms with the A.L.P. candidate he defeated and about twenty years later the latter set off with some grant or other, on a world tour. Rome, where I was Ambassador at the time, was on his itinerary. I received a letter from Sir Paul asking me to do what favours, and to show what courtesies I could for this visitor.

As a member of the U.N. Secretariat, I had occasion to see



Governor-General Sir Paul Hasluck  
with Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Sir Paul in action and was impressed with his performance. Later, and over the years, I saw him in action in Parliament. He was always adequate there, always courteous, never untruthful, never ignorant of his brief, but, like Lord Casey, or Sir Garfield Barwick, he never seemed quite at ease; politics was alien territory for him. Sir Robert Menzies, on the contrary, was conspicuously at ease and seemed to be enlivened just by entering the Chamber, relishing the presence of Members and the prospect of their cut and thrust. In Hasluck's Department it was another story. He was quite at ease and fully in command. All the officers could see that he worked even harder and with evermore commitment than the best of them. They were struck too with his capacity for getting quickly to the heart of matters, whatever their complexity, for expressing his judgement with precision, and for translating policy into practice.

These qualities, however much (and increasingly) they appealed to Menzies and to the abler Members of the Cabinet, did not endear him to the run of Party M's.P. They complained that he was dull -- he didn't swear, rarely used slang, had no saucy stories and was bent on accuracy. They preferred a more matey fellow. The journalists also complained: Hasluck was reserved with them. He certainly didn't feed them the tit-bits that Billy McMahon did. The truth is, however, that in his earlier ministerial years he carried his indifference to popularity too far; as did Sir Alan Watt, head of the Department of External Affairs in much of

Menzies' time. One exception as regards Hasluck's indifference was his attitude to Sir Robert Menzies: it was full of admiration for the latter's intellect, sense of tradition and history, above all his decency; the admiration grew with the years. Menzies himself came to have an increasing admiration for his young Minister.

Hasluck's running of Papua New Guinea makes him second only to the legendary Sir Hubert Murray in the history of Australia's relations with that country. His long term of twelve years gave him a knowledge of its places, its events, and its people (indigenous and Australian expatriates), unequalled in Parliament or Cabinet or in any editorial office. He knew too that independence was not far off and that enormous strains would be imposed on the country as a result. He therefore strove to shape things to be in as much readiness as practicable for the inevitable transfer of sovereignty. His performance in P.N.G. is still not properly grasped in Australia. His book on the story is essential reading for students of colonialism.

His five years as Minister of External Affairs, demanding even wider, indeed world-wide concern and travel, confronted him with a concatenation of crises, such as the emerging Common Market -- now known as the European Community -- in Europe and the likely repercussions on our trade interests, and the unceasing tensions and violence in the Middle East, more particularly the tension between Israel and the Arab World. Both these concerns, and indeed international relations in general, were overshadowed by the Cold War and the grim possibility of a nuclear outbreak. This also applied to the warfare in Vietnam and especially the fears about China, both being seen as an extension of the Cold War. The Domino theory and the belief in the necessity of obliging the U.S. as our ultimate protector were held by the Cabinet as well as by Menzies. Hasluck, whose personal views on Vietnam are still unknown to me, had no alternative but to follow Cabinet's policy and for more than half his time at External Affairs to concentrate mainly on Vietnam. He drew on himself much opprobrium as a result, especially of the noisy ignorant kind.

When Harold Holt suddenly disappeared from the scene in 1969 the Prime Ministership became vacant. Hasluck after a time put himself up, or he allowed a group in his Party, possibly connected with Menzies, to put him up as a candidate for the succession. He did no lobbying and he entered into no commitments. He stood on his record alone. John Gorton who was a Senator and had never sat in the lower chamber, won the contest, reputedly by a narrow margin. Gorton had nothing of Hasluck's record; but all the same there was something to be said for Gorton as P.M., much more than is commonly allowed. His performance in office improved steadily. He had independence and a reasonable amount of originality; he even had spurts of statesmanship; above all he had manliness. He was a born fighter and his fighting was with swords face-to-face, not with concealed daggers intended for the opponent's back. He was also capable of magnanimity and generosity of spirit. That is how he came to recommend his beaten rival to the Queen as Governor-General when Lord Casey had decided on early retirement.

The Prime Ministership not the Governor-Generalship was the role Hasluck preferred but he had no doubts, and there were no reasons for doubts, that he could do whatever was required of a Governor-General. He brought to it the *savoir-faire* of a professional diplomat, the political experience of a long-serving senior Cabinet Minister, and the first-hand knowledge of a full spectrum of the Australian people. No public figure since

Federation was so much at home in the bush or had such a feeling for it as this urban sophisticate. In his five years at Yarralumla he never faltered. The smooth working of the gubernatorial machine, the discipline and dignity in Government House (as I could see when staying there as a guest), and his manifest sympathy for great causes, were never in doubt. So much so that when the term of his five-year appointment neared its end Mr. Whitlam, by then P.M. for two years, asked Sir Paul if he would be willing to have the term extended. He declined the invitation because his wife, Dame Alexandra, wanted to withdraw from that kind of social life (which she had graced with charm and tact) and to return to her historical writing which had already brought her high distinction.

He retired and had nineteen years more of life. He held no further office. He believed, and wrote, surely rightly, that the Governor-General having held the highest post in the land, the Head of State, should be above taking any other paid post. Sir David Smith, the highly experienced and distinguished Secretary of Government House has expressed strong approval of this view. Not for Sir Paul Ambassadorships of the Environment or subsidiary (but highly-paid) Ambassadorships to U.N.E.S.C.O.

His sense of *noblesse oblige* and what is appropriate was unflinching. Prime Ministers like Chifley or Curtin as well as Menzies would have agreed with such self-denying ordinances. A year or so ago a list of public money spent on transport for ex-Governors-General and ex-Prime Ministers and others was published. An ex-Prime Minister of a quality few have extolled topped the list; Hasluck came bottom with the lowest expenditure. His sense of duty about spending public money was stern -- and less and less common today. (Taxpayers seem to be unaware that entitlement over and above pensions, not slight, to an office, office staff, certain postal costs and travel, including by government car, prevail.)

For a Minister as busy and as preoccupied with his official responsibilities as Hasluck had to be, and, moreover, who was required to spend much of his time on the move, first over Australia and P.N.G. and then over the globe, it is remarkable that he brought out ten books. All were deep too in their researching and plumbing of intricate facts and in their depth of thought. (Some of this aptitude seems to have descended to his son Nicholas, a busy Q.C. who somehow finds time to write novels and poetry of merit.) Here is a list of Sir Paul's main books:

In 1942, when a tyro in Evatt's group, he brought out *Black Australians*; in 1946 *Workshop of Security* on the recently-formed U.N.; in 1951 his first volume of the *Official War History*; the second volume entitled *The Government and the People*, in 1970; in 1971 *An Open Go*; in 1973 *The Office of Governor-General* (2nd edition 1979); in 1975 *The Poet in Australia*; in 1976 *A Time for Building*; in 1977 *Mucking About* (autobiography of his early life); in 1985 *Sir Robert Menzies* and also *Diplomatic Witness*. In addition there were four books of poems; the last book, witty and not reverent, appeared a year ago. There were at least a dozen or so notable addresses. Nothing he wrote was flashy or trivial; all of it was stamped with his usual mixture of pondering and restrained expression. For an understanding of what W.W.II meant to Australia his two volumes are essential reading; so too *Diplomatic Witness* for an understanding of Australia's part in international relations, above all for an understanding of Evatt; and again, *A Time for Building* for an understanding of what Australia did in P.N.G., especially in Hasluck's twelve years of government there; and on the office of Governor-General his book is essential.

His contribution to Australia as a writer was not less than his contribution as a Minister and politician and administrator.

His contribution both to the literary and to the practical sides had the constant characteristic that he rose to the occasion, be it his diplomatic call on General de Gaulle and holding his own with that formidable leader, or his meetings with Aborigine elders such as those who discussed the Ayers Rock question frankly and amicably, or his spending time with the Queen and his fellow Knights of the Garter at Windsor each year, or his speeches to the U.N. first as a subordinate diplomat and then some twenty years later as his country's Foreign Minister, or his talks to children in P.N.G. village schools, or his dealings with guests at his delightful dinner parties, singly or in tandem with his gifted wife.

What was the man behind this appositeness? This fitness? That he was a sturdy healthy rounded man looking years younger than his age was clear enough. Was he also an enigma as some thought? Most men and women in any case have something of the enigma about them. He never seemed enigmatic to his friends and close associates. Was he an over-severe puritan?

Two traits stood out beyond dispute: he was a man of principle and he was an intellectual. He had much in common with his former diplomatic colleague Sir Alan Watt: similar vitality of body, energy and sharpness of mind, wide and ever-expanding culture, an unshakeable honesty and sense of duty; but the Puritan residues strong in both men did not in Sir Paul have Sir Alan's angularities.

There have been few if any men in our political life who had as much of the intellectual in their make-up as Sir Paul. Alfred Deakin was an intellectual; so too were Sir Frederic Eggleston, and Blackburn the A.L.P. lawyer and M.P. from Victoria; but they did not reach Sir Paul's range.

His growth from the Salvo farm into this sophisticated life of the spirit throws light on his independence. He never lost respect for the beliefs and the values of his parents, saint-like persons, or gratitude for the happy boyhood on the farm which they ran -- the charming account in *Mucking About* will probably become a classic -- but early he saw that he had to be something different. The Haslucks were a north England family in origin and had been Anglican in religion. A member of the family in the 19th century became well known for his pioneering booklets, at modest prices, covering in simply language a wide span of books on the knowledge available at the time -- a blessing for people not well off, the great majority. Sir Paul's grandfather came to Australia and did the usual tough pioneering, for a while in the Flinders, whence Sir Paul's two strange middle names came (Meernaa Caedwalla).

Complaints or criticisms against Hasluck, common for some time, amounted to his being conservative. In an interview in 1968 he answered them, "I'm conservative in the sense of thinking carefully of what you are going to destroy. For most of my life I've been somewhat radical. I'm still more radical than some of my ministerial colleagues. ... I've always been a reformer." This remark has a bearing on his attitude to those wanting to get rid of the Monarchy or to turn their backs on Australia's connection with Britain.

The criticism that he was conservative had its counterpart in the judgement of some of his Liberal colleagues that he was not a sound Party man. A similar complaint had also been made about Lord Casey. The truth is that Hasluck was loyal to Party, especially to Cabinet decisions, but he was never a Party hack. He rarely spent time intoning the party cat-calls, shibboleths and

buzz words in vogue. He distrusted all rhetoric and all exaggeration.

Nor did he lose respect for sincerity in political opponents, or compassion for those suffering defeat or personal sorrow: He had had personal sorrows of his own. On one occasion, a Liberal M.P. noted for his considerable ability but also his considerable aberrations of judgement, attacked Evatt in the Chamber with words so virulent and wounding that the latter virtually broke down. Hasluck rose from his seat, walked over to his old enemy, placed his hand on him and sought to comfort him.

In several of his addresses and still more in private talk, he was uneasy and apprehensive about certain tendencies in Australian life and culture, such as the increase in dishonesty, in violence, in intolerance (including in academia) and the decline in the mass media, not least in the press. The debasement of the English language in Australia in recent years was an alarm bell for him. He was appreciative of some good programmes and good speakers over the A.B.C., mainly radio, but he regretted the removal of Dame Leonie Kramer from the Board and also the seeping in which followed, actively encouraged by the new regime, of so much puerile adolescent entertainment at a continually lower level, much of it trash or worse from America. The A.B.C. as the



Dr. H.V. Evatt, 1960

national broadcaster funded by the taxpayer had an undoubted duty as regards standards. He had taken the measure of some of our highly advertised contemporary intellectuals. So too of advocates of free speech and the censorship in the interests of pornography, or churchmen who urged removing sin from the vocabularies. He was quite clear as to the roots and the realities of Australia's identity.

But he refused to have any truck with pessimism. The simple-minded prescription and in particular the apocalyptic judgements were not part of his thinking. He retained a trust in average human capacity for adaptation, enormous adaptation, and a trust in the average decent Australian whatever his class or category.

Looking back on Paul Hasluck after nearly half a century of association and 25 years of close friendship, I see him as a man of exceptional gifts of intellect but as still more notable for his moral qualities. And I see his main contribution in his strenuous contributing years in politics, the recalling to Australians, and recalling by his own practice as well as by his writings, the standards needed in public life, without which the nation risks perishing. He saw the standards as under threat.



# A CHRISTIAN WORLD VIEW

"As it was in the beginning,  
is now, and ever shall be"

Robert Crawley, S.S.C.

Two days before delivering the following paper at the "Runnymede" home of Eric and Elma Butler, Robert Crawley addressed the 1992 Annual New Times Dinner held in Melbourne, Australia, and included an interesting account of his introduction to Social Credit. In that address he emphasised the vital importance of the Athanasian Creed for today, and quoting C.H. Douglas, he reminded his Christian audience that "it was a far more profound political document than is generally recognized". Such was the influence on him of what Douglas had written, he said he was compelled to reassess his own position as a Christian and was thereupon set on a path that had led to his present situation as a Christian bishop.

The Right Reverend Robert C. Crawley, Bishop of the Anglican Catholic Church of Canada, continued to develop this Christian 'world view' in the following message he originally presented to his audience at "Runnymede".

"Why has our society disintegrated?" "Why is the Monarchy under attack?" "Why is the Constitution, derived from the Christian concept of Monarchy, under attack?" "Why do people want to destroy the Flag?" The collapse of the Church has a lot to do with the answers (and the Church is in a real crisis), but first let's examine the connection between religion (generally) and action --both personal and corporate.

About ten or fifteen years ago an Australian singer and comedian named Rolf Harris did several tours of Canada. One of his specialties was to paint a landscape on a huge screen -- 25 feet or so. Using two two-gallon buckets of paint and two huge brushes, he leaped about, slapping on paint to produce a very respectable pastoral scene, or perhaps mountains and streams. He did it very quickly; it wasn't a complete picture, but one certainly understood the whole idea. That's what I am trying to do tonight, and I hope some of my slap-dash painting will encourage you to pursue and fill in the details.

## Let's paint the backdrop first

The word "religion" comes from the Greek "ligo" (to bind), through the Latin, "religare" (to bind back to reality or to what a person believes is reality). Whatever that reality is, in your mind, that will determine your actions. So let's try to make that connection.

Recorded history goes back only 6,000 years --by that I mean the actual written records left by our forbears. Using the Biblical figure of 70 years for one life-span (not generation), that is only 85 life-spans. From the birth of Jesus, only 28. Cave paintings, Stonehenge, the Easter Island monoliths, archaeological digs and so on are a different matter. We can make educated guesses from those artifacts, but that's all. But the clay tablet which says "my name is Joseph and I just offered a human sacrifice to the sun god" -- or whatever the message -- is the only evidence we have to be definite about the beliefs of our ancestors, and their societies, and their governments and their outlook on life.

The search for reality -- that is "Religion" -- centres on five main areas:

What's behind it all? **GOD**

What, or who, makes it work?

Why is there "creation"? **CREATION**  
What is it for? Not how, but why?

What are we here for?  
What are we? **MAN**

Why do bad things happen --  
disease, death, hatred, wars? **EVIL**

What happens after I die? **ULTIMATE  
DESTINY**

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### The religion of POLYTHEISM says:

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**GOD:** There is another world behind this one, peopled by gods who pull the strings; ultimate reality is chaotic. These beliefs are based on a projection of nature. NATURE is both beautiful and chaotic and cruel. Mother Goddess religions all embody this ambivalence. Thus the nature of Reality itself is in constant conflict.

**CREATION:** caused as a result of wars (and sex) among the gods.

**MAN:** We are part of this action, for example, from the spilt blood of a bad god (Babylonian mythology).

**EVIL:** caused by bad gods.

**DESTINY:** not hopeful, to say the least! It all depends, but probably only pleasant for the rulers.

Many different myths tell this story in one form or another. What do they tell then as basic belief? Powers (gods) above and beyond this world control it, and cannot be trusted to act with any concern for us. Creation itself resulted from their nastiness, and so did we, so we have to make the best of it somehow, and not delude ourselves into expecting much. We must placate the bad gods and encourage the good ones. Evil is the result of bad gods -- nothing much we can do about it, except sacrifice and watch our step. Eternal destiny? A fond hope, but unlikely. We do wrong to dismiss myths -- a myth is not a lie; it's a story which tries to explain that which is mysterious. They tell us a great deal about beliefs, just as do parables.

Now let's jump to almost 3000 years ago, and here I must slap the paint on with very quick, bold, strokes. A man called Abraham, in the midst of all this polytheistic belief, gets the idea that there is only one God. What a strange idea! He moves from the Persian Gulf to Canaan (now Palestine). Then his descendants move to Egypt, and finally back again, under Moses, and a

startlingly different set of beliefs develop.

**GOD:** (Must make very fast brush strokes now.) The first book of the Bible is Genesis, which means beginning. Chapter One tells us about the acts of the One Source of all, and his control over all created things. This is not a primitive scientific explanation -- this is a statement that all things were designed deliberately by One Source of all, and done to perfection.

**CREATION:** At the end of every "day", God saw what he had done, and it was "good" (no conflict between gods -- here's a definite plan).

**MAN:** On the sixth day the crown of creation is man, and note "male and female created he them" -- nothing about Adam and Eve, nothing about ribs and snakes! Imagine yourselves sitting around the evening fire when this story is first unveiled. One God, all done in order, everything is "good": "And God saw all that he had made, and it was very good."

**EVIL:** Well, that sounds just great, but how does one account for evil? How do we fit into this idyllic picture? **What went wrong?**

We move now to Chapters 2 and 3, and another story. Look at it carefully and one sees a different pattern of creation. In this pattern Man is made first, not last. The Garden of Eden is perfect. Then along comes the serpent! (Remember the serpent -- the symbol of the evil god/goddess?) Before this happens look at the picture: everything in the garden is lovely. Adam is a gardener. Eve is his wife and companion. They are placed there to oversee the whole thing, in harmony with God, who comes down every evening to have a chat, and no doubt advise Adam when to plant out the orchids and how to prune the grapes. There are no weeds, thorns, thistles, problems. There is only one rule. **Don't eat the fruit of that tree!** What tree? The tree of the knowledge of good and evil. What does that mean? It means overreaching, trying to usurp the place of God. The serpent appears. He says to Eve (that name means "life"), "Nice place you've got here! All yours? Do what you like, can you?" "No," says Eve, "we can't eat the fruit of that tree or touch it or we'll die." "Really?" says the serpent, "I don't think so; God's just saying that; he really wants you to grow up -- after all, is this your garden or isn't it? Didn't he put you in charge of it? Go ahead! *Eat it, and you will be like gods.*" (In other words, you will be self-sufficient.) "God has given you freedom -- so use it!" And you know the rest -- absolutely fascinating psychology, no matter how you interpret the account. God comes down for a stroll and a chat as usual and calls for Adam, but Adam is hiding in the bushes. Not only that but he's done a cover-up job with fig leaves. God says, "Where are you? Why are you hiding?" Adam says, "I was afraid." "Why?" replies God, "What have you got to be afraid of? Did you eat of the tree?" Now watch! Adam didn't lie and say, "No." Neither did he say, "Yes, and I'm sorry." Nor did he say, "Yes! And what do you want to make of it?" Adam whimpers out -- "*It was the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she did tempt me, and I did eat.*" Just like a politician or a bureaucrat -- never take responsibility. Right now the happy marriage is on rocky ground: Eve is muttering, "That's going to cost you, Buster!" God turns to Eve, "Is that true?" Eve catches on quickly, "The devil made me do it." (Interesting that God never questions the serpent.)

What is the result of all this? The harmony between God, Man and Woman, and the whole created order has been marred, not ruined completely, but badly damaged. Instead of a loving

relationship between God, us, and creation, we see fear, mistrust, animosity, struggle, disease, and death. Man rebelled against God with his eyes wide open, and infected the world.

## Five major beliefs

Now, let's look at our five major beliefs in this light, or rather in the light of the developed understanding ushered in by Moses. Contrast these with our first polytheistic life-style.

**GOD:** There is only one source of all that exists, whose nature is transcendent, but personal and just. He cares!

**CREATION:** is a self-expression of this God's love. Everything is "good" and made for a definite purpose.

**MAN:** also has a definite purpose. We are set in authority over creation, not subject to the whims of various gods who claim to control all aspects of life, but responsible to God for the management of his creation.

**EVIL:** Introduced by the rebellion against God's will, by both men and spiritual beings led by Satan, an Angel of immense power, whom Jesus labels "that old Serpent, the devil".

**DESTINY:** To live in obedience to God's covenant, *under his care and protection.*

What a tremendous difference of belief in the origins, purpose and meaning of life! Look at the difference between the resulting structure of society it brought. Examine carefully the first five books of the Old Testament -- the Old Covenant. It's got all the principles we need for a fine constitution and for life. It's even got the principles of organic farming, health laws, provision for the care of the poor, the orphan, the sick, the stranger ("the sojourner within thy gates"). There was nothing like it before!

Well, why did it fail? What's the reason for all the turmoil in the Old Testament? Why did it all end in a mess? In a nutshell, because human nature was (and is) basically flawed, and so is not strong enough to follow "the book of instructions". As you read the history of Old Israel (and *please don't confuse it with modern Judaism and particularly Zionism, with which it has very little in common*) -- as you read, you discover the constant struggle between the two sets of beliefs outlined above -- that is, between some form of polytheism (nature gods) and the true God (monotheism). That's what all the prophets were on about -- to call the people back to the Covenant and away from nature-worship, and to warn them of the consequences of disobedience.

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## In the fullness of time

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So, as St. Paul tells us, "IN THE FULLNESS OF TIME" - *AT THE RIGHT TIME*, GOD CAME HIMSELF, INCARNATE OF A WOMAN, BORN INTO THE WORLD HE HAD MADE, AND YOU KNOW THE REST. What does this do now to our five beliefs?

**GOD:** A God who cares -- not aloof -- but both transcendent and immanent, among us. The nature of God is shown in Jesus as pure, perfect love, the essence of which is self-giving sacrifice.

**CREATION:** is not only an act of God's self-expression, but through the Incarnation is being constantly renewed. Not just "done once" and left to run, *but part of God's eternal self-expression* -- which is where we come in.



**MAN:** We may now, *if we so choose*, become a living member of God Incarnate. What does that mean? St. Athanasius put it in one short sentence: "He became human that we might become divine."

**EVIL:** No change from the doctrine taught in the Old Testament. The cause is the rebellion against God by angels and men, but now the power of sin and Satan has been defeated by Christ. We are no longer part of that life, part of that 'world',

**DESTINY:** Ours is assured, *on the consummation of the purpose for which we were made* -- eternal life in that peace and harmony and trust and love which we saw in the Garden of Eden, and much, much more. When we die, because we share Christ's humanity, we also share his resurrection -- our whole being is reconstituted and made "incorruptible".

What does this do to the formation of society? If you really believe this is **Reality**, how do you put these beliefs into practice when this trinitarian outlook on life gives mankind purpose, meaning, goals of an external, objective nature? Everyone is a special "somebody", loved by his Creator, so one will strive to make constitutions, laws, art, architecture, education, monetary system, agriculture, manufacturing -- all these things -- to make them a reflection of these beliefs, which we have seen (imperfectly to be sure) gradually develop into what we once knew as Christian Civilization.

The root of Christian civilization is a total **WORLD VIEW** from which all aspects of life are seen. Laws, morals, ethics, education are all based on **absolutes** -- on what God wants, as revealed through Christ, the Scriptures and the Church.

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### Christianity is a *DYNAMIC*

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Let me make one matter blindingly clear: Christianity is not some form of philosophy. It isn't some system of living that is just a bit better than the other models. It is a *dynamic*. The Creeds which summarize the faith plainly show this. They are simply statements of what God has done, is doing, and will do. It is essentially pragmatic: it's how the universe "works". **IT IS REALITY!**

C.H. Douglas speaks of the Athanasian Creed as the finest exposition of **REALITY** ever presented. How many of you have ever heard it used in Church? How many have ever read it? How many of you know who St. Athanasius was? There is a danger of so admiring the *results* of Christianity that we think that these *expressions* are the thing to strive for, and often forget the cause, or the *engine* which makes them work. This is where the preacher in me comes out. Let's get one more thing clear: **SIN** (sometimes used as a synonym for "evil") is not "the breaking of a set of laws". Sin is a fundamental distortion of nature -- our nature and the nature of the created universe. God didn't make it that way. He imbued all His creation with free will, because one can't really love (self-sacrifice) without real freedom. His higher creatures, both Angels and men, chose to reject God's plan by trying to be self-sufficient. This distortion is known as "The Fall" and "Original Sin".

**FREEDOM IS A RELIGIOUS IMPERATIVE**

Quickly now -- more paint! From the Christian World View came the concept of **Christian Monarchy** and **Parliamentary democracy** -- a Trinitarian model of King, Lords and Commons -- a balance. National flags symbolizing this view of the nation embodied Christ's Cross. Individual freedom is necessary because of belief that we are all children of God, and our purpose is to love and obey Him. We can't do that if we are simply part of a collective. Freedom is a religious imperative, not some human ideal. From the Christian understanding of life came hospitals, education, art, music, architecture, the abolition of slavery and so on.

**THIS AGE IS REACHING ITS CLIMAX**

But this all changed, beginning about 150-200 years ago, and it is now reaching its climax. There is now a different **WORLD VIEW** which dominates our lives, and thus affects our societies and their constitutions. It derives from three sources: Evolutionism, Freudianism and Marxism. Here is its outline.

**GOD:** There is no "external" Transcendent Being. The Universe is self-determined. It "happened". The "force" inside the system is "god". ("The Force be with you" -- the phrase used in *Star Wars* -- is not accidental!)

**CREATION:** As there is no pre-determined "plan" by an external God, our information about the world comes from examination; there is no transcendent "meaning". Meaning is found only by discovering the pattern of development in nature and projecting hypotheses.

**MAN:** We are merely the end-product (so far) of a process of the selection of the fittest. We are not yet complete. Who knows what may be achieved? For example, by selective breeding -- as in racehorses -- especially now that we have unlocked the secrets of DNA etc., not to mention the dialectic nature of "The Force".

**EVIL:** is limited to that which frustrates the built-in force of life-development. It is caused by ignorance, greed, and the lust for individual power. Remove those causes or control those motives by education and political structures (individual freedom must be controlled and directed) and the evolutionary plan will achieve nirvana here on earth.

**DESTINY:** Man has no destiny outside of this world -- no supernatural end -- no "Heaven" to prepare for. If there is life after death (for which there is no evidence) who knows what happens when we die? It could be re-incarnation in some form or other, or just plain oblivion.

Freud taught that the mind is really a machine, an engine which drives the vehicle, and the major fuel is the sex drive and the conflict between the ego and the id. So an understanding of man must derive from these primary sources. (There is a lot more to it than that, of course, but that's a quick summary.)

Marx and Engels, followed by Lenin and Trotsky, codified this world-view into a religion. In the same way as the Christian world-view affected the structure of government, of laws, ethics, social beliefs and practices, there needed to be a system to embody the **New World Outlook**.

What we got was first, Communism, and then National Socialism. The State became the structure to fit people into the

patterns I have outlined. Its purpose was not primarily political and economic -- those are secondary features. Its driving ideal is to prepare a clear pathway for the Force ("God") which is working through nature (especially ours) to establish the coming new Reality. Their firm belief is that this new Reality will be established anyway, in time, but now that "they" know its secret, its underlying theology, they must make us fit ourselves to it (or be fitted to it). We are the agents of the "God of Constant Change". And that is what is meant by "*the march of the dialectic*". When Khrushchev said, in that famous comment to the west, "History is on our side; we will bury you", he wasn't bragging -- he was merely preaching his religion.

Now, if you think that Naziism and Communism are "finished", you must think again. Those particular *forms* of the structure of the New Religion collapsed for different reasons. The *religion* is still alive -- very much alive -- and will find expression in other ways.

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### What Marxism teaches (says) about REALITY

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Now, for our purposes, we must understand how Evolutionism, Freudianism and Marxism have impacted the Church. I mean the WORLD VIEW as described at the beginning of this article. This new religion of the New World Order has influenced our universities for nearly one hundred years, until now it dominates the whole underlying bases of education. The Christian Religion has been relegated to a set of personal opinions -- if it makes you "feel good", fine; if it helps you cope with the daily grind, OK; but don't make a fuss. Keep it out of politics and economics! The fury of the abortion issue is a classic example. This New World View has infiltrated and influenced the churches. While still trying to maintain some of the humanitarian and social concerns of the Christian Faith, the Church has largely adopted the ideas of the New World Order -- the understanding of the way things work, as outlined above -- by a process of osmosis. Nearly all its priests come out of those same universities whose underlying beliefs are directly opposed to those of Christianity.

So that when the leader of the World Council of Churches was asked, some ten years ago whether the W.C.C. was Marxist, he answered with a smile, "*Oh no!!*" And then added, "*but we use the Marxist analysis.*" Marxism teaches that Ultimate Reality -- the fancy name for God, is not "transcendent" (i.e. external and completely "other" to the world), but totally "immanent". Reality is, in their terminology, "matter in motion". And the method of that motion is "dialectical" -- which is why the proper name for Marxism is "dialectical materialism". The dialectic is the "life-force" working its way upwards -- by constant conflict and resolution (thesis, anti-thesis, synthesis). They believe this inner force is invincible. It affects all living things, including society (the way the world "works" to the Marxist) and the present struggles, e.g. in Africa -- which was the focus of Rev. Potter's interviewer -- was simply one example of the *Marxist analysis*, which is the basis of so-called "*liberation theology*". Now, whether Philip Potter, or Archbishop Ted Scott of Canada or Archbishop Tutu actually understand the creeds of Marxism, or are only what Lenin referred to as "useful idiots", no one can say. The result is the same: Misery to millions in the Name of Christianity.

In other areas of the church we can see more clearly the phasing out of the old Christian world-view, so that, for example,

the Bible becomes, not God's Revelation to us in specifics, outlining a Covenant relationship with Him, but merely a series -- a collection -- of fascinating books written by dead Jews, which throws an interesting light on the history of the development of ideas and social patterns of life. **The Incarnation is in doubt.** "Did God actually become a man?" I mean fully? "Did he actually rise bodily from the grave?" "Are we to take seriously the promises of our own physical reconstitution after we die?" "Do we really believe that the bread and the wine truly, objectively, become the Life of Christ, which we consume and so become transfigured?" All of these doubts now find expression in the Church. Not flat-out contradiction -- except for various bishops like Jenkins of Durham -- but certainly you will find these changes in overall belief in Scriptural interpretation at the most profound level. (The Bible is actually being re-written -- not just re-translated.) The Ministry -- the Priesthood -- has changed to be seen as merely *a function in an institution*; the sacraments have become mere symbols and mystical helps for an "inner" psychological and "spiritual" need (instead of the objective feeding by Christ of Heavenly food) and so on.

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### The four pillars of the Church

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The four pillars of the Church are the Bible, the Creeds, the Sacraments and the Apostolic Ministry. Every one of them is under attack. All of them are being undermined. The Bible is being re-written, not re-translated: The words "Man" and "Mankind" are out -- no matter that's what the Hebrew or Greek original says. The Son of God is changed to the "Child of God" -- but far worse -- the concept of Revelation itself is denied. The Ten Commandments become the Ten Suggestions. God is referred to as "our Mother" and so on. The Creeds are simply written off as "historical documents", perhaps suitable to "the primitive patriarchal age in which they were composed", but certainly not binding on today's church! Individual parishes are now writing their own creeds. **The Sacraments -- Christ's means of giving His Risen Life to us -- have become "community meals" and the new liturgies to embody this sentimental slop -- (like adult Teddy Bears' Picnics) -- have nothing to do with the worship of Almighty God. Therefore priesthood, in the accepted meaning of Christ offering His continual Sacrifice for His people, is no longer believed. The cry is that "we have come of age" -- we're grown-up. The priest merely becomes the President of the Assembly -- the leader in a YMCA sing-along. This confusion has had a profound effect upon society. Sexual morality is down the drain -- and that's an apt description, isn't it? The Anglican Church is a basket case.**

*Is it any wonder therefore, that the pillars of British Constitutionalism are being besieged -- the Monarchy, the Christian Crosses on the Flag and the Trinitarian form of constitutional government? They will be replaced by a monolithic, centrally-controlled "hive" -- first a European model, then a western hemisphere model (the Americas) and third, an Asian conglomerate. Have you all read George Orwell's 1984? You really should. He had the picture.*

I am not, in this wide-ranging ramble, deliberately trying to paint a picture of doom and gloom. Frankly it isn't encouraging. But the modern new religion won't "work". That's the point.



Douglas told us that this is what he expected, and he also said that the new World Religion is **not based on Reality**, and therefore it must fail. But we should be aware of the processes and the reasons for the tremendous changes in society -- why you now need to lock your doors for fear of robbery and vandalism, and why you don't walk alone down town at night; the drug culture, homosexual "marriages", the AIDS plague, and so on. They all have their origin in religion. **All action stems from religious belief.** Simply this: If you are convinced that you are a child of God, deliberately created for His purpose, which is everlasting Joy; that you are really "somebody" in His eyes -- as a loving father cares for his children, then you will live and act in a way entirely different from behaviour based on the belief that the world and you happened by accident; that you are merely the end-product of a process of impersonal development, and that when you're dead -- that's it. If you believe *this* modernist creed, why *should* you be kind and thoughtful and courteous, or believe in "fair play" if life is merely the survival of the fittest?

Something else is happening, however. We were made for worship, and we are bound to worship *something* in order to satisfy our hunger; if not the Living God then perhaps we will worship ourselves, or power, or sex, or money, or sports. But that doesn't go far enough, and we see now a veritable flood of pseudo-religions: militant feminism, not just politically, but deep, dark goddess worship. Witchcraft is extensive, including sacrificial rites. Satanic cults have sprung up, into which many young people have been seduced. The "green" movement is an extreme form of nature worship called Pantheism. All the old religions are back in full swing, done up in modern dress. The most dangerous is the "New Age" Movement, because it is manifested in so many forms and is very subtle. It's like trying to pin jelly to a wall -- but make no mistake, it is into everything, and now especially is it nudging its way into the Church.

Having lost the old Christian WORLD VIEW, and being bewildered by the madness of the main-line churches, some Christians have turned to forms of fundamentalism or charismatic expression. This is essentially a turning inwards, very personal, "God and Me" with the idea of a "direct phone line to Mt. Sinai". Then, of course, we have the Televangelists, those experts in "spiritual marketing".

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### The finishing strokes to this "world view"

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Douglas said that we face a new dark age, a new barbarism, but of a sophisticated kind (which makes it worse than that which swamped the old Roman Empire 1500 years ago). He said we must prepare a solid base of people who could pass on the truth, through the coming catastrophe. We need to read up on our history and see what the Christian few -- very few -- did during those dark centuries -- yes, centuries, of barbarism. St. Augustine's *City of God* is required reading; the stories of the monks and missionaries and Christian communities, especially in Ireland and Scotland and England; find out how they did it -- spiritually, I mean, more than physically. Douglas also advised us to "ride a light horse" not to fight the enemy on the ground of his choosing -- he's got the "heavy dragoons" and we can't match them.

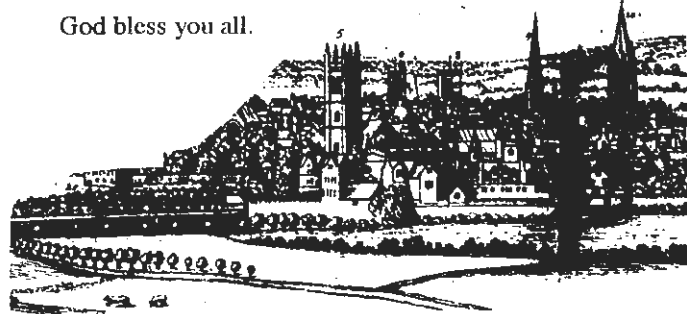
That's what we Anglican Traditionalists are trying to do. It's nothing fancy; it's "one-on-one" because the media avoids us, and small as we are, I've discovered that the liberal power-base is

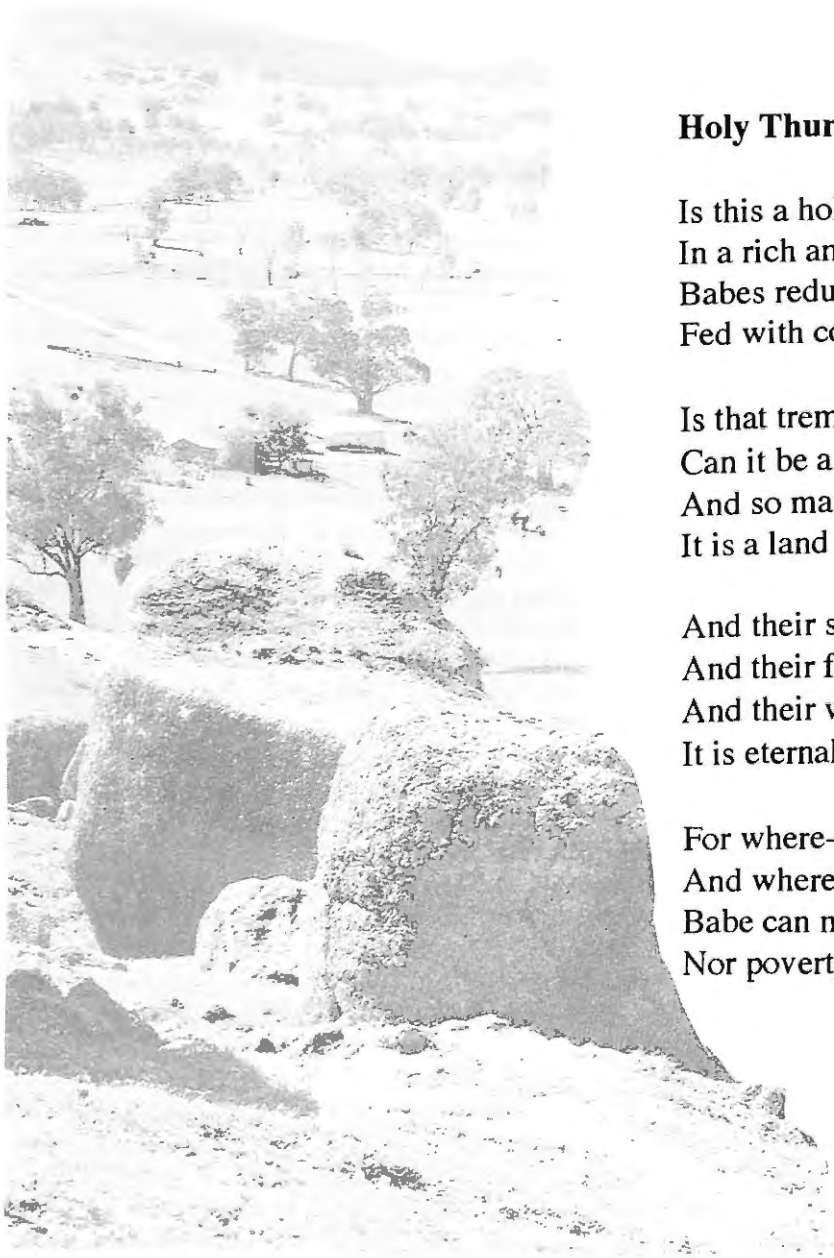
frightened of us. Amazing! In fifteen years, starting with nothing -- and I mean **nothing** -- in the teeth of opposition and nastiness from without and disturbances from within, we have now established a Traditional Anglican Communion with growing national churches in Canada, USA, Central and South America, Ireland, India and Australia. Just before I left Canada to visit Australia we had calls for help from South Africa. We don't have any money, so we can't help that way, not many buildings (though that is beginning to change) but we have an immense power -- that of centuries of Christian Life, the Power of Prayer and the Sacrificial Life of Christ. We have done and are doing nothing *new*. If you remember the Anglican Church of forty years ago, you'll find it just about the same: Prayer Book services, Sacraments offered in love and care, the Bible, the Bible, the Bible, as our textbook, and the undiluted Apostolic Ministry. A lot of us are a bunch of old crocks, but new, young blood is beginning to respond. We're a bit like Gideon's army. When Old Israel was under attack from marauding neighbours, Gideon raised up a body of 22,000 men. God said, "That's too many. If you win, you'll think you did it all yourselves by your own prowess and bravery, and you'll get swelled heads and forget me." So God kept weeding out those who were not totally dedicated, to **HIM!** By the time He had finished, He had only 300 men, out of 22,000. Gideon armed them all with torches hidden in earthenware jars, and trumpets! It's a crazy story -- I love it! They crept up on the Amalekites and the Midianites in the dark, and at Gideon's signal, they smashed their jars and made one hell of a racket with their trumpets. The enemy was thrown into utter confusion and started hacking away at each other -- and it was all over in minutes.

That's how God works: small numbers of totally dedicated people, able to accept direction, waiting upon the Lord. I am not despondent in spite of the present mess and the coming collapse. It is God's world; He is in charge, and He will act. We certainly cannot win by our own efforts -- we haven't got a hope! But the God who became Man and defeated Satan, Sin, and Death itself, not only can, but will do it, when He chooses the right time, and when He has the right people.

I leave you with a preacher's message: You can't support Christian beliefs and ethics as a philosophy and hope that you can change anything fundamental to our condition. You have to be a live, active member of the living, dynamic Son of God, and to be infused with His Grace and Power. It is not my right or duty to tell you to which branch of that Body of Christ you should belong. "Test the spirits," said St. John. If you are in a branch which has embraced the fundamental errors I have delineated, then I leave you with some advice which I call the First Law of Holes -- **if you find yourself in one, don't dig!** Don't waste your time and efforts. Make a move! Our profession, our job, is to nurture, first our own souls, and then the "right" people, and prepare them for the "right time", which God will choose. This can only be done as members of Christ's Living Body. I urge this upon you.

God bless you all.





### **Holy Thursday**

Is this a holy thing to see  
In a rich and fruitful land,  
Babes reduced to misery,  
Fed with cold and usurous hand?

Is that trembling cry a song?  
Can it be a song of joy?  
And so many children poor?  
It is a land of poverty!

And their sun does never shine,  
And their fields are bleak and bare,  
And their ways are filled with thorns:  
It is eternal winter there.

For where-e'er the sun does shine,  
And where-e'er the rain does fall,  
Babe can never hunger there,  
Nor poverty the mind appall.

William Blake  
(From *Songs of Experience*)





## No Coward Soul is Mine

No coward soul is mine,  
No trembler in the world's storm-troubled sphere:  
I see Heaven's glories shine,  
And faith shines equal, arming me from fear.

O God within my breast,  
Almighty, ever-present Deity!  
Life -- that in me has rest,  
As I -- undying Life -- have power in Thee!

Vain are the thousand creeds  
That move men's hearts: unutterably vain;  
Worthless as withered weeds,  
Or idlest froth amid the boundless main,

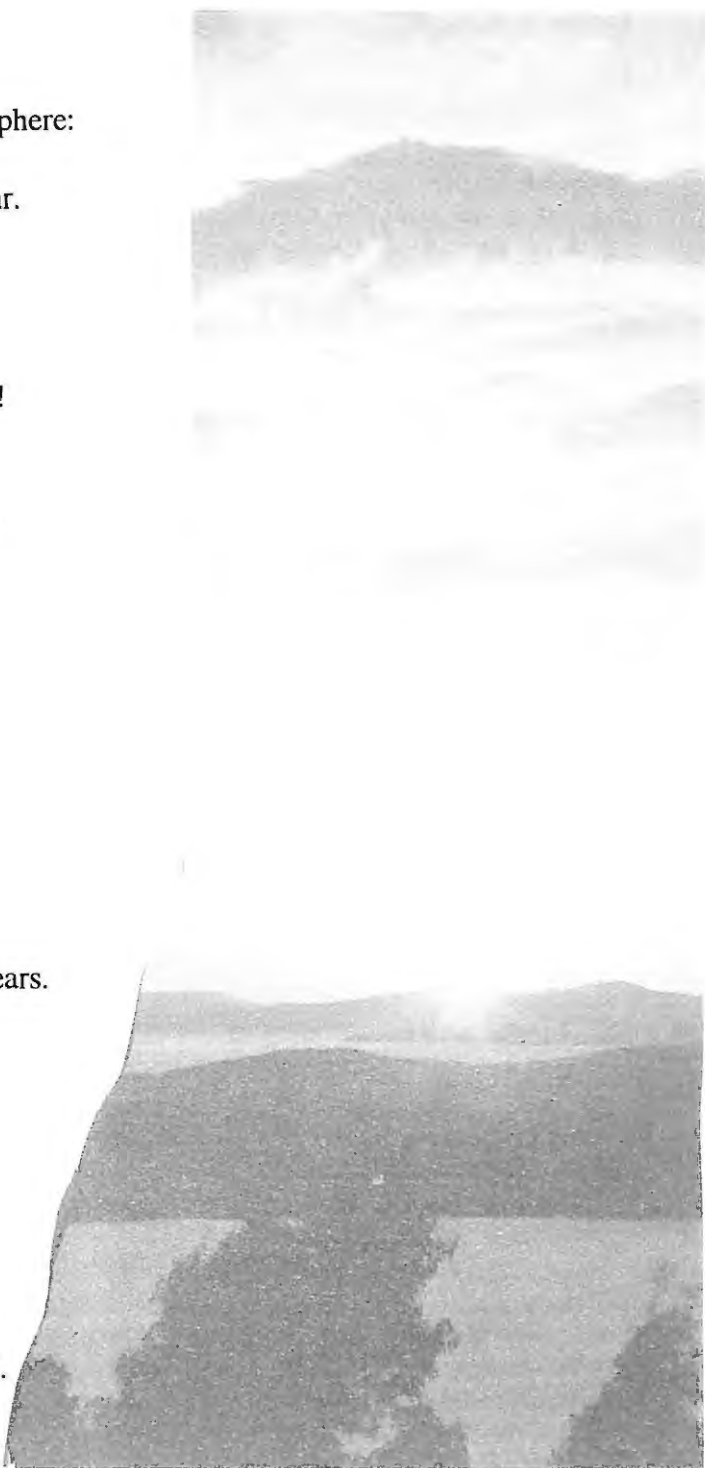
To waken doubt in one  
Holding so fast by Thine infinity;  
So surely anchored on  
The steadfast rock of immortality.

With wide-embracing love  
Thy Spirit animates eternal years,  
Pervades and broods above,  
Changes, sustains, dissolves, creates, and rears.

Though earth and man were gone,  
And suns and universes ceased to be,  
And Thou were left alone,  
Every existence would exist in Thee.

There is not room for Death,  
Nor atom that his might could render void:  
Thou -- Thou are Being and Breath,  
And what Thou art may never be destroyed.

Emily Bronte



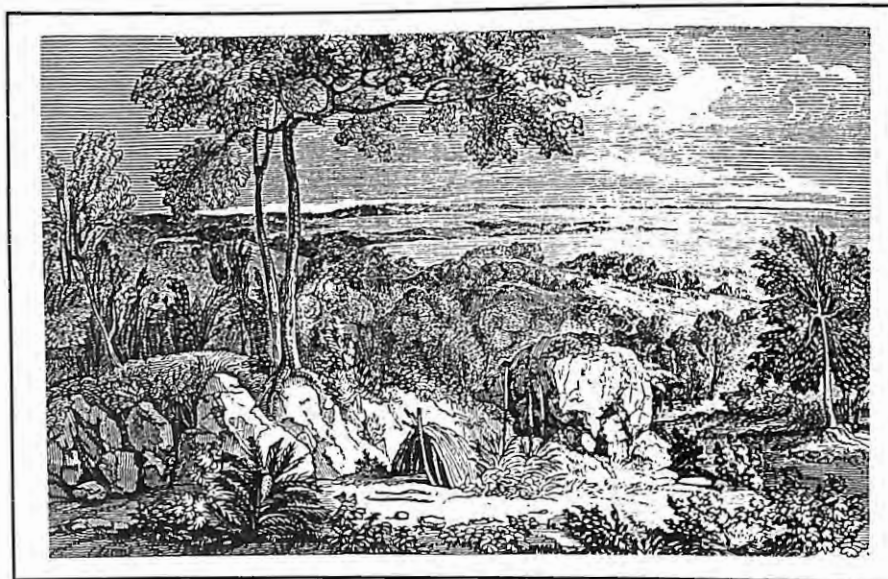


# THE CROWN and NORTH AUSTRALIA

K.T. Borrow

On 29th October, 1992, an address entitled "The Truth about the Northern Territory" was given to the Adelaide Branch of the League of Rights. The title was taken from Herbert Angus Parsons' pamphlet of that name. He and his father, Hon. John Langdon Parsons, are pre-eminent writers on the subject. The pamphlet in question, published in 1907, pp. 12-13, refers to the 3° strip, to the east of the Territory, provisionally attached to Queensland, as part of North Australia. The area represents about one-fifth of the Australian Continent. After the meeting, a member of the audience drew my attention to F.L.W. Wood's, *A Concise History of Australia*, Sydney, 1944. The Text and a series of maps purports to explain the origin of the boundaries of the Australian colonies from 1825 to 1911. As the address considered the place of the Crown in North Australia, and as the text and maps can with difficulty be reconciled with the authorities, this article has been prepared.

For many years the matter has been of interest, and as recently as 16th November, 1992, I saw fit to raise the question, with the Australian Loan Council in Canberra, of the authority of the note "Commonwealth Government Guaranteed" in the advertisements for Northern Territory Loan, No. 8, 1983, mentioning the article on the title to the Northern Territory, which I had written and which was published in the *Australian Law Journal*, Sydney, 22nd July, 1954 (pp. 148-151). In April, 1992, the Supplement to the Draft Environmental Impact Statement in regard to the Commonwealth of Australia's Department of Defence's Mount Bunday Training Area, in the same Territory, paragraph 2.4, "General Comments", refers to my submission that the Commonwealth of Australia has no jurisdiction in the Territory. In these circumstances it seems appropriate to quote the terms of the Constitution of the area which reads:



ENTRANCE OF PORT LINCOLN  
(Painted by W. Westall, A.R.A., F.L.S., for Flinders' Voyage to Terra Australis)

## HER MAJESTY'S LETTERS PATENT

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith -- To our trusty and well beloved Sir Dominick Daly, Knight, greeting: Whereas by an Act passed in the Session of Parliament holden in the fifth and sixth year of Our Reign, entitled "An Act for the Government of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land", it was enacted that it should be lawful for Us by Letters Patent, to be from time to time issued under the Great Seal of Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to define, as to Us should seem meet, the limits of the Colony of New South Wales, and to erect into a separate Colony or Colonies any territories which then were, or were reputed to be, or thereafter might be comprised within the said Colony of New South Wales; and whereas, by an Act passed the Session of Parliament holden in the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth years of Our Reign, entitled,

"An Act to remove doubts respecting the authority of the Legislature of Queensland, and to annex certain territories to the Colony of South Australia, and for other purposes", it was amongst other things provided that it should be lawful for Us, by such Letters Patent as aforesaid, to annex to any Colony which was then or which might thereafter be established on the Continent of Australia and territories which (in the exercise of the powers thereinbefore mentioned) might have been erected into a separate Colony: Provided always that it should be lawful for Us, in such Letters Patent, to reserve such powers of revoking or altering the same as to Us should seem fit, or to declare the period during which such Letters Patent should remain in force, and also on the revocation or other determination of such Letters Patent, again to exercise in respect of the territories referred to therein or any part thereof, all such powers and authority as



might have been exercised if the said Letters Patent had never been made: Now know you that We have thought fit, in pursuance of the powers so vested in Us, and of all other powers and authorities to Us in that behalf belonging to annex, and We do hereby annex to Our said Colony of South Australia until We think fit to make other disposition thereof, or any part or parts thereof, so much of Our said Colony of New South Wales as lies to the northward of the twenty-sixth parallel of south latitude, and between the one hundred and twenty-ninth and one hundred and thirty-eighth degrees of east longitude, together with the bays and gulfs therein, and all and every the islands adjacent to any part of the mainland within such limits as aforesaid, with the rights, members, and appurtenances; and We do hereby reserve to Us, Our heirs and successors, full power and authority from time to time to revoke, alter, and amend these Our Letters Patent as to Us or them shall seem fit. In witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent. Witness Ourselves at Westminster, the sixth day of July, in the twenty-seventh year of Our Reign.

By warrant under the Queen's Sign Manual.

(Signed) C. ROMILLY

[True copy. R.D. Ross, Acting Private Secretary]

As can be seen, the matter is complex. However, the words "Provisionally under the Government of South Australia", put the matter in a nutshell. The map is a detail from that in Samuel Mossmann, *Our Australian Colonies*, London, c. 1864. On 24th May, 1858, Sir Roderick Murchison had stressed to the Royal Geographical Society the high political object of founding North Australian colonies, and of England unfurling her flag on the northern shore of Australia. It is unfortunate that the South Australians thereupon forgot the circumstances of the founding of their own Province, and tried to colonize North Australia on no rational plan. B.T. Finnis, my great-grandfather, the first "Government Resident" there blamed the rampant commercial spirit for the disastrous fiasco which followed. Towards the end of the 19th century grandiose railway and mining schemes drew the South Australians' attention away from colonizing as such. The recent discovery of C. Foster Carr's typescript biography, of some 450 quarto pages, entitled *Barclay's Way*, throws light on a forgotten personality who had a great impact on the Territory. After leaving the Royal Navy he had adventures in China, and all over the world. As a surveyor he was employed by the South Australian Government in the Territory.

On page 214 there is mention of his backers: Bovril Ltd., Baroness Burdett-Coutts, Earl of Kilmorey, Lord Hamilton, Sir Ashmead Bartlett, M.P., and Price Williams. His article "Who owns the Northern Territory?" (*Life*, Melbourne, 15th July, 1907) put the cat among the pigeons. A letter of his to Sir Langdon Bonython describes how the article was read by Sir Littleton Groom. Barclay wrote:

In 1897 the writer had occasion to call the attention of the Earl of Milmorey, Lord Hamilton, Sir E. Ashmead Bartlett, M.P., Mr. Price Williams, M.I.C.E., and several other gentlemen who were largely interested in Northern Territory development projects, involving many millions expenditure, to the question of South Australia's title to deal with the Territory. The position was investigated thoroughly, during many months, at great cost, with the advantage of referring

to the Colonial Office direct, at a time when Mr. Chamberlain was Secretary of State. An extensive correspondence passed between the various persons interested, culminating in the decision that South Australia could not deal with the country, excepting with the approval and consent of the Crown: that is to say by a special Act of the Imperial Parliament. At the same time, it was made clear that this would not be likely to be withheld under reasonable conditions. The South Australian Government were fully apprised of these negotiations, in which their Agent General took part.

It would appear that Barclay may not have been aware that on 19th May, 1887, Hon. John Langdon Parsons, "Government Resident" of the Northern Territory, father of Herbert Angus Parsons, who was to become a Judge of the Supreme Court of South Australia, delivered a lecture in the Adelaide Town Hall, to a crowded audience.<sup>1</sup> The text was printed in pamphlet form as *The Northern Territory, with a Glance at the East*. Pointing out that South Australia did not in fact possess the fee-simple of the area, as stated to Barclay, because of the Crown's power of revocation of the 1863 Letters Patent, he went on to say: "But everyone should understand that while South Australia has a good holding title,<sup>2</sup> she does not possess a selling title." At the conclusion, the speaker was thanked by the Governor of South Australia, who remarked that it was one of the most interesting lectures he had ever heard, at which the audience cheered. A few years later, on 6th February, 1890, Alfred Deakin of Victoria, showed that he had his eyes on the Territory, and he spoke of colonies yet to be carved out of the unoccupied territory of Australia, which he thought could be governed better by a Federal Parliament, yet to be established. No doubt he was to notice *The Handy Guide to Australasia* (London, 1891, p. 212) which stated that the Territory was "provisionally annexed by royal letters patent ... 1863".

While it is hard to see the necessity of any doubt, on 30th October, 1895, A. Carroll, who was interested in building the North-South Railway, possibly associated with Barclay, enquired of the Colonial Office as to the Territory's title. In 1897, Hon. I.A. Isaacs at the Federal Convention in Sydney asked V.L. Solomon whether the Territory was part of South Australia. The reply was evasive. However, W. O'Neill, c. 1899, in his *Economic Evolution of the Northern Territory*, wrote bluntly of "the very precarious tenure under which it is held by the South Australian Government". By 1901 Quick and Garran's *The Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth* (pp. 126 and 354) suggested that the Queen might detach the Territory from South Australia. On 5th June, 1901, Sir Langdon Bonython, at the opening of the first Federal Parliament, directed four questions as to the provisional title, Imperial veto of Federal legislation as to the Northern Territory, no doubt hoping to bring the matter to a head, but answer there was none.

On 4th July, 1901, not long after, the ever-persistent Hon. John Langdon Parsons addressed the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (South Australian Branch) on the subject. He was of the opinion, very rightly, that "the nature of South Australia's tenure as well as respect for the reserved rights of the Crown, required that the State Government should have first communicated its wishes and intentions to the Imperial Government". On that date Hon. John Greely Jenkins, born in the U.S.A., was Premier. Parsons continued that it was indisputable "therefore,

that South Australia never had, nor has it other than a provisional title to the Northern Territory". Many would have taken this statement as concluding the question. However, on 31st July, 1901, Alfred Deakin, as Attorney-General of the Commonwealth of Australia gave an official opinion that the Northern Territory "is part of the State of South Australia",<sup>3</sup> words which, as mentioned later, may lead to grave disputes.

At this stage, on 9th February, 1904, the New South Wales Government saw fit to issue a *Statement Illustrated by Diagrams shewing the Subdivision of Australia into Separate Colonies between 1787 and 1863*. Page 6 refers to the Letters Patent, dated 13th March, 1862, as to the provisional annexation to Queensland of the 3° strip to the east of the Northern Territory. On 7th December, 1905, the South Australian House of Assembly proposed to enquire of the Commonwealth of Australia whether it would seek the approval of the Imperial Parliament, and build the North-South Railway. Having failed in its attempt to colonize without a proper title, South Australia was in no position to put any pressure on the Commonwealth of Australia. The latter's views are indicated by Isaac A. Isaac's opinion as Federal Attorney-General that Melville Island was part of South Australia! Deakin reached London on 8th April, 1907, to attend the Imperial Conference, leaving again on 20th May, 1907. There is nothing to suggest that his views on the Northern Territory, if stated, were accepted by the Colonial Office. Shortly afterwards, on 15th July, 1907, Capt. Barclay's article "Who owns the Northern Territory?" appeared in *Life*, Melbourne. The sequel did not appear as announced. No doubt there were disputes behind the scenes. In August, 1907, J.C. Watson's article "Our Empty North. An Unguarded Castle" appeared in the *Lone Hand* (pp. 420-6).

On 22nd July, 1909, R.R. Garran, as Attorney-General of the Commonwealth of Australia gave his official opinion that the Northern Territory of Australia was "part of the State of South Australia", and could, accordingly, be surrendered by South Australia pursuant to Section 111 of the Federal Constitution, without the Queen's consent. For some reason, on 26th August, 1909, the New South Wales Government issued another *Statement Illustrated by Diagrams*, published in 1910. Similar maps appear in the early Year Books of the Commonwealth of Australia. *The Commonwealth of Australia* by B.R. Wise (London, 1901) contained a map of South Australia extending to the Arafura Sea.

On 20th October, 1910, the *Bulletin*, Sydney (p. 6) contained an article "More About the Parish Pump Railway", mentioning Queensland's "wholly unreliable title" to the 3° strip, mentioned above. The text of the 1863 Letters Patent, the



Young Queen Victoria

Constitution of the Northern Territory of Australia, is in *Statutory Rules & Orders and Statutory Instruments, Revised to December 31st, 1948* (London, H.M.S.O., Vol. II, pp. 1057-8). It is evident that the two Angas Parsons defeated Deakin and Garran, both legally and morally. In any event, the two statutes purporting to effect the surrender do not come into effect until all necessary Imperial legislation is passed. This has not occurred. No doubt this fifth of the Australian Continent will have its fate decided when one of the "boat people" raise the question of the title. From the above it is obvious that the Federal statute "Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act, 1976 is invalid.

1. John Langdon Parsons' portrait, from the *Observer*, 29th August, 1903, p. 25, is reproduced in *South Australiana*, March, 1977.
2. Travers Borrow, *Lieutenant-Colonel George Gawler, K.H.*, Adelaide, 1955, p. 23, n. 10; K.T. Borrow, *Prince Albert Land*, Adelaide, 1961, and *South Australiana*, March, 1963, pp. 27-30.
3. Query whether South Australian statutes passed after 1863 could apply to the Northern Territory, cf. *R., v. W.P. Auld, S.A. P.P.*, 22/1867, p. 17.

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# PROFESSOR ROGER SCOTT, DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF EDUCATION, IN THE GOSS GOVERNMENT

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Dan O'Donnell

Way back in 1978, a highly-influential study of politics, education and government in Queensland identified Joh Bjelke-Petersen, Premier of Queensland, as a "crazy", and all who criticised current "progressive" and innovative education as "crazy reactionaries". This university text, entitled *Fundamentals and Fundamentalists*, was widely acclaimed throughout the nation, its status as the "true and authorised" orthodoxy deriving from its source: the erudite Faculty of Government at the University of Queensland. The author was Professor Roger Scott, then J.D. Story Professor of Government, assisted by his wife, then known as Ann Gowers. Twelve years later, in 1990, Scott's prodigious knowledge of education led to his appointment as Director-General, the most powerful figure in education in Queensland. Today it is instructive to look back at his earlier views on education and politics, and to speculate on the relationship between his virulent anti-Joh stance of 1977-78 and his recent appointment. What is clear is that unless his views of that earlier period have undergone radical transformation, his fundamental philosophy of education may be seriously out of kilter with a substantial portion of the Queensland electorate.

Throughout *Fundamentals and Fundamentalists* there is a pervasive "Deep North" theme, with Queensland depicted as darkly different from the rest of Australia, and Queenslanders themselves bogged down in rustic and unsophisticated backwardness. Witness the explanation of the furor in Queensland at the now-discredited social science course MACOS (Man - A Course of Study), and the exorbitantly-costly social-education materials project (known as SEMP) which actually quietly disappeared from the classrooms of Australia as a consequence of the initiatives taken in Queensland:

In a society which is abnormally conservative, as we believe Queensland to be, this concern could manifest itself in interest group activity of a populist kind not seen in more urbanised societies. This sparked a response of direct, unequivocal action by a Premier who had established such a strong personal following that he could afford to behave in a way which offended the established bureaucrats and 'liberal' opinion leaders. (p. 80)

The same theme, indeed identical phraseology, dominates two subsequent books by Professor Scott and his wife, *Interest Groups and Public Policy* (1980) and *Reform and Reaction in the Deep North* (1980). [See pp. 88-9 of the former, and p. 148 of the latter.] Underlying the basic thesis that education in Queensland was controlled and dominated by ill-educated, oafish hicks was the clear message that until the dominant National Party was supplanted by a more enlightened regime, there was little chance of the wonderfully beneficial advantages of "progressive" education ever being introduced into Queensland schools. Are Queenslanders different? The two Scotts appeared to have no doubts back in 1978, identifying themselves as "recently arrived from another planet (Canberra) and before that from another universe (Belfast)" (*Fundamentals and Fundamentalists*, p. 73).

Two years later, in another influential study entitled *An Educational Backwater*, they claimed to have discovered a politico-cultural border segregating Queensland from the rest of Australia. More important than any geographic barrier, this politico-cultural border made Queensland "peculiar compared with the rest of Australia", the rural conservative constituents being motivated by values and aspirations which were out of character with opinions in the rest of the nation. Proof for this epochal discovery lay in the success of "small but well-organised interest groups" able to reach and influence the "dominant political elite". In *Reform and Reaction in the Deep North*, this dis-

covery of a politico-cultural Iron Curtain was repeated:

There is a politico-cultural border which shuts off Queensland more firmly than either water or lack of it. (p.1)

In *Interest Groups and Public Policy*, edited by Roger Scott, Ann Scott suggested that the banning of MACOS and SEMP was simply

the sort of aberration typical of the dark, unreconstructed north, bearing no relevance to the habits and patterns of thought of the rest of Australia. (p. 144)

The assiduous propagation of the image of Queensland as an "educational backwater", reiterated in *Reform and Reaction*, raises its own questions about the ultimate influence of the Scotts on the subsequent political history of Queensland. Did the "Joh-must-go" movement actually originate in the early works of these two perspicacious, albeit "instant", authorities on Queensland politics and education? It is beyond dispute that their well-publicised contributions to educational issues had enormous influence in ultimately undermining the entrenched National Party government, and white-anting the widespread respect for its leader. The message of the two academics was perfectly clear in virtually all they wrote: The Nats simply had to go, and the way to do that was by getting rid of Joh. In *An Educational Backwater*, the message is articulated with telling effect:

For as long as Queensland is governed by the present coalition and a Premier with such firm moralistic views, the forces resisting 'progressive' education are likely to continue to exert a significant impact on the decision-making processes of the education system.

While neither of the two "instant experts" had first-hand contact with Queensland schools, they were able to call upon vicarious experience in other realms of educational and political life in order to pass judgement and prescribe solutions for the Queensland condition. In *Reform and Reaction*, they explained:

For the present authors, however, their experience of conservatism, bigotry and rabid parochialism has not been wholly irrelevant to the interpretation of events in Queensland. (p. 2)

In an essay to *Semper* in July 1978, Professor Scott purported to see clear parallels between Brisbane under Sir Joh, and Soweto, Alabama and Belfast: for him, the State's street-march legislation and the axing of MACOS and SEMP provided sufficient evidence of a link with these brutal regimes and regimens



overseas. It was apparently not considered relevant to mention that many, perhaps all, of these arch-conservatives of the backblocks whom Professor Scott despised so much, felt repugnance for all governments able to countenance such inhumanity and barbarism. In other essays, Joh was likened to Ian Paisley and George Wallace ["to name two other figures from what some writers have demeaned as the lunatic fringe" (*Fundamentals and Fundamentalists*, p. 78)] and Huey Long of America's Deep South. According to Scott, Joh's intervention to axe the diseased education packages MACOS and SEMP "led to observers from other states treating Petersen as a joke in rather poor taste" (*Reform and Reaction*, p. 20). What the Professor has never explained to his readers is that regardless of the shortcomings of the Bjelke-Petersen Government in 1977-78, its decision to axe MACOS and SEMP has been amply vindicated by subsequent events in all other States. Both packages have been relegated to well-deserved oblivion.

The ugly scenes in Brisbane between supporters of MACOS and SEMP and those whom the Scotts have designated "reactionaries" or "fundamentalists" are well documented in press and television records. So too is the stance of the Scotts on fundamental issues such as moral education. A critical component of the SEMP experience devolved about the educational merits of allowing all pupils in our schools to work out for themselves their own unique philosophies of right and wrong.

The Curriculum Development Centre, which sponsored the materials was explicit on the point, declaring unequivocally that traditional approaches to moral education such as setting an example, moral suasion, inspiring, persuading, appealing to conscience, and the fostering of religious and cultural principles:

have not and cannot lead to values in the sense that we are concerned with them -- values that represent the free and thoughtful choices of intelligent humans interacting with complex and changing environments. (*To Start You Talking*, p. 8)

The credo lay at the very heart of the whole controversy, turning topsy-turvy the ancient practice of inculcating in children standards of behaviour not only desirable for harmonious living in society but essential for the very survival of ordered society. There is nothing radical or fundamentalist or reactionary about such practices which have been observed by thinking and responsible people throughout the ages. For the Curriculum Development Centre, however, our schools and our teachers were unable to teach good manners, good citizenship, honesty, trustworthiness, integrity, indeed fundamental decency. In their words:

Direct teaching of concepts is impossible and fruitless. A teacher who tries to do this usually accomplishes nothing but empty verbalism, a parrot-like repetition of words by the child, simulating a knowledge of the corresponding concepts but actually covering up a vacuum. (*Hassles*, p. 6)

In all of this new social engineering, teachers were exhorted that their roles were to be morally and ethically neutral, allowing each child to "clarify" his own moral code. In both the Teacher's Handbook and elsewhere it was emphasised that there was no one single correct code of human behaviour. There were no absolutes, no well-established rules for living. Each individual had to clarify his own personal values and act upon these since all values were equal. Professor Scott's own view was articulated in a public lecture at Queensland University at the height of the MACOS-SEMP controversy on 9th March, 1978. "Education systems

were becoming battlegrounds," he asserted, "with organised groups trying to implant their own ideas and remove doctrines they found offensive."

Premier Joh was clearly his major target. "The Premier appears to assume that there is a single set of attitudes acceptable to the total community," Professor Scott declared. Poor Joh, it seems, could do nothing right. In May 1985 when Sir James Ramsay and Sir Joh were to receive honorary doctorates at the University of Queensland, hooligans smashed a plate glass window in protest and spat on the Governor. Professor Scott, then Deputy President of the Academic Board (President the next year) denied that there was any university involvement in the ugly scenes. It had all been the fault of some imported "bovver boys" who had acted as *agents provocateurs*, he explained, adding that in any case it had all been "relatively unviolent".

Has Professor Robert Scott been rewarded by the Labor Party for services rendered? I sincerely hope that the Goss Government has chosen the right man for the most important position in Queensland education.

(Former Lecturer in Education)

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(Contd. from p. 3)

5. David Sanger, "Finally, Prince Finds a Bride: A Harvard Woman", *The New York Times*, January 12, 1993.
6. T.R. Reid, "Japan's Press Breaks Silence With a Bang", *The Washington Post*, January 7, 1993.
7. John Darnton, "British Panel Says Press Must Be Tightly Reined", *The New York Times*, January 12, 1993.
8. Canon Michael Seward, quoted by Alexander MacLeod, "Rift Threatens Monarchy, Prompts Calls for Reform", *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 18, 1992.
9. A recent poll (Roger Rosenblatt, "Hollywood's New Villains", *The New York Times*, January 11, 1993) ranked journalists as the second most despised profession in America. First on the list were members of Congress.
10. Eugene Robinson, "Charles and Di's Full-Press Court", *The Washington Post*, January 13, 1993.
11. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, Third Edition, 1992. Senator Kennedy is quoted under the entry for "spin control".



## PRINCE MICHEL STURDZA'S *THE SUICIDE OF EUROPE* (Part 3)

Nigel Jackson

### Other Themes

Sturdza provides profound insights into the set of events that culminated in World War II; and his study makes fascinating reading alongside David Hoggan's masterpiece, *The Forced War*.

For example, Sturdza points to the importance of King Alexander of Yugoslavia, who around 1930 offered Rumania first class artillery to aid in the containment of Communism. (46-47) This resolute and heroic European was murdered on 9 October, 1934, as the result of the cancellation of the appropriate security measures for the monarch's protection in Marseilles by the French Minister of the Interior, Albert Sarraut. This gentleman was later responsible as Prime Minister of France for the ratification of the Franco-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance. (Sturdza claims that, according to most reliable witnesses, Sarraut did not know at the time that Germany and the Soviet Union had no common frontier, only learning this when Hitler's troops reoccupied the Rhineland.) "The ostracism of the Soviets from European political life had been for the Yugoslav King not only a political necessity but also an inescapable moral obligation. ... The purpose of King Alexander's visit to Paris was to declare, openly and firmly, Yugoslavia's opposition to any further steps in a political process which, in his opinion, would lead unavoidably to a new European war. ... At the moment of his assassination King Alexander was, therefore, the greatest obstacle to the Barthou-Titulescu-Benes policy ... of the encirclement of Germany." (64-66; 320)

Sturdza explains that much of the diplomatic manoeuvring in Europe between the two world wars was the result of Soviet foreign policy. USSR directives between 1918 and 1939 reveal that there were two cardinal positions: (1) There could not be a more favourable climate for the cause of world revolution than a war between bourgeois countries. (2) The Soviets must always fall in line with the nation which, without Soviet assistance, would feel unable to resort eventually to arms. Thus the Soviet needed to thwart the four-power pact between Britain, France, Germany and Italy, which was proposed by Mussolini, openly favoured by Britain and Germany and ratified by the British House of Commons. (47-49; 81) Hence the prodigious efforts made to obtain a Franco-Soviet alliance, with Czech and Rumanian friendship. "The forces in France that opposed a new Franco-Russian alliance argued very naturally the incompatibility of such an alliance with the interests of Poland and Rumania -- France's principal allies on the continent. ... Poland was asked (by a leftist France) to start discussing with the Soviets the terms of a non-aggression pact. Marshal Pilsudski accepted reluctantly ... but with the condition *sine qua non* that the Soviets should first come to a similar agreement with Rumania." (49) No doubt he did not bank on the treachery that was to occur within Rumania; nor did he foresee the errors of Polish leadership that would follow his untimely death and which are meticulously analysed by Hoggan in *The Forced War*.

The key figure in the Rumanian corruption was Nicolae Titulescu, a Dantonesque figure and "the man who, with Eduard

Benes, was the most instrumental factor in helping Lenin's dream of 'the mad adventure' come true in Europe". He was described by Henri Prost in *Destin de la Roumanie 1918-1954* (Paris, 1954), a book with which Sturdza often strongly disagrees, as "a very strange person ... (having) a Mongoloid mask, a hairless face, a body with awkward rotundities abnormal in a man ... (possessing) a feminine temperament ... and being a tragic and fantastic apparition". (58) Elsewhere Sturdza describes him as "Rumania's Ambassador-at-Large -- the fair-haired boss of the League of Nations and a high-priced international 'call girl'". (51) He also saw him as rapacious, extravagant, corrupt and corrupting. "Titulescu's enigma was only part of a greater mystery. (Why were) all the leaders of a country, unanimously conscious of the danger represented by Soviet Russia's proximity and intentions ... blind to that danger and deaf to all warnings, until the moment that Soviet troops invaded our territory?" (59)

In autumn 1935 Titulescu tried to buy Sturdza off, by proposing to transfer him from the Rumanian legation to Latvia/Estonia to the legation in Venezuela, with suitably enticing "travel expenses". Victor Cadere, another Rumanian diplomat who had denounced the dangers of Titulescu's plans, was likewise to be transferred from Warsaw to Rio de Janeiro. Both men insisted on remaining in Europe to try to save their country. (63)

Sturdza explains clearly why the Titulescu policy, perpetuated after his dismissal by others, including Calinescu, was treasonous to Rumania. "(1) The danger for Rumania and for Europe was not Germany but Soviet Russia. (2) Against this danger we could not count upon the assistance of those powers that had saved the Bolshevik Revolution; that had done everything in their power to save the regime of Bela Kun in Hungary and a Communist regime in Spain; that delivered Kolchak, Kutieпов and Miller to the Soviets (Kutieпов was the recognized chief of the Russian anti-communist refugee organizations; Miller was his successor; each was kidnapped in France in late 1937 and handed over to the USSR); that had helped Soviet Russia build her military establishment; that had requested and received a military alliance with Soviet Russia; and that had introduced Russia into the League of Nations in Germany's place. (3) The Little Entente and the Balkan alliance did not represent any guarantee for Rumania. ... We did not need Czechoslovakia to defend us against Hungary, nor did we need Turkey or Greece to defend us against Bulgaria. ... (5) There was only one power in the world that could have defended us, and defended Europe, against the Soviet and the Communist menace, and this was Germany, restored to her prewar political and military status." (127-128)

The way in which powerful international interests can ruin the life of a small nation for their own purposes is graphically shown by Sturdza: "The idea of a Franco-Soviet military alliance, the alliance that eventually was to put the spark to the powder magazine, could not have been sold even to the leftist French legislators except for the promise of a practicable possibility of bringing Red troops into geographic contact with Germany without these troops having to fight their way across the territory of France's allies; such an attempt would have immediately brought

Poland and the Baltic States on to Germany's side in the event of a European conflagration. Only Rumania could provide the pro-Soviet conspiracy with such a right-of-way; since this could not be done with the consent of the Rumanian people, it had to be arranged secretly and by stealth. There was ... a pro-Soviet international conspiracy that extended to the other side of the Atlantic. Its chief purpose ... was to divert upon the Western Powers the thunder with which Germany intended to strike Soviet Russia ... (in order) to save International Communism." (68-69) Germany's daring decision to re-occupy the Rhineland was the riposte to this policy of encirclement. (72)

Sturdza pays a tribute to the British leaders who sought to prevent war, including "the Prince of Wales, who had organized the contacts between the British and former German combatants, and who later had to pay with the Crown for his candid statement to Stanley Baldwin: 'As long as I am here, there will be no war.'" (81) By contrast, he deplores the renegade activity of Churchill in opposing the four-power pact of Britain, France, Germany and Italy. "For years he had been the most eloquent and persuasive champion in the struggle against Communism, against the "Nameless Beast", as he called it in his thundering book, *The Aftermath (The World Crisis 1918-1928: The Aftermath*, London, Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 1929)." In that book Churchill had written: "An apparition different from everything that had been seen on earth until then, had taken the place of Russia ... a state without nation, an army without country, a religion without God ... born by revolution and nourished by terror ... (whose government) had declared that between it and society no good faith could exist in public and private relations, no understanding had to be respected. ... It is the duty of the civilized world to reconquer Russia. The Soviets do not represent Russia; they represent an international concept entirely foreign and even hostile to what we call civilization." (82) Yet, comments Sturdza, "In schizophrenic contradiction to all his former, so strongly expressed convictions, Churchill, shortly after Hitler came to power, suddenly moved from the anti-Communist camp to become the irreconcilable enemy of that same Germany he once wanted to send against the Soviets in 1919-1922." (82)

Sturdza argues that Eden followed fanatically the same anti-German policy. "His trip to Warsaw and Moscow in March 1935 had exactly the same scope as those of the defunct Jean Barthou: the organizing of Germany's encirclement." (82)

Codreanu's death greatly added to the anti-German alliance. Sturdza sees two initiatives of Hitler's as a direct result: "(1) The occupation of Czechoslovakia, which put his motorized divisions within twenty-four hours of Rumania's oilfields and within thirty of the Danube delta. (2) A bold political decision meant to explode the Franco-Czecho-Soviet alliance -- he would negotiate an understanding and an economic arrangement with Soviet Russia." (123)

In his 1943 book *La Bête sans Nom* Sturdza gave his conclusions as to why World War II occurred. His position is largely in concord with that of Hoggan in *The Forced War*. "(1) The Corridor and Danzig had been only pretexts. Poland had been knowingly pushed -- by the phoney guarantees of Great Britain and France, by the most unrealizable promises, and by the most deceptive tricks -- into a war from which the responsible cliques in London, Washington and Paris knew very well she could not emerge alive and free. (2) The British Government, which had suddenly taken the direction of those opposed to the Munich settlement, had been backed throughout all of its activities by the

Washington Government or, more accurately, by the dark and grim coterie surrounding the incapacitated President, a coterie firmly determined not to lose what was perhaps its last opportunity to provoke war against Germany and to save, thereby, Soviet Russia and Communism from almost certain annihilation. (3) The British Government and its ambassadors in Berlin and Warsaw -- obviously under instructions -- had done everything possible to encourage Poland not to accept the moderate German proposal of 24 October, 1938 and to ignore completely the very acceptable conditions offered by Ribbentrop in the last phase of the dispute. ... Germany was offering Poland an arrangement that was the only true guarantee of Polish national survival." (137-138)

Sturdza also deplores the Canaris conspiracy, "the greatest spy ring and traitors known to the military history of any country". (162) He records a significant conversation he himself had with Canaris. "With the treatment inflicted on the Russian population by the German forces and Italy's foolish expedition against Greece, it had been one of the three principal factors that saved the Communist world from utter destruction at the hands of the German Army." (161) Sturdza records that it was still in 1968 an unanswered question as to why Himmler and his security department were not able to discover the Canaris treason in time. It "threw the German Command into the pitfall of an unexpected winter campaign without adequate preparation." (190)

It will be apparent that Sturdza's work, like that of Hoggan, tends to undermine the stereotyped picture of the causes and progress of World War II which is so widely disseminated at the present time by the media and schools. That something was seriously wrong with the Allied victors is indicated by a wealth of detail now available, to which Sturdza adds this item: "When Keitel and Jodl were murdered in Nurnberg as a punishment for their patriotism and their fidelity, their ashes were thrown into a dustbin -- as *Time Magazine* reported with relish -- by a French general, carried by him and three other generals, representing the four victorious armies, to a mountain inn, and thrown into the privy." (191)

Sturdza makes a profound indictment of the Western democracies. "The Free World is dying of a lie, of the most unforgivable sin according to our Christian creed: the sin against the spirit -- to know the truth but to ignore it; to know the creeping, deadly universal advance of the Nameless Beast and to deny its existence ... the principal auxiliary of Communism's triumph ... is treacherously organized misinformation, directed and co-ordinated from some mysterious headquarters through many hidden or notorious channels, the principal visible vehicle of which is the so-called free press. ... The universal coverage, the parallelism, the visible discipline of the campaigns of lies, slander and silence, do not leave any doubt about the existence of a central directing factor." (191)

Sturdza is wary of entering a judgement on the enigmatic figure of Adolf Hitler. However, he records his thoughts as he walked through pulverized Berlin on 28 August, 1944 and contemplated "the loving care with which Hitler had started its embellishment and ... his remarkable offer to reconstruct, at Germany's expense and according to foreign governments' wishes, all the embassies and legations, relocating them in a special residential district. That project, by the beginning of the war, had already reached substantial realization. ... How conflicting this was with Hitler's alleged premeditated aggressive intentions against the Western powers!" (256)



He also comments on the significance of the German war effort. "The murderers of the last of Russia's Czars and of more than twenty million of his subjects had been entrusted with the undermining and destruction of all that three thousand years of pre-Christian and Christian Civilization had bestowed on the world. From the appearance of the diabolical Communist entity up to the beginning of the Eastern War in 1941, and from the end of this war until now (1968), no government, no head of state, no statesman had made it his purpose and his duty to defend at whatever price this ... legacy against the enterprises of the Beast. Germany alone undertook it, accepting the terrible risks implied in this attempt." (270)

Sturdza concedes that he has been horrified "by the atrocities attributed to certain groups of the National Socialist organization", but he points out that they were only brought to public cognizance, even in Germany, after the end of the war; and he asserts that "6.5 million" is a "fanciful figure". However, he then sets against the German debit the following debits of the Allies: (1) Stalin's admitted liquidation of 10 million peasants; (2) Molotov's admitted liquidation of 20 million bourgeois; (3) The handing over by Roosevelt and Churchill at Teheran and Yalta to that same Stalin and Molotov and to their Kremlin gang of murderers and tormentors of 120 million Europeans. "They did this at the very time when, to their knowledge and with their tacit approbation, the Kremlin was inaugurating a new cycle of slaughters and massive deportations corresponding more than anything else in modern times to the definition of 'genocide'." (4) President Truman's dropping of atomic bombs on Japan,

despite the fact that that nation had been seeking peace for two months, killing or maiming more than 200,000; (5) The bombardment of Dresden, leaving 250,000 dead, including large numbers of women, children and other non-combatants; (6) Truman's handing over to Communism of the whole of China, a quarter of the Earth's population; (7) The forced repatriation of tens of thousands of Russian and East European refugees; (8) American indifference to the barbarous repression of the 1956 Hungarian

insurrection by Kruschev's Mongolian divisions; (9) The saturnalia of massacred civilians and the uprooting of entire populations that followed the Allied victory; and (10) The exhaustive massacre of Mussolini's soldiers and Black Shirts by advancing Allied armies. Sturdza also points out that many of the German casualties in the camps occurred because of starvation provoked by blockades and bombings. There are other Allied atrocities that he could have mentioned. (279-287)

#### Envoi



*The author, Prince Michel Sturdza, as a captain in the Rumanian Army*

The saddest moment in Sturdza's book is his account of his departure from his native land into Bulgaria as a fugitive in 1941. He crossed the Danube into Bulgaria with a fellow Legionary, en route for Rusciuc. "The sun was setting; through the light evening mist that drifted along the river we threw a last longing look toward our beloved country, which neither he nor I have seen again." (228)

*The Suicide of Europe* concentrates largely on the period 1917 to 1947. Sturdza wrote a sequel, *Betrayal by Rulers* (Western Islands, 1976), which concentrates largely on the period 1943 to 1973. The timelines alone of these two books would make a valuable booklet of over 70 pages and constitute an invaluable reference for patriots of many countries.

Prince Michel Sturdza emerges from his writings as a

knightly Christian gentleman of extraordinary clarity of mind, honesty and determination to witness to the truth. At times his enthusiasms and affections no doubt have caused him to exaggerate or to err. Australians will be faithful to his memory if they strive unremittingly to ensure the continuation of their open society with its traditional intellectual freedoms; and in the long run his noble service to European civilization is likely to be widely recognized.

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# OUR UNWRITTEN CONSTITUTIONAL HERITAGE

David Mitchell

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**The Australian Constitution is not written in the way that the Constitution of the United States or Switzerland is written. It is often said that Australia has a written Constitution, and while this is true, it is only part of the truth.**

The Law of England, as we know it, commenced with Alfred the Great. He was great because he established a system of law based on the Ten Commandments and the Scriptures. The law that was to be declared by the courts was to be drawn from the Ten Commandments and the Scriptures. Thus, as the courts made a judgement declaratory of the law, so, in the ordinary course, that judgement would be followed in subsequent cases. Thus arose a system of precedent; as many cases came to be heard, so there came to be many precedents.

## Blackstone's Commentaries

In 1775 an English jurist named William Blackstone wrote what is known as Blackstone's *Commentaries*, on the Law of England. In those Commentaries he set down in clear form what was the law of England at that time.

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**The Monarch would ordinarily act on the advice of Parliament, unless the advice of the Parliament was contrary to the will of the People, or contrary to the Law of the Scriptures, and the Courts were to declare what the Law of the Scriptures was, and the Courts were to interpret the Acts of Parliament, and to adjudicate disputes between the people.**

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The Constitution, as Blackstone explained it, was along this line -- Samuel Rutherford had already, in 1644, made it quite clear that the Monarch was not supreme -- the Monarch was subject to the Law and had a responsibility to represent and protect the people. Blackstone showed that the Parliament was intended to advise the Monarch. The Monarch would ordinarily act on the advice of Parliament, unless the advice of the Parliament was contrary to the will of the People, or contrary to the Law of the Scriptures, and the Courts were to declare what the Law of the Scriptures was, and the Courts were to interpret the Acts of Parliament, and to adjudicate disputes between the people.

## System of checks and balances

Thus, to use Blackstone's words, there was a system of checks and balances; checks and balances protecting the interests of the people. Parliament checked the actions of the Monarch, the Monarch controlled the actions of Parliament and the Courts interpreted and expressed the Law. The Monarch had responsibility to enforce the judgements of the Courts.

## A different view of what "Law" is

It is true of course that Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and Austin (1790-1859) made comments on the law as it then stood. They commented on Blackstone's view. (It wasn't just Blackstone's view; Blackstone was merely a faithful recorder of the Law of England.)

Bentham and Austin took a quite different view of what law is. They said that the purpose of law is to ensure the happiness of the people and that the source of law is the will of the sovereign. *They distinguished between the laws of God and the laws of men.* Austin said that only laws of men could be properly called laws. He said that judges do not declare law, they make it.

Now, Austin had not only studied under Bentham but had also been to Germany, where he observed and learnt of the Roman law system. The Roman law system is quite different from the English Common Law. It is not derived from the concept that God is supreme and has spoken through the Scriptures. Indeed, the Roman law system was the idea that the State made the Law; that the government was supreme. I suppose, putting it another way, the theory could be that the government is right.

## The Glorious bloodless Revolution

Blackstone was aware of the Glorious Revolution, the bloodless revolution in 1688 when the King was not representing the will of the people and was replaced by another who would. He was aware of the Bill of Rights of 1689 which makes provision for the removal of a monarch who does not represent the will of the people and does not give them proper protection. He was aware of the Magna Carta which was one of the basic constitutional documents of England.

It is not that England does not have a Constitution, the Constitution is there firmly entrenched and the theory of the Constitution is that the people are protected by it. It was *this* Constitution that Blackstone was reflecting.

## Our settlers took Law of England with them

Now, *the principle of British settlement was that settlers would take with them, the Law of England, and, the Law of England at the date of settlement.* THAT they brought with them wherever they went -- unless there was a system of law in the country that they accepted as being a civilized system of law. In the case of Australia, the first settlement in New South Wales was in 1788, that is, *just 100 years after the Glorious Revolution, and not long after Blackstone was writing.*

Thus, in the ordinary course of events, the Law (of England), at least for New South Wales, would have been the law on that date, 26th January 1788. But, the Parliament of the United Kingdom, the British Parliament, as they are entitled to, declared another date for reception of English law. They declared the date of **25th July, 1828** and that is the date that is applicable to Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania.

## From date of settlement Australia had Constitution

What this means is that no laws that came into existence in England after 25th July, 1828 were part of the law of the four

States or Colonies as they then were, unless those Acts of Parliament in England specifically applied to the Colonies. Thus, Australia received the British Constitution as it stood on 25th July, 1828; that was, as Blackstone had explained it. For South Australia, the relevant date is 27th July, 1836. Thus, from the date of settlement Australia had a Constitution.

### **Constitutional framework remains the same**

After 25th July, 1828 it is the laws made in the respective colonies that applied. Each Colony does, it is true, have its own Constitution Act, but what does the constitution Act of the Colonies do? Does it replace the unwritten Constitution of Britain that was brought to this country? No! The Constitution Act doesn't do that at all. What it does, simply, is to put the Constitution into a local framework with a local Parliament, local Courts, local Governor, representing the Queen. The Constitutional framework stays the same.

This was the Constitutional framework, applicable to the whole of Australia, when federation occurred. It was the Constitutional framework applicable to the whole of Australia when the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act *and the Constitution itself*, were proclaimed and became effective on 1st January, 1901.

### **Commonwealth Constitution is a compact**

The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia is really a compact between the States; it is not a constitution in the sense that the United States or Switzerland has a constitution. It is not the basis of existence of constitutional government in this country. Indeed, it was the States of Australia, or Colonies as they then were, which came together for certain common purposes.

Those common purposes are spelt out in the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act. That is what the Constitution is for; it is not intended to provide a list of rights for the people of Australia and it does not do so. It does, of course, provide some rules relating to the way the new Commonwealth Government will act in relation to the people, but it does not purport to, nor was it intended to be a statement of rights, or to be a comprehensive constitutional document.

It did not replace the Magna Carta. It did not replace the Bill of Rights of 1689. It did not replace the unwritten provision of the Constitution of England, or the Constitution of each of the States. It is the common Constitution of the States that joined together for these purposes.

### **Constitutional Committees' proposals**

As you read the proposals of the committees that were appointed to make recommendations to the Commission that was appointed to make recommendations to the Government (in 1988), for preparing a new Constitution, you will see that the proposals are for listing certain rights but not listing others. I do not understand how they've distinguished between the rights they would wish to list and those that they say might be covered by Acts of Parliament, but guarantees about them should not go into the Constitution. I do not understand how they're distinguishing between those two sets of rights. They are also recommending that the Constitution should *restrict* the activities of States in relation to citizens.

That is to say, they are proposing that the Constitution should become a *different type of document*. They are proposing that it should become a Constitution like that of Switzerland, or that of the United States. That is not the end of their proposal -- by no means. The protections for the people of Australia, the protection of the Sovereign against the Parliament, the protection of the People by the Parliament existed without this Constitution of Australia, but, while it was unnecessary to do so, the framers of the Australian Constitution had the foresight to include and entrench, in written form, some of the protections.

### **Our Queen is Head of Government**

It is made clear by **Section 61** that the Queen is Head of Government. It is made clear by **Section 5** that the Governor-General is responsible for calling Parliament and proroguing Parliament. It is clear that the Governor-General is responsible for calling elections when these are needed. It is clear that the Governor-General is advised by the Parliament.

**Section 58** provides that when a proposed law, passed by both Houses of Parliament is presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent, he shall declare, according to his discretion, but subject to this Constitution, that he assents in the Queen's name, or that he withholds his assent.

Here is the entrenchment in the Constitution of that power and responsibility in the Governor-General to give his assent or withhold his assent. The Governor-General may do yet a third thing: He can say, "I'm not really sure about this, and I'm going to reserve it for the Queen's pleasure, for her to decide, whether she is going to assent or not." Not only can the Governor-General assent or withhold his assent, he can send back to the Parliament the proposed law together with amendments that he recommends, and then the Parliament has to consider the amendments that the Governor-General is recommending.

Let's suppose there is a great outcry from the people of Australia saying, "This is not a law that we can tolerate in this country." (There was such an outcry relating to the proposed Bill of Rights and the proposed Identity Card.) Neither of those actually became law, but if they had become law, or if there had been an outcry after the Australia Act became law, there is still power in the Queen to disallow the law *within one year from the Governor-General's assent*. By disallowance by the Queen within one year, the law is annulled from the day on which the disallowance is made. This is an additional protection which is built into our Constitution which did not exist in the Constitutions of the separate States, nor does it exist in the United Kingdom.

You might call this a 'slip-rule'. If the Governor-General has made a slip and has allowed godless legislation, or legislation which is not approved by the people, to slip through his net of protection, there is the Queen with the authority to disallow the law, even after assent is given.

Supposing a law is passed by the Parliament and the Governor-General says, "I am not really sure about this; I am going to reserve it for the Queen's pleasure." **Section 60** applies:

A proposed law reserved for the Queen's pleasure shall not have any force unless and until within two years from the day on which it was presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent the Governor-General makes known, by speech or message to each of the Houses of the Parliament, or by Proclamation, that it has received the Queen's assent. [Commonwealth of Australia



So, if it doesn't receive assent within two years, it lapses. It does not necessarily require a positive decision by the Queen not to assent to it, but if she doesn't do so, it doesn't become law.

That the Queen is Head of State in Australia is made perfectly clear by Section 61 of the Constitution.

The executive power of the Commonwealth is vested in the Queen and is exercisable by the Governor-General as the Queen's representative, and extends to the execution

and maintenance of this Constitution, and of the laws of the Commonwealth. [Chapter 2, Section 61]

All of the above, this whole structure, not just this document, this Constitution, but the whole Constitutional structure of the Commonwealth of Australia was inherited on settlement.

[Taken from an address on Christian Law given by Dr. David Mitchell, B.A., L.L.B., Ph.D., L.L.M., at the Fountain Centre Christian School, Booleroo Centre, South Australia, January 1988.]

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## KEATING'S PIPE-DREAM

The push for Australia to turn its back on its historic links with Britain and Europe and become part of Asia was a "pipe-dream", at least in the medium term, leading historian Professor Geoffrey Blainey said yesterday.

Making the keynote address to a conference in Melbourne on relations between Australia and Britain, Professor Blainey attacked the Prime Minister, Mr. Keating, for being "too extreme" in his bid to make Australia part of Asia. "His determination to make us invest our future in Asia is still expressed more in slogans and one-liners than in considered words," the Melbourne University emeritus professor said. ...

Professor Blainey told the conference, *Australia and Britain: the Evolving Relationship*, Mr. Keating's anti-British arguments "might well be termed racism by some impartial judges" given the large preferential subsidies his Government made to other, much smaller, ethnic groups.

Speakers at the conference, organised by Monash University and attended by leading British and Australian businessmen and diplomats, largely agreed the historic cultural and economic links between the two countries were still important and should not be abandoned. They said while Asia was increasingly important to Australia, it should see its role as providing a base for European trade into the Asia-Pacific region while using Britain as a springboard to Europe by exploiting existing ties.

Professor Blainey said while Australia would never again have the close links it one had with Britain, the population was still predominantly of Anglo-Celtic descent despite the claims of a multicultural society and it was "nonsense" to talk about diversity. ... Mr. Keating's prediction that Australia was on an irreversible course towards becoming part of Asia "is unlikely to come because the nations in nearer Asia do not see us as essentially part of Asia," he said. "On the whole they have far less understanding of us than do Britain and most European leaders. "It is not even certain most east-Asian leaders see the present Australian nation as the legitimate possessors of this continent. Incredibly foolish statements made by ministers in Canberra when talking on Aboriginal issues have encouraged the impression that this nation is an interloper in this part of the world"

Professor Blainey said Asia was not the unified region Mr. Keating portrayed it as, and if Australia became a part of it we would have to take sides in future regional feuds and wars and make enemies. "There is something naive about the government's present views," Professor Blainey said.

"As for the idea that Australia should become a part of Asia and borrow parts of its culture and institutions, which institutions does he (Mr. Keating) have in mind?"

"Does he wish us to borrow China's ideas of civil liberties, Burma's treatment of minorities, Indonesia's attitude to democracy, Malaysia's attitude to Islam, Hong Kong's attitude to Indians who wish to be citizens, Japan's attitude to refugees or Thailand's attitude to the death penalty?"

Professor Blainey said for the next 20 years at least Australia's political, cultural and legal heritage ties with Europe would remain more important than those with Asia.

(Reprinted from *The Australian*,  
13-14th February, 1993)

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## REALISTIC CONSTITUTIONALISM

by C.H. Douglas

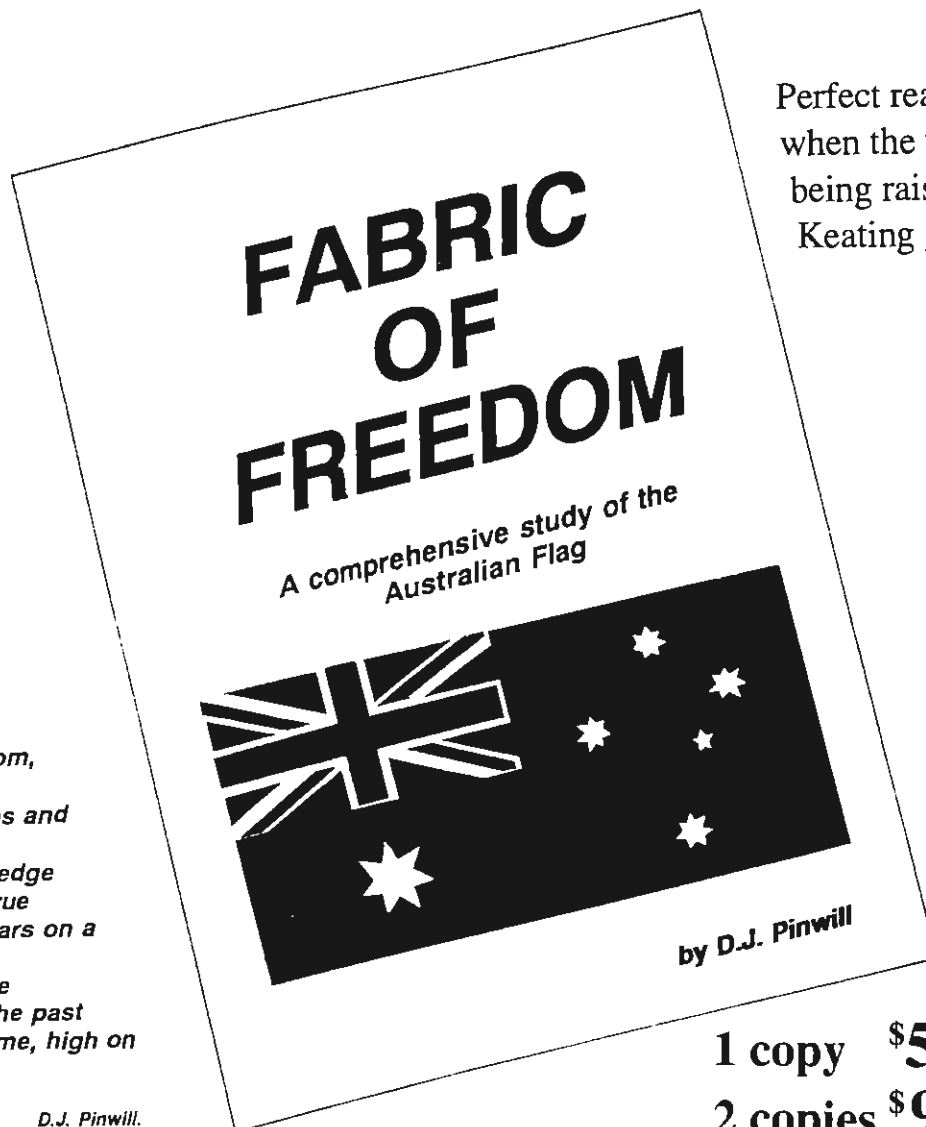
Speaking, not of course as a lawyer, but as a student of history and organisation, it is my opinion that the restoration of the supremacy of Common Law, the removal of encroachments upon it, and the establishment of the principle that legislation by the House of Commons impinging upon it is *ultra vires*, is an urgent necessity. The locus of sovereignty over Common Law is not in the electorate, because Common Law did not derive from the electorate and indeed ante-dated any electorate in the modern sense. In the main, it derived from the Mediaeval Church, perhaps not directly, but from the climate of opinion which the Church disseminated.

There is, of course, nothing very novel in what I am saying; much of it is in Magna Charta, which is not so widely read as it should be, and I am not sure that it cannot be found in an older document, the Athanasian Creed -- a far more profound political document than is commonly realised. ... The main point to be observed is that to be successful, Constitutionalism must be organic; it must have a relation to the nature of the Universe. That is my understanding of "Thy Kingdom come on earth, as it is in Heaven". When England had a genuine trinitarian Constitution, with three inter-related and inter-acting loci of sovereignty, the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, these ideas were instinctive and those were the days of Merrie England. Since the Whig Revolutions of 1644 and 1688, and the foundation of the Bank of England under characteristically false auspices in 1694, the Constitution has been insidiously sapped by the Dark Forces which knew its strength, and the obstacle which it offered to treachery. We now have only the mere shell of the Constitution, Single Chamber Government dominated by cartels and Trade Unions, ... based on unitary sovereignty, to which the next step is the secular materialistic totalitarian State, the final embodiment of power without responsibility.

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I'm woven with crosses and  
liberty's threads,  
I'm knitted with knowledge  
From values held true  
And fashioned with stars on a  
cloth royal blue.  
I'm a flag for the future  
Though I come from the past  
So unfurl me, and fly me, high on  
the mast.*

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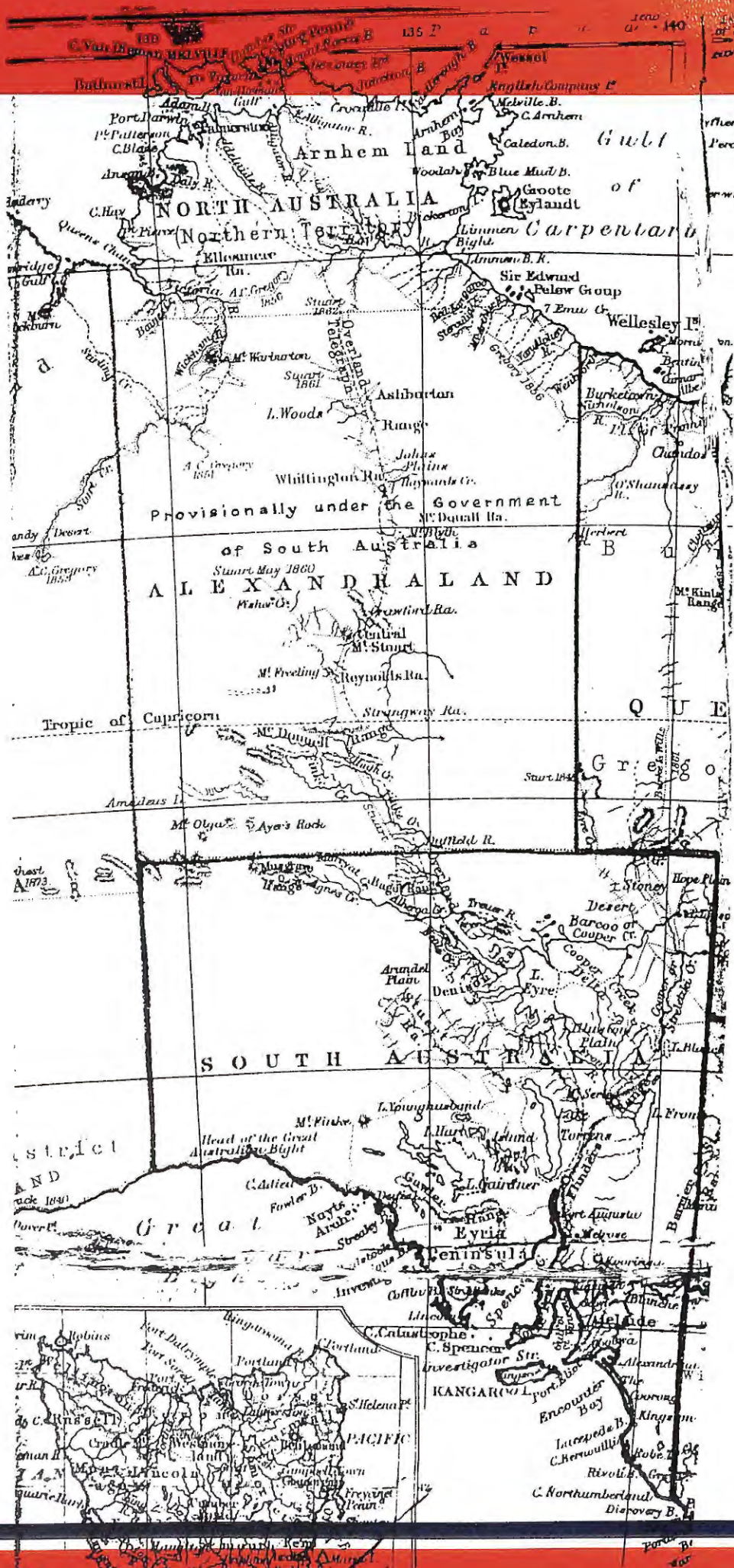
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Detail from map in Samuel Mossman, *Our Australian Colonies* London, c. 1864, with phrase "Provisionally under the Government of South Australia" as regards the Northern Territory