

VOLUME 20 No. 81

LINKING THE PAST WITH THE PRESENT - FOR THE FUTURE

SEPT. - NOV. 1996

HERITAGE



PAULINE HANSON
The genie out of the bottle.
Challenging double
standards with
a realistic
approach.

PRINT POST PUBLICATION PP 638354/0026



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**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, pursuit of goodness and beauty, and unselfish concern for other people - to maintain a love and loyalty for those values.

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

"Our heritage today Is the fragments gleamed from past ages; the heritage of tomorrow - good or bad - will be determined by your actions today."

SIR RAPHAEL CILENTO
First Patron of the Australian Heritage Society

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SUBSCRIPTIONS

Subscription rate for one year (4 issues)

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Posted overseas by surface mail - \$25.00

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EDITORIAL

Vol. 20 Sept.-Nov. 1996 No. 81

Our Physical Heritage: An Evolutionary Perspective

"It may turn out that man has only the choice of living by the laws of the universe of which the evolutionary process is an inevitable part, or of refusing to live at all."

[Raymond B. Cattell, *Beyondism*]

Despite their intricate design, our bodies have crude flaws. Despite our many defences, we are very vulnerable. Despite their capabilities for rapid and precise repairs, our bodies inevitably deteriorate and eventually fail.

Before Charles Darwin, physicians could only wonder at the incongruity of it all, perhaps with the hope that our bodies are part of an unfathomable divine plan, or with the suspicion that they are a cosmic prank. Ever since Darwin, the paradox has often mistakenly been blamed on the weakness or capriciousness of natural selection. In the light of modern Darwinism, however, the incongruity is explained in terms of an intricate tapestry with a prominent thread for each of several causes of disease.

Why isn't the body more reliable? Why is there disease at all? The reasons are remarkably few.

First, there are certain genes which make us vulnerable to disease. A few are defectives which continually arise from new imitations and are kept scarce by natural selection. Others cannot be eliminated because they cause no disadvantages until it is too late in

life for them to affect reproductive fitness.

There has apparently been an evolutionary trade-off between longevity and reproduction. The debilities of old age represent an accumulation of genetic defects that had been pushed later and later in the life-cycle and allowed to slip through the reproductive net, simply because they were late-acting. Richard Dawkins (*River out of Eden*, 1995) concludes: "... everybody is descended from an unbroken line of ancestors, all of whom were at some time in their lives young, but many of whom were never old. So we inherit whatever it takes to be young, but not necessarily whatever it takes to be old. We tend to inherit 'genes for dying a long time after we're born' but not 'for dying a short time after we're born'."

Most deleterious genetic effects are actively maintained by selection because they have obscure benefits which outweigh their costs. Some of these are maintained because of heterozygote advantage; some are selected because they increase their own frequency, despite creating a disadvantage for the individual who bears them; some are genetic quirks that have adverse effects only when they interact with a novel environmental factor.

Second, disease results from exposure to new factors which were not present in the environment in

which we evolved. Given enough time, the body can adapt to almost anything, but the ten thousand years since the beginning of civilization are not nearly enough time, and we suffer accordingly. We are essentially stone-age organisms living in a high-tech industrial civilization. Infectious agents evolve so fast that our defences are always a step behind.

Third, disease results from design compromises, such as upright posture with its associated back problems. Fourth, we are not the only species with adaptations produced and maintained by natural selection, which works just as hard for pathogens trying to eat us.

Finally, disease results from unfortunate historical legacies. If the organism had been designed with the possibility of fresh starts and major changes, there would be better ways of preventing many diseases. Alas, every successive generation of the human body must function well, with no chance to go back and start afresh.

The human body turns out to be both fragile and robust. Like all products of organic evolution, it is a bundle of compromises, each of which offers an advantage, but often at the price of susceptibility to disease. These susceptibilities cannot be eliminated by any duration of natural selection, for it is the very power of natural selection which created them.

COLOUR MARKS PUBLISHING SUCCESS



First published in 1976

Twenty years of continuous publication by our loyal team of volunteers have been rewarded. Our growing subscription list has enabled us to upgrade *Heritage* to a colour cover and a page increase. This initiative is one of many planned by *Heritage* as we gear up to meet increasing demands and enquiries. The rapidly changing political scene in Australia and the assault being made on traditional Australian values ensures that the *Heritage* team will be flooded with new material. Our sincere thanks to those who have been part of our success.

THE HANSON BOMBSHELL

The genie is out of the bottle.

SINCE her election to the seat of Oxley as an independent, many Australians waited impatiently for Pauline Hanson's first Parliamentary speech. It took over six months to come, and some had taunted that this "bigoted racist" who was elected by a combination of notoriety and accident had nothing worthy to say. When she did deliver her maiden speech, it was a bombshell that reverberated around the nation as no other Parliamentary address has done since World War II. She left little doubt where she stood on the major issues. Her address has reignited a national demand to debate the issues first raised by others like Graeme Campbell and then carefully pushed aside. Hanson's critics, having taunted her with apparent impunity, would now be wishing she had remained silent.

It is something of a tradition that new Members of Parliament are afforded a polite welcome by both sides of the House. Parliamentary rough-and-tumble of heckling and interjecting is suspended. The new Member is permitted to read from a prepared text and by tacit agreement avoids matters of controversy.

For Pauline Hanson, few of these traditions applied. Her rousing, pointed speech was greeted by stony silence from a half-empty House. As soon as her speech was distributed outside the Parliament, the press fell upon her with glee and the lather of abuse frothed spectacularly. Pauline Hanson had deliberately kicked just about every sacred cow nurtured by the politically correct.

Is she right, or is she wrong? In the six months since her election, Hanson carefully researched the facts on issues in which she was interested. She researched the comparative benefits available to Aborigines and non-Aborigines in many fields. The results were staggering, but although she issued a detailed press release on June

14th, the press has never reported these facts.

Why the almost hysterical response to the Member for Oxley? First, she is not a typical politician. In fact, she makes a virtue of the fact that, as she said in her maiden speech, "I come here not as a polished politician, but as a woman who has had her fair share of life's knocks..."

She does not pretend to towering intellect, but simple commonsense. Her wounding comment on the economy says it all: "I may only be 'a fish and chip shop lady', but some of these economists need to get their heads out of textbooks and get a job in the real world. I would not even let one of them handle my grocery shopping."

Hanson belted into almost every issue that "respectable" people tip-toed around. She hammered the double standards involved in the Aboriginal "industry", challenged the mass immigration programme and warned that we are being "swamped by Asians". She was scathing about multiculturalism, the role of the United Nations and the "privatisation" programme of selling off the national infrastructure. She condemned the Family Law Act, and its undermining of the family, called for the introduction of national service for the young, and observed that reducing tariffs costs Australian jobs and businesses. But others, like Campbell, had been saying such things for two years.

IGNORED ISSUES BROUGHT TO LIFE

What Pauline Hanson has done, is to give political expression to fundamental issues that have been ignored by "the elite" in government, the arts, the media and academia. She has, perhaps unconsciously, appealed to a strata of Australians that have been left out of the decision-making process for twenty years, and have been seething in frustration. In his book "Australia Betrayed" Graeme Campbell noted that "the elites" betrayed the interests of ordinary Australians, and pandered to a series of minority interests selected by



By David Thompson

politically correct criteria. John Howard was the beneficiary of this on March 2nd, appealing to "middle Australia" against Paul Keating, the epitome of the "elites" who have betrayed our heritage. In doing so, Howard had appealed to the "forgotten people" with whom Sir Robert Menzies managed to keep in touch. But having appealed to them, Howard seems determined to 'rule' in the same traditions of the Keating elites.

Pauline Hanson has unconsciously lanced a national sore. Having revolted against the political elites, and already sensed that John Howard basically belongs to the same "elite", a conservative, middle Australia, faced with yet another betrayal, has simply boiled over, and embraced Pauline Hanson with a fervour that has perhaps frightened even Hanson herself.

In many respects, Hanson is like the little boy in Hans Christian Anderson's fairy tale of the Emperor's new clothes. Gough Whitlam, Bob Hawke, Paul Keating and John Howard have all paraded themselves in the magnificent dream of becoming a part of Asia and the global market, throwing the Australian doors open to any who wish to move in, and abandoning any protection for Australian industry. The sycophants in the press, Parliament, academia and the churches have admired the strutting Emperor and new clothes with enthusiasm, not wishing to be regarded as "politically incorrect". Then along comes little Mrs. Hanson from Ipswich, and shouts that the Emperor is stark naked!

"Why do we need to be a part of Asia, or the global market?" she asks. Why must we be a nation of multicultural tribes, swamped by Asians, appeasing minority groups like Aborigines, and discriminating against the best interests of "mainstream Australia?" "Why indeed?" ask the rest of us.

Since she was disendorsed as a candidate by the Liberal Party for her views on Aboriginal issues, Hanson has had to live with controversy. But since her maiden speech a concerted attempt is being made to swamp her in personal vitriol, hoping that she will disappear, and so will the issues she has raised.

But Pauline Hanson has not retreated one inch. When interviewed during Aboriginal reconciliation week, she bluntly said that reconciliation was a failed concept that should be abandoned, since it was designed to make Australians feel guilty for events which occurred generations ago.

Invited to be interviewed for Channel 9's "A Current Affair", she refused, reasoning that presenter Mr. Ray Martin could hardly be impartial, himself being a member of the National Reconciliation Council. The best "A Current Affair" could do was screen a 'debate' between Graeme Campbell, Senator Bill O'Chee, Dr. Rod Spencer from Australians Against Further Immigration and an Aboriginal spokesman. Campbell offered full support for Pauline Hanson, conceding that in some ways she may be naive, but that she spoke straight from the heart, and perhaps parliament needs more People who speak from the heart.

When she later relented, and agreed to "A Current Affair" interview, her original instincts were confirmed. In a bullying and condescending approach, Ray Martin conducted an insulting and aggressive interview, showing himself in the worst possible light.

The "chattering classes" affect to be appalled by Hanson's views - or the fact that she could be elected on such views - but there is no doubt that her views, although often misrepresented by the press, have been greeted with a great (largely unheard) cheer from the "silent majority". A number of media phone-in polls were conducted by current affairs programmes or radio talk-back hosts. One such poll, receiving about 3,000 calls, registered a level of 98% support for Hanson. Another, much larger poll, receiving 37,500 calls, registered 98.5% support for Hanson.

Pauline Hanson did agree to be interviewed by the Channel 9 Midday programme, together with Aboriginal activist Charles Perkins. Although fielding a number of hostile questions from host Kerri-Anne Kennerly, it was very clear that the audience supported Hanson. In an inspired performance Hanson, under attack from Perkins, pointedly asked whether he as an

Aboriginal. Perkins was enraged. How dare anyone question the credentials of one of the most durable "professionals" in the entire Aboriginal "industry"? Perhaps this was Hanson's whole point; not enough Australians ask those sort of questions.

It is ironic that Pauline Hanson also enjoys support from many who themselves belong to a "minority" group.

"I don't want to see a situation in Australia where values are dramatically changed to Asian values. That's what I'd define as Asianised. I'm saying if Asian migrants want to come to Australia and live as they do live in Asia, then why do they come here in the first place...?"

Ted Seng

Gary Foley is well-known as one of the more "extreme" Aboriginal activists over almost two decades. On Monday, November 11th he issued a most significant press statement, which was scarcely reported anywhere. In this extraordinary statement, Foley said he agreed with some of the views of Pauline Hanson, concerning the "Aboriginal industry" and that ATSIC should be abolished because of the billions of dollars of wasted funds.

Foley claimed that since the Whitlam government, about \$25 billion to \$30 billion had been spent, much of it wasted, and that a whole army of white anthropologists and university professors were making a good living out of Aboriginal suffering.

Of the wasted funds, Foley said "There is no evidence of that level of expenditure in Aboriginal communities. We can therefore only assume vast amounts of that money have been mal-administered. The vast majority of it has gone into the pockets of non-Aboriginal Australians."

There is strong evidence that many Australians of Asian background agree with Hanson. The Bulletin (12/10/1989) reported on a survey on Asianisation in an article headed "New Chums Don't Like Newer Chums". One startling result was that 40% of those born in Asia thought Asian immigration was too high.

More recently, Mr. Ted Seng, a Malaysian-born Councillor in the Sydney suburb of Randwick,

commented on the issue. "The Southern Courier" reported Mr. Seng as saying "I don't want to see a situation in Australia where values are dramatically changed to Asian values. That's what I'd define as Asianised. I'm saying if Asian migrants want to come to Australia and live as they do live in Asia, then why do they come here in the first place...?"

Those who hope that if enough personal abuse is directed towards Pauline Hanson, then perhaps she will "go away", together with the issues she has raised, are bound to be bitterly disappointed. The genie is now out of the bottle. The real issues are not yet being properly debated; rather, we are engaging in a national shouting-match about Pauline Hanson. But she is merely the catalyst who happened to be the right kind of person in the right place at the right time - prepared to say what needed to be said. Even if she did disappear tomorrow, her task has been fulfilled. The rest is now up to those who agree with her. We must go to our politicians, and demand that they represent our views. It is not good enough for the "governing elites" to do what they believe is best for us.

Pauline Hanson is a breath of fresh air in the foetid halls of Parliament. Her approach is not encrusted with rigid ideological dogma, but is fresh, honest and practical, without having to "toe the party line". If Pauline Hanson could make common cause with others like Campbell and Bob Katter, in the service of a genuine form of nationalism, Australia may yet be recovered.

David Thompson is the National Director of The Australian League of Rights, a non-party, non-sectarian service organisation formed in 1946.

PAULINE HANSON SPEAKS

The maiden speech to the Australian Parliament on September 10th 1996 that caused a national sensation. Critics have twisted her words, or blatantly misrepresented her. Read her speech for yourself and make up your own mind.

FREE COPY of Hanson's speech available from all Heritage addresses.

Mrs Hanson has also produced her research comparing benefits available to Aborigines with those available to non-Aborigines in similar circumstances. The differences are staggering. For a copy of this 22-page research document, send a donation to any Heritage office.

NEW AUDIO TAPE:

“THE GRAND PLAN TO ASIANISE AUSTRALIA”

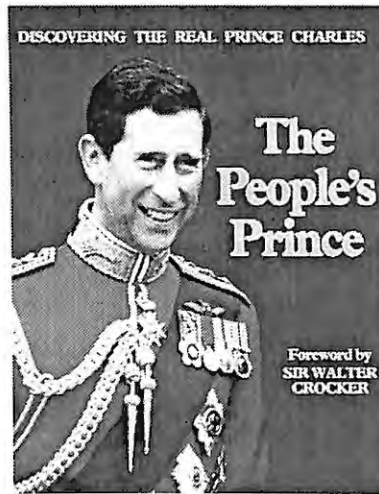
by Denis McCormack.

On July 10th, 1996, Mr. Denis McCormack, of Australia First, presented a research paper under Victorian Police protection on the 20th Anniversary conference of the prestigious Asian Studies Association of Australia at LaTrobe University in Melbourne. This paper is a well-researched account of the history of betrayal on the question of immigration in Australia going back many years.

So impressed was Graeme Campbell, leader of Australia First, with this research effort, and the importance of the issue of immigration to Australia, that he rose in the Parliament on October 28th, 1996 and requested leave to have the paper, “The Grand Plan to Asianise Australia”, read into Hansard. The following is an edited account of Campbell’s address to parliament:

“I have said before that Australia needs Denis McCormack in Federal Parliament. In this paper, which I intend to table tonight, he has arrived. I will now read into Hansard the abstract of his paper, and then seek your good judgement in allowing me to table the paper in the national interest. I hope this documentation will at once enable, inform, empower and inspire you to buck your respective parties and factions, and start representing more accurately in this place what Members well know to be the majority of Australian views on immigration and Asianisation. Unless this problem is sorted out soon, the Australia that the majority of Australians have loved is doomed, and other problems become more insoluble

Available from all Heritage addresses:
\$5.00 per tape, or \$6.00 posted.
2 copies for \$10.00 posted.



DISCOVERING THE REAL PRINCE CHARLES

If sections of the mass media were to be believed, Prince Charles is a strange man who spends his spare time talking to flowers, or who wanders off into the Southern African desert in pursuit of some way-out esoteric philosophy.

The Prince of Wales has been depicted as a man who has turned his back on modern medicine in favour of “alternative medicine”. He has been charged with supporting some type of “muck and magic” form of agriculture. And much more.

But the real Prince Charles emerges clearly in a series of major addresses he has given on a variety of subjects, ranging from literature, education, conservation, architecture to the state of the world.

What emerges from a study of these addresses, written by the Prince himself, is a most cultured and literate man, one with a deep concern about the fundamental importance of the traditional value system undergirding Western Christian Civilisation.

Prince Charles is a man who believes passionately in the importance of the English language as a vehicle for transmitting the lessons of the past as guides for the future. He believes that young people denied access to the genius of the universal Shakespeare are being robbed of a priceless heritage.

It is a sad commentary on the state of modern society, dominated by the collectivist philosophy, that no major established commercial publisher has seen fit to offer a collection of the Prince’s addresses in order that the general public of the English-speaking world might be able to realistically assess the views of one of the most important public figures of this century.

Anyone wishing to discover the real Prince of Wales will find him in this collection of his major addresses.

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THE AUSTRALIAN LEAGUE OF RIGHTS

FIFTY YEARS OF SERVICE

This year is a milestone in the history of Australian politics.

IT was fifty years ago, on 31st October 1946, that the League of Rights held its inaugural meeting in Adelaide, South Australia.

As a service movement, the League grew out of the readership of the Social Credit journal, *The New Times*, which is still published by the League of Rights today.

During the weekend of 4-6 October 1996, in Melbourne, Victoria, the League celebrated its Jubilee Year in grand style.

A FEW HIGHLIGHTS

The 50th Annual *New Times* Dinner brought people together from all parts of the globe, including New Zealand, Canada and the U.K. Graeme Campbell MHR, was the guest of

honour and spoke on "The Regeneration of Australia". Caroline Nixon, now living in Western Australia but formerly from Britain, presented Advisory National Director Eric D. Butler with the very typewriter C.H. Douglas had used to type his books. The only daughter of C.H. Douglas, Majorie, had handed the typewriter on to Caroline, her god-daughter. Caroline could think of a no more appropriate resting place than with Eric Dudley Butler. Elma Butler was presented with a magnificent arrangement of flowers by her two sons, Phillip and Richard -- hardly a dry eye at that moment.

At the Saturday seminar, Mr Peter Davis, Mayor of Port Lincoln spoke on "The Struggle to Retain Representative Government"; Mr Donald Martin, National Director of the British League

of Rights, in dealing with Britain and the European Economic Community, spoke on "The Second Battle of Britain" and finally, Jeremy Lee, at his best, asked "Are We in the Final Round of the New World Order Battle?"

The Sunday Action Conference was an encouragement to all. Eric Boswell told us what is happening in Canada and Donald Martin told us about the British scene.

Congratulations are to go to Elma and Eric Butler and to their loyal band of helpers for the magnificent weekend. All credit and thanks go to Ron Dyason and Tom Fielder for the panels displaying so much of the League's history and of the people who have made and do make up the League of Rights and who have contributed to its work over the years.

Altogether a grand weekend.



Advisory National Director of the Australian League of Rights Mr Eric D. Butler.



Mr David Thompson, National Director of the Australian League of Rights. David chaired the New Times Dinner.



Mr Tom Cleary of Queensland "What a privilege to be part of this commemoration weekend" he said.



Mrs Caroline Nixon of Western Australia presented C. H. Douglas' typewriter to Eric D. Butler.

50 YEARS



Mayor Peter Davis of Port Lincoln, South Australia: one of the speakers at the National Weekend seminar.



Mr Donald Martin, National Director of British League of Rights speaking at the New Times Dinner.



Mr Louis Cook, Victoria, enjoying the food and fellowship at the 50th New Times Dinner.



Mr Eric Boswell, Deputy National Director of the Canadian League of Rights brought messages from Canada.

50 YEARS



Well known lecturer and author, Mr Jeremy Lee at the historic 50th Year celebrations of the Australian League of Rights.



Founding member, Mrs Dorothy Hedley of Melbourne, has not missed one of the fifty New Times Dinners.

THE SCOTTISH IN AUSTRALIA

BY JOHN BENNETT, WELL-KNOWN AUSTRALIAN LIBERTARIAN

IT is often claimed that Australia is a multi-cultural society with more than 170 ethnic and racial groups living here. Mr Hawke has often correctly pointed to the significant contributions to Australian society by minority ethnic groups such as Greeks, Italians and Jews. But even in his Bicentennial address on Australia Day he did not mention that **the existence of Australia as a European society with parliamentary democracy, freedom of speech and the rule of law was due to the English, Scots and Irish.**

Although Australia is a multi-cultural country, references to 170 ethnic groups tend to obscure statistical evidence that we are still 75% Anglo-Celtic. About 44% of Australians are of English extraction, 17% Irish, and 12% Scots. The role of the English and the Irish in Australian history has been the subject of several books, films, radio series and feature articles, but the role of the Scots has been, by comparison, ignored. There are six times as many people of Scottish extraction in Australia as people of Greek extraction (1.9%) and three times as many as people of Italian extraction (3.8%).

Historically, Scots have been an extremely creative and active group, whether in their native land or as immigrants. Scots have been responsible for the invention of the bitumen road surface used worldwide (John McAdam); tyres (John Dunlop); the steam engine (James Watt); adhesive postage stamps (James Chalmers); the telephone (Alexander Bell); bicycles (Kirkpatrick McMillan); television (John Baird); penicillin (Alexander Fleming) and anaesthetics (James Simpson). These achievements by Scots in the field of inventions alone are quite remarkable when we consider that Scots were at all times, and still are, one-eighth of one percent of the world's population -- one person in 800.

The achievements of the Scots in Australia, including Ulster Scots, are especially impressive. Scots have been prominent in the fields of painting, literature, science, medicine, politics, drama and singing. Scots prominent in the field of painting include Arthur Boyd and other members of the Boyd family, Norman Lindsay and other Lindsays, Sir Russell Drysdale, Max



John McEwen



Vincent Gair



Bill Snedden

Meldrum and Sir William Dargie. Scots who have made significant contributions to literature and poetry include Adam Lindsay Gordon, Douglas Stewart, John Shaw Neilson, Mary Gilmore, A.D. Hope, David Campbell, Les Murray, Banjo Patterson and Catherine Spence. In the

field of science and medicine Sir Peter McCallum, Sir Macfarlane Burnett, Sir Ian Clunies Ross, Dr Struan Sutherland and Mark Oliphant have been prominent. Outstanding Australians of Scottish extraction in politics have included Sir William McKell, Jack Lang (Scottish father), John McEwan, Stanley Bruce, Vincent Gair, Arthur Fadden, Lindsay Thompson, Steve Crabb, Rupert Hamer, Bill Snedden, Malcolm Fraser (Scottish father). Other prominent Australians of Scottish extraction include Malcolm Williamson (composer), David Williamson (playwright), Rupert Murdoch (media owner), Robyn Boyd (architect), Peter Dawson (singer), Dame Nellie Melba (singer), Ninian Stephen (Governor-General of Australia) and Davis McCaughey (Governor of Victoria -- Ulster Scot).

The words and music of *Waltzing Matilda* were written and composed by Scots.

Scots have also played an important role in popular culture. The words and music of *Waltzing Matilda* were written and composed by Scots. Scots have made significant contributions to the development of sport in Australia and many place names derive from Scotland. The above resume of the role of Scots in Australian history is really only the tip of the iceberg. The theme is developed at greater length in *The Scottish in Australia* by Malcolm Prentis.

Many of the names I have mentioned are household words but many Australians are not aware of the common thread of Scottish ancestry. This is partly because the Scots themselves have assimilated remarkably well into the Australian culture. Indeed they are an integral part of the majority Anglo-Celtic culture whose members were recently described without qualification by Max Harris as being bigoted neo-barbarians without culture and without affection for their children. I am Scottish myself (Matheson, Young, Bennett and Stout being my grandparents). I am proud of the role played by them and many other Anglo-Celtic settlers who made Australia what it is today, namely one of the most free and most tolerant countries in the world.

Of Historic Interest . . .



I am commanded by The Queen to thank you for your letter of 4th October and for sending a copy of your publication "A Queen Speaks to Her People". Her Majesty was most interested to see this and was delighted to see the texts of her Christmas broadcasts brought together in this way.

Her Majesty is quite sure that The Prince of Wales will much enjoy his forthcoming visit and sends her thanks to the Society for their message of loyalty which she much appreciates. If it were possible for you to send to me another four or five copies of the publication for use in the Private Secretary's Office it would be very much appreciated.

IN 1977 The Australian Heritage Society published a special edition of *A Queen Speaks to Her People*, a collection of Her Majesty's Christmas Message up to 1976. This venture was so well received that we sold out soon after the first release and required a second printing. Acknowledgement was received from Buckingham Palace and is

reproduced in part above. This historic book is now out of print and is a valuable addition to any library.

As an insight to the history of *Heritage*, we reproduced below the text which appeared on the last page of *A Queen Speaks to Her People*.

THE AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE SOCIETY

In these days of instant "pop culture" there has been a growing tendency to deride the past, to sneer at tradition. But as civilisation is convulsed with one crisis after another, there is a growing realisation that a nation's tradition is basically the accumulated wisdom and experience of the past, and that a people cut off from the roots of its heritage of tradition is doomed to die. Increasing numbers of people, including the young, are beginning to ask searching questions about what has until now been generally regarded as "progress". The Australian Heritage Society concerns itself with the preservation and extension of all features of the Australian heritage.

The Society was formally launched at a National League of Rights Seminar in Melbourne on Saturday, September 18, 1971, by the Hon. Sir Reginald Sholl, former Justice of the Victorian Supreme Court and former Australian Consul-General in New York. Sir Reginald said that "One of the least understood of our inherited blessings is the standard of personal freedom under the Common Law".

Seminar Papers were presented by the Victorian Attorney-General, the Hon. (now Sir) George Reid, Q.C., Sir Raphael Cilento, Sir Stanton Hicks and Mr. Eric D. Butler. Sir Raphael Cilento is the first Patron of the Heritage Society.

Members and supporters carry out a wide range of activities on the heritage question. Through its quarterly journal, "Heritage", the Society has drawn together many concerned Australians who have contributed articles of historical interest. This journal is now widely discussed as it continues to give young Australians an insight into Australia's past so they may see the future with greater hope.

The subject of the Monarchy is one which the Heritage Society has dealt with in great detail. It was due to a constant demand for copies of The Queen's speeches that this book was produced.

The Heritage Society is active throughout Australia. Its quarterly journal and other literature is distributed to every state as well as New Zealand and other Commonwealth countries. The administrative headquarters are in Western Australia.

HERITAGE FARMING IN AUSTRALIA



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the history of
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DR WALTER HENDERSON

A SMALL MAN WITH A BIG REPUTATION



Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the birth of the League of Rights in Adelaide, we publish another selection from Eric D. Butler's Memoirs, appropriately dealing with his association with a most distinguished South Australian, Dr Walter Henderson.

It was the Rhodesian Independence Cause which introduced me to Dr Walter Henderson of Adelaide, South Australia. I first met him, but only briefly, at a crowded public meeting in the R.S.L. Hall, Angas Street, Adelaide, after returning to Australia following my visit to Rhodesia shortly after the declaration of Independence by the Rhodesian Front government, headed by Ian Smith, on 11 November, 1965. League of Rights State Director, Frank Bawden, was in the chair. Dr Henderson sat towards the front of the hall and, ironically, in view of what I learned later, it was his small stature which first attracted my attention. In an enthusiastic audience he showed little or no emotion, but I could not help noticing that he was most intent in listening to what I had to say. I learned later about Dr Henderson's impressive academic background, and his vast diplomatic experiences, and readily understood why he was so interested in the Rhodesian question.

I came to know Dr Henderson intimately over the years following 1965. Although Dr Henderson was not what one would describe as a jolly man, although always pleasant and extremely courteous in an old-wordly manner, for some strange reason, I started to refer to him -- behind his back, of course, and generally to Frank Bawden -- as Mr Pickwick. It was, I think, his small stature which reminded me of Charles Dickens' famous character. Like many small men with an outstanding intellect, on occasions Dr Henderson could be irritating and a little pompous. But he had good reason for being self-opinionated. Consider briefly his background:

Dr Henderson was trained for the law and the diplomatic service. He was a Doctor of Laws, a Barrister-at-Law of the English Bar at which he practised for many years. He was not only an English Common Law lawyer, but also a French Lawyer learned in the Civil Law. He was for some time Director of the Australian Department of External

Affairs and therefore the Commonwealth Government's chief diplomatic adviser. He was an organiser of the last great Antarctic Expedition of Sir Douglas Mawson, writing Sir Douglas Mawson's sailing orders to annex to the British Crown that part of Antarctica lying to the south of Australia. An Antarctic mountain bears his name.

Dr Henderson severed his relations with the Department of External Affairs when he found himself in conflict with the Labor government of the day, and returned to private legal practice in England. Dr Henderson had the unique distinction of being the first English-speaking student to win a first-honours degree in the Department of Diplomacy and Public Law in the Paris School of Political Sciences. In the practical application of diplomacy he received valuable experience in the British Foreign Office. He was one of "The Youth Writes Fellowship of Australia", created in 1970 for the encouragement of young Australian writers.

Upon his return to Australia from England, Dr Henderson took a keen interest in public affairs, particularly in those issues concerning external affairs. It was natural that he should be attracted to the Rhodesian issue, and the manner in which the Australian government at the time, led by Sir Robert Menzies, agreed to take part in the United Nations declaration of economic sanctions against Rhodesia. It was no secret that Sir Robert was far from enthusiastic about the action demanded by the United Nations Organization. I was bitterly criticised in some circles for having sent this information to the Rhodesian government. Some Liberal Members like Sir Wilfrid Kent Hughes, with whom I consulted immediately upon my return from Rhodesia, were openly critical of Australian policy. As President of the Federal Council of Australia-Rhodesia Associations, Dr Henderson's advice and views were widely sought.

DR HENDERSON PERCEIVED SMITH'S TENDENCY TO COMPROMISE

Although strongly supporting the cause of Rhodesian Independence, Dr Henderson became increasingly concerned about the manner in which the Ian Smith government was handling its relationships with the British Government. He went to Rhodesia to make an on-the-spot assessment. In a 1971 Report, quoted extensively by Rhodesian critics of the Smith government, Dr Henderson was extremely critical of the Agreement reached between the Douglas Home British Conservative government and the Ian Smith Rhodesian Front government. Dr Henderson's Report was not enthusiastically received either in Rhodesia or Australia by those who had only a black and white picture of the Rhodesian situation, who, in essence, adopted a primarily emotional attitude concerning "good old Smithy". Dr Henderson was one of the first to perceive that Ian Smith's tendency to compromise in an attempt to get an agreement with the British government was placing him in an increasingly vulnerable situation as the international pressure against Rhodesia was maintained.

From 1965 onwards Dr Henderson progressively became more closely associated with the League of Rights, attending a number of League functions. South Australian State Director, Frank Bawden, and I made frequent visits to Dr Henderson's home in Glenunga. He asked many searching questions about the League and broadly agreed with the League's objectives and methods of operation.

One of the highlights of Dr Walter Henderson's association with the League came in September, 1972, when he presented a major paper at the League's Annual National Seminar in Melbourne. This paper, complete with numerous notes, is a classic of its kind and provides some brilliant insights into the disastrous events which eventually turned Rhodesia into a black totalitarian state known as Zimbabwe. It is essential reading for students of modern African history.

Dr Henderson concluded his paper by arguing that as a result of the agreement between the British and Rhodesian governments on 24 September 1971, concerning proposals, or a set of proposals, for a Settlement, the Australian Government should inform the UN Security Council that, as a result of the negotiations between the British and Rhodesian governments, the Rhodesian government was the lawful government of Rhodesia and the Australian government was no longer obliged to maintain economic sanctions against Rhodesia. He recommended that the Australian government inform the Security Council "that the Proposals of a Settlement between the British and Rhodesian Governments entail the acceptance by the British government that the Rhodesian Front is the lawful government of Rhodesia and that as all the sanction resolutions of the Security Council are being a threat to international peace because of the illegality of the Rhodesian Government which issued from the Declaration of Independence, there is now no ground upon which the sanctions resolution can rest".

Needless to say, the recently-elected Whitlam government took not the slightest notice of Dr Henderson's logic. Events also confirmed Dr

Henderson's criticism of the policies being pursued by the Ian Smith government. But Dr Henderson did not foresee the eventual dramatic collapse of the Portuguese Government in Lisbon and the break-up of the Portuguese Empire. Revolutionary developments in Angola and Mozambique completely changed the geo-political situation in Southern Africa, leaving Rhodesia exposed to what developed into a Communist-backed guerrilla campaign against Rhodesia. My part in the Rhodesian drama, which ended in 1981 with the imposition of Communist-backed Robert Mugabe upon the unfortunate Rhodesians, both black and white, is described elsewhere in these Memoirs.

PATTERN OF LIVING ROOTED IN WESTERN CULTURE

With his background, it is not surprising that over a life-time Dr Walter Henderson had developed a pattern of living rooted deeply in what he termed the culture of western man. Although he had been associated with the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom and, rather tenuously, with the Liberal Party in Australia, Dr Henderson was increasingly contemptuous of most modern politicians. As a man who, like Prince Charles, greatly appreciated that aspect of French culture deeply rooted in the French peasantry, I found it of great interest that Dr Henderson not only had his carefully-attended small patch of grapes in his backyard at Glenunga, Adelaide, but every year went through the ritual of picking his grapes, extracting the juice and making his own wine. At those League of Rights dinner functions he attended with me, he brought along several bottles of his wine and, after a short lecture on the quality of the particular wine, invited me to share it with him. His reds were always first class.

I often discussed classical literature with him. He believed that by down-playing the importance of classical literature, those who directed modern education were depriving individuals of the "distilled wisdom" of the past. He was a perfectionist in every thing he did. He personally selected the type-face for the printing of his book.

Rhodesia : A Reorientation of Australian Policy, this being the text of his 1972 address to the League of Rights Seminar, complete with the many notes he had prepared. Printers of the book were most impressed with Dr Henderson's requirements.

It was during a dinner function in 1975 that Dr Henderson suggested that he felt that he was specially equipped to prepare a comprehensive essay on the meaning of conservatism. While I did not share Dr Henderson's view that such an essay would have "far reaching political and social implications", I readily agreed that such an essay could be of value and said the League of Rights would publish it. The result was the 1976 publication of *Conservatism and Society*. Dr Henderson's references indicated the depth of his reading. While I greatly appreciated Dr Henderson's work, I was not surprised that it did not become a best seller. The secular and collectivist poison, which Dr Henderson warned about, was making it increasingly difficult to gain a widespread readership for this type of philosophical discourse. But in my opinion it is a brilliant summary of true conservatism, this rooted in a value-system stemming from the Greek and Roman Civilisations, infused with the basic Christian teaching that

individuals should love one another.

CULTURE DEVELOPS TOGETHER WITH A RELIGION

Dr Henderson wrote: "It has been said, notably by T.S. Eliot, that no culture has appeared or developed except together with a religion. The same applies to society values. But one could go further and say that all society values that have developed in the European western world, and carried from there to their present homes, are rooted in the Christian religion. It is becoming more and more easy to forget, in the secularisation of life, that they are all set out in the Commandments of that religion."

Dr Henderson boldly states his support for elitism: "Insufficiently-literate egalitarians may jeer at the word elite without knowing, in their mispronunciation of it, what it means. It means not a coterie of business tycoons, as is sometimes said, but a distinct group of men and women of outstanding knowledge, ability and character upon whom fall the cardinal functions and responsibilities of effectively running a state and a society. This is what the word means and has always meant in its home country, as anyone knows who is familiar with the great institutions

in France from which the elite there comes."

Dr. Henderson's concluding remarks in his essay are prophetic: "If, in their apparent geographical remoteness Australians feel that that remoteness confers immunity upon them from attacks on the societal values that are the staple of the present discussion, they are bemused in an illusion. Today, there is no remoteness from anywhere and from any danger. Erodents of our western societal values are openly on the attack here. Others are furtively on the creep."

Commenting once on the smearing of the League of Rights, Dr Henderson said that those responsible should be regarded merely as "the manifestation of a new barbarism".

Following the publication of his *Conservatism and Society*, Dr Henderson was receptive to my suggestion that a non-technical essay on the meaning of "The Rule of Law" was urgently necessary. We had many discussions on the subject and he was well advanced with his notes for the project when unfortunately a long illness brought his life to an end. Although he said he wanted to bequeath his "Rule of Law" notes for me to use, through some misunderstanding this never happened.



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THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNOR



An informative and timely address on the history and role of Western Australia's Heads of State was presented by His Excellency Major General Michael Jeffery, A.C., M.C., Governor of Western Australia, to The Constitutional Centenary Foundation Seminar in September.

WHILST dealing mainly with the role of Western Australia's State Governor, Major General Jeffery also contrasted the roles of non-executive heads of state, such as in France, with those of executive heads of state as in the U.S.A.

Many people wonder why in 1996 we still have governors, about their relevance to modern Australia and indeed what they do to earn their money. The simple fact is that the position of governor is enshrined in our state's constitution and the Australia Acts. What I do to earn my keep I shall explain later but first and foremost you should all be aware that the governor is there to serve and support our democracy. He is the ultimate protector of the state's constitution and acts on appropriate occasions as a monitor and articulator of the community's social conscience, albeit in a totally apolitical way.

Western Australia's democracy was created by transferring to the Premier and Ministers of State, most of the powers the earlier colonial governors originally had. Today the head of Western Australia's government is not the governor but the premier although the governor remains head of state as the Queen's representative. The premier and government are elected in the first instance as members of parliament by the people of Western Australia. The premier and ministers are then commissioned by the governor.

To fully appreciate the part played by governors in the history of Western Australia from 1829 until the establishment of responsible government in 1890, I would like to take you back to our beginnings. Between 1829 and 1890, the role of the governor in Western Australia underwent a radical change as a stable economy slowly emerged. The period can be divided into three separate, yet linking components:

1829 to December 1831: The period of prerogative government

during the greater part of which Captain James Stirling governed without a formal commission and during the whole of which no legislative council was convened.



His Excellency Major General, Michael Jeffery, A.C., M.C., Governor of Western Australia

1832 to 1870: A period of consultative government in which until 1867 there were no elected citizens in the legislative council.

1870 to 1890: A period of representative government during which the governor was no longer president of the legislature, and an unofficial elected majority sat in council.

Right from the outset of the Swan River Colony in 1829, the governor was the man who possessed the real power. However Governor James Stirling was not dealing with convicts, but free settlers, accustomed to living under British institutions. Whether his administration prior to his commission and instructions arriving in Perth in 1832 had any legal foundation is questionable but his authority was not challenged.

He realised this state of affairs

could not continue and quickly established the first legislative council of officials in 1832. A small executive council was established the same year.

Stirling's powers on appointment were extremely wide. He was saved from being a complete autocrat only by virtue of the fact that his decisions to appoint or suspend members of the executive council were subject to confirmation from the Colonial Office 17,000 kilometres away.

Stirling initiated all laws and could override the entire council, but interestingly, he did not have the power to pardon people sentenced to death for treason or murder -- that had to be referred back to London.

Attempts were made to add four unofficial members to the council but these moves were doomed to failure because the home government would not consider any form of representative government until the colonists could afford to pay for it. And there was certainly no chance of getting it with later governors during the convict period while the British government was bearing the costs of the convict system in the colony. But with the transportation of convicts ending in 1868, the situation had changed.

In 1867 under Governor Hampton, something resembling representative government came into being when men of adult age were given the right to vote to elect half the members of the council. When leaving the colony in 1868, Dr Hampton left behind a council in which there was an equal number of official and non-official members, the non-official members being elected by the people, then recommended by the governor to the Colonial Office for a term of three years. Dr Hampton was in a sense the last of the autocrats -- the last governor in 19th-century western Australia to exercise unlimited power over both the executive and legislative branches of government. He was also the last administrator of the convict system.

Under Governor Weld a bill was passed in June 1870 to establish a new legislative council which included 18

members -- 12 elected, three nominated by the governor and three officials, the Colonial Secretary, the Surveyor-General and the Attorney-General. Although the governor was not an actual member of the council from that time, he still played an important part in the governing of the colony. Every bill had to be submitted for his assent, so he could veto any proposed measure and he had the power to prorogue or dissolve the council if he felt the occasion warranted it.

Governor Weld's successors, Robinson and Ord squashed any further moves towards responsible government at this time and it was not until Governor Broome's arrival in 1883 that the movement again gained momentum. Late in his term Governor Broome applied himself wholeheartedly to the task and on what could possibly be called Western Australia's own independence day, 4th July 1890, the House of Lords approved responsible government for this state. It was given the royal assent on 28 July.

In that year a remarkable man, Sir William Robinson was welcomed for his third term as governor and he arranged for the first elections of the legislative assembly and commissioned the first premier, John Forrest.

Then followed nearly fifty years of the classic imperial governors who were really true representatives of the British Crown. Men of the ilk of Admiral Sir Charles Bedford, Sir Charles Gairdner, Sir Douglas Kendrew and Sir Wallace Kyle, who did their job well as representatives of the Crown and then returned home to the old country. They were followed in recent years by the appointment of Western Australian born and bred governors in Professor Gordon Reid, Sir Francis Burt and myself.

The movement to representative and responsible government and the transfer of power from the governor to the premier and his ministers illustrated the desire by the colonists to become more independent and to play a more prominent role in the government of Western Australia.

Today, we are witnessing a similar movement in the lead up to the year 2001, the centenary of our federation, with the debate on possible changes to our present system of government. I would now like to address this matter,

by talking about what a modern-day governor does, not in any sense of self-aggrandisement I hope, but rather to provide some insight into what has been perceived perhaps as a fairly closed shop.

ULTIMATE PROTECTOR OF STATE'S CONSTITUTION

The office and role of the governor in Western Australia is now very much a team occupation, governor and spouse working closely together. When I was sworn in on 1 November 1993 after 38 years of military service, I came to the appointment cold. There was no formal hand-over, no detailed briefings on what to expect and no book of rules or guidelines.

Now, after three years in the job, I think I have a pretty good understanding of the role of the governor, which I suggest covers five main areas: constitutional, community, ceremonial, promoting Western Australia and being a focal point of social unity.

In the constitution sense the governor is the ultimate protector of the State's Constitution through two avenues -- the Executive Council and the reserve powers, and by convention the ability to advise, counsel and be kept informed. The Executive Council, which meets at least fortnightly, is chaired by the governor, has at least two cabinet ministers as its members and currently the head of the Premier's Department as its secretary. It deals with hundreds of different matters -- the appointment of judges, statutory boards, approvals of crown grants, local government regulations, health and safety, prisoner release, etc. -- things that affect the daily lives of every person in the community.

Matters coming before the Executive Council are prepared very carefully by the relevant department, closely scrutinised by the responsible minister and then signed by both the minister and the premier before coming to me for my perusal about five days before the actual Council meeting. If I have any questions on any matter, they are sent back to the relevant department or minister for clarification or, in some cases where the minister agrees, for withdrawal, as minister in Executive Council have to satisfy me that what is being put to me is being done regularly. This system of pre-council meeting scrutiny ensures the actual meetings

run without unpleasant surprises, misunderstanding or arguments, and is probably one of the reasons why there is the misconception that the Executive Council is just a rubber stamp -- a quite incorrect notion.

It is this process of advising me that what they are proposing is within the law, proper and appropriate, that constitutes one of the important safeguards in our system. Without it what we might have is purely mechanical process without appropriate checks or balances. I thus see the Executive Council as a very important mechanism for good government.

The legislation side is very simple in principle for me. If a bill is passed by both houses then ultimately it is the will of the people and I sign it without quibble. The important things are the statements from the Clerk of the Parliament and the parliamentary counsel that the legislation reflects the true intention of the parliament. Whether it is unpopular legislation is of no great relevance technically to the governor. If it has been passed by the parliament the governor will sign it. It is then up to the electors to decide if they are unhappy with the legislation by expressing their views through the ballot box.

Nevertheless, I take a great interest in legislation and at times I may seek information or clarification from ministers on it. Much legislation is passed by the parliament without amendment or only minor amendment, which is always pleasing to see.

WITHOUT GOVERNOR'S SIGNATURE TREASURY CANNOT ALLOCATE FUNDS

Another important role is the signing of treasury authorities for the appropriation of fund for the running of the state. Without the Governor's signature the Treasury cannot allocate the funds. I do this on the advice of the Treasurer, after noting the fund allocation break-up.

The reserve powers (which, as the name suggests, are powers of last resort), relate to a governor's ultimate authority to terminate the commission of a premier and his or her government in exceptional circumstances; such as in the unlikely event of the premier doing something which is manifestly criminal or illegal in the function of his or her office, or if he or she loses the

support of the lower house; or he or she cannot obtain supply. In such extreme cases, and there have only been two in the history of Australia's federation -- in 1975, when the Governor-General John Kerr dismissed the Prime Minister Gough Whitlam and in the 1930s when Governor Game of New South Wales dismissed Premier Lang for unlawful action -- the Premier's and the Government's commission may be withdrawn and fresh elections called. In other circumstances, someone else may be asked to form a government. An interesting and important aspect of recent debate on the reserve powers relates to whether those powers should be clearly spelt out. If they were to be defined, some have suggested that there might have to be a general clause included that took account of a crisis situation which had not been so defined. It has been argued that there could be risks in defining the powers, but some form of general statement as to their existence and purpose might well be necessary. But whether fully defined or not, the reserve powers are of fundamental importance because they are an integral part of the process of government accountability.

A further important point to remember is that it is only the Queen who can terminate the appointment of a governor, on the advice of the premier. This would only happen, one would think, in the event of a governor being deemed unfit or incompetent to hold office. The premier and the governor both understand each other's roles, powers and responsibilities, and each is careful not to step into the other's domain. This is one of the great safeguards of our present system.

Then there are the ceremonial and community aspects of the appointment. The primary ceremonial occasions are Anzac Day, investitures, the opening of parliament, the Royal Agricultural Show, Australia Day, and occasions such as the Festival of Perth and the like.

Investitures are important because it is there that exemplary service to the community and acts of personal courage are recognised, primarily through the Order of Australia awards. We do these ceremonies in the Government House ballroom, with family and friends present and they are moving occasions.

The community aspect of the appointment is, in part, made up of

some 163 patronages which Marlena and I share. These are mainly charitable, youth, health or cultural groups in whom we take a great personal interest. Each group is visited and addressed at least once per year; many on several occasions annually. To see the commitment in such organisations as Foodbank, Red Cross, St. John Ambulance, Scouts, Rotary, Legacy, Guides, Royal Flying Doctor Service, Country Women's Association, Bush Fire Brigades, Volunteer Sea Search and Rescue, Cadets, the Salvos and the hospitals, to name but a few, is truly inspiring and we do our best to tell the people so.

Another important aspect of community work is our visits to the country and remote areas. Marlena and I have been to offshore gas platforms, gold, zinc, diamond and salt mines, cattle and sheep stations, well over 30 aboriginal settlements, schools, irrigation schemes, and tourism and fishing enterprises. We thus have a very good working knowledge of the state, and this is very useful when Heads of State, ambassadors, senior trade delegations and other VIP's representing overseas countries call on us at Government House or attend state dinners that we host. We help promote the state and its good points, albeit in a non-political way. Part of this promoting of the state has involved establishing good relations and the strengthening of the ties at various levels between our countries.

OFFICE A FOCAL POINT OF SOCIAL UNITY

And finally, the office of governor should be seen as a focal point of social unity, where the governor represents and stands for the basic virtues of family and community life but in a totally non-political way. There is considerable division in our society: the governor and his wife try to act as the community's bonding or focal point of social unity by being supportive of all and beholden to none; hence the patronage of such a large and diverse number of community organisations.

Today most governors assume a more pro-active role in espousing fundamental ethical principles, highlighting community concerns on major issues such as unemployment, family breakdown and crime, while at the same time espousing and actively supporting the many, many, wonderful

things that do take place in the community.

In this respect I am taking a great personal interest in several projects in the pipeline relating to youth development, drug abuse, the production of an explanatory booklet on how our government works and the refurbishment of Government House to heritage standards.

So much for the broad function of the office. Let me now turn to the debate over how we might see ourselves being governed in future years. Today, Western Australia, like the other states of Australia, and indeed the Commonwealth itself, is a Constitutional Monarchy. Section 7 of the Australia Acts 1986 requires states to have a governor representing the Queen.

As Governor, I do not take sides or enter the debate as to whether Australia and its states should in the future have a monarchic or other system of constitutional government. But I think it is important for all of us to recognise the inherent strengths of much of our present system.

However, one of the issues that requires considerable thinking through is how the future head of state of the nation -- and whilst we still have states and state constitutions -- governors, will be chosen; whether we opt for no change, minimal change or major change in how we govern ourselves.

The nation will have to decide whether it would be desirable for the new head of state to have the same powers and functions as now, and, in all but exceptional circumstances, act on the advice of the ministers of the elected government and not be involved in political issues or debate. This is of fundamental importance in deciding the **method** of appointment and the same principle is true for governors. At present the governor is appointed by the Queen on the advice of the premier. The governor is appointed "at pleasure", meaning the governor's appointment may be terminated at any time the premier advises it.

When chosen, a governor usually serves for a period of five years -- a period exceeding the life of the parliament, which would mean an experienced governor continuing in office during and after an election. But this is very much up to the government of the day.

(4) THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNOR

It is essential that a governor should not be a member of, or give support to, any political party.

The governor has fundamental functions to perform under the constitution such as the proroguing of parliament and the calling of an election after which a new government is sworn in. Constitutionally a parliament can't stop or start without the governor proroguing or opening it; neither can the premier nor ministers take up their commissions without the governor swearing them in. In the case of a hung parliament, the governor has to ascertain which party or combinations of parties and which leader can establish a new government. If that can't be done, then a fresh election must be called for the people to decide. The governor's role in these circumstances is thus of fundamental importance, under our present constitutional system.

Our present democratic government could not continue to operate day by day without somebody to exercise the governor's powers. Thus when the governor is absent from the state or sick, the constitution provides for a lieutenant-governor or deputy of the governor to exercise those powers. It is the Chief Justice or the next most senior judge who fulfils this role.

The methods of selecting the head of state and governors vary around the world as do their powers. There are two main types: non-executive (mainly ceremonial and symbolic) and executive.

Australian heads of state, that is the governor-general and the governors, are non-executive; however the existence of the reserve powers and their executive council responsibilities set them apart from other non-executive heads of state such as those of Ireland, India and Germany.

Executive heads of state often act also as the government leader, as in the United States, Russia and South Africa. Their powers are usually specified in the constitution which states when those decisions can be made independently or when they have to be made in co-operation with others. For example, in the United States, the president can make a decision about some matters, but has to get the support of the congress to declare war on another country, or to make treaties.

The boundaries between executive

and non-executive heads of state are not always clear-cut. For example, in Singapore, the president is classed as mainly non-executive; however he has independent power to make decisions about some aspects of finance and national security. Another variation occurs in France where the president shares executive power with the leader of the government.

In Germany, the president is elected by a federal convention meeting once every five years which is made up of the members of the bundestag and an equal number of members elected by the parliaments of the states according to proportional representation. The president is mainly a symbolic figure with limited powers, the most important of which is the right to check whether laws passed by the bundestag breach constitutional rules. In practice, the main political parties try to agree beforehand on a candidate they will all support, and who can then be elected by an overwhelming majority of the federal convention. The president has no independent power to make decisions and the position's main functions include appointing and dismissing the chancellor and dissolving the bundestag. The president represents Germany internationally, playing an active role in foreign affairs. The president's right to intervene in international issues affecting Germany and to be kept informed by the government on all activities in this area is widely accepted.

The Irish president is elected for seven years by all Irish citizens over the age of eighteen. History has shown that only people supported by political parties have run for president. The Irish government, not the president, has executive power. The president is seen as an impartial symbol of the state, formally appointing the prime minister and other members of the government, calling and dissolving the dail (the house elected by the people), giving formal agreement to laws passed by the parliament, having supreme command of the armed forces and the power to grant pardons to convicted criminals. However, with one exception, the president must exercise the powers and functions given by the constitution only on the advice of the government.

That exception is to act as a constitutional umpire, or arbiter, in unusual circumstances. The

constitution gives the president six powers for this purpose: to ask the opinion of the Supreme Court whether a proposed law is legal; to refuse to dissolve the dail when asked by a prime minister who no longer has majority support; to appoint a committee to settle a dispute between the two houses of parliament (the dail and the senate), about whether a proposed law is a 'money bill' for the purposes of the constitution; to allow time to be shortened for the senate to look at a proposed law where it is certified by the prime minister as being urgent; and to refuse to sign certain types of bills until questions about them have been voted on by the people, either through a referendum or a general election. For this to happen, the president must receive a petition signed by a majority of senators and not fewer than one-third of the members of the dail; and to call a meeting of either or both houses after consulting with the council of state.

With the exception of the symbolic power to address the houses, only one of the president's powers -- giving the president the right to ask for the Supreme Court's opinion about the legality of a proposed law -- has ever been used. The other power most likely to be used is the right of the president to refuse to dissolve the dail where the prime minister has lost the support of the majority of dail members.

ROLE OF NON-EXECUTIVE HEADS OF STATE IN SHARP CONTRAST WITH ELECTED EXECUTIVES

The role of non-executive heads of state is in sharp contrast with that of elected executives.

France's president is directly elected for seven years. Although any eligible French citizen can run for president, the main candidates have always been backed by major political parties.

The French president heads the institutions of French government. Together with the constitutional court, the president is the guardian of the constitution and acts to guarantee the independence of France and the integrity of the territory by not allowing any part of the country to be invaded.

The president appoints and

dismisses the prime minister; acts as president of the council of ministers; signs the ordinances and decrees decided by the council of ministers; commands the armed forces; negotiates and ratifies treaties; appoints three of the nine members of the constitutional council; presides over a high council to guarantee the independence of the judiciary; can initiate amendments to the constitution with the prime minister and members of parliament; can ask parliament to reconsider laws; can put certain matters to the people through referendum; can, after consultation, dissolve the national assembly; appoints people to the public service and the military; can take emergency measures to protect the security and integrity of the nation; can pardon people convicted of crimes; and can send laws and treaties to the constitutional council to test their validity.

The president's acts must also be approved by the prime minister and sometimes by the appropriate ministers, unless the constitution says otherwise. Interestingly, some of the president's most crucial functions, including the power to send laws and treaties to the constitutional council, do not need anyone else's approval.

The president is able to exercise most power when the majority of the elected parliament come from the same political party as the president. For example, the former socialist president, François Mitterand twice had to share power with conservative governments. When this happened, the government ran the country, with the president only able to speak against various measures and, occasionally, refer proposed laws to the constitutional council. It was a different story when a socialist or coalition government was elected; the president's authority and political activity then increased greatly.

The United States president is elected for four years by a two-step process, which, in effect, amounts to direct popular election. Full executive power is given to the president who is the commander in chief of the armed forces; grants pardons and reprieves to convicted criminals, except in the case of impeachment; makes treaties, with the advice and consent of two-thirds of the senate; nominates and, with the advice and consent of the senate, appoints ambassadors, public ministers, consuls, supreme court



Former Governor Sir Francis Burt.

judges and other officers of the United States; commissions all military officers; temporarily fills senate vacancies that occur when the senate is not sitting; makes 'state of the union' speeches to congress and in them recommends things to be done which he or she thinks important; on extraordinary occasions, calls together one or both houses of congress; and has the responsibility to ensure that laws are properly carried out.

In practice, the president sets national policy together with congress and has the main responsibility for running the United States' international relations. How much presidents are able to use their constitutional powers often depends on the political make-up of the congress. For example, a president from the Democratic Party may have trouble getting plans supported by a congress which is dominated by members of the Republican Party.

POPULAR ELECTION OF HEAD OF STATE EXPENSIVE

So what may we deduce from these examples in terms of impact on the Australian constitutional system? It would be improper of me to comment on what sort of head of state (executive or non-executive) we should opt for in the event of a change to our present constitutional monarchic system but I would like to give you some thoughts on the issues involved in the event that future heads of state at national and state levels are chosen to fulfil a generally non-executive function. That

is to do pretty much as they do now in terms of role and responsibility.

The popular election of a head of state would most likely require an expensive and complex organisation which would generally mean only the most wealthy could stand for office, even with the support of a political party. The desirability of impartiality of a head of state or governor elected with the direct support of a political party could be open to question. Perhaps a head of state who felt he had a popular mandate could hold moral authority over a premier who had not been so elected and in certain circumstances might be tempted to use that authority by way of undue influence.

When looking back at our past governors, the more successful ones were usually appointed at the end of their careers, when they had built up a reputation, displayed leadership qualities and acquired the desirable knowledge and experience. At their stage of life, such people might be reluctant to court attacks on their character likely to be made during an election campaign, or to crown a successful career with electoral rejection. So there is something to think about with this option.

Having the premier's selection for the position of governor endorsed by a substantial majority of a joint sitting of parliament is another option which is being considered. It is possible a parliament could reach consensus on a candidate proposed by the premier and this would have the advantage of a governor having bi-partisan support. The likelihood of that happening is for you to judge.

At present, a governor has no ground for thinking he or she has any public or parliamentary mandate for acting in ordinary circumstances other than on the advice of the premier and ministers.

The present method of selection is a constant reminder that the governor, although exercising the powers of head of state, has no mandate to act as a rival to the government.

In deciding to have the governor elected by popular vote or elected by parliament, the community would have to bear in mind that those systems could conceivably produce a different type of person, perhaps with a differently perceived charter, from

those chosen as governors in the past.

Another selection option recently proposed by Governor McGarvie of Victoria, that the community might consider, is one in which the governor is appointed by the premier on the advice of some form of constitutional council of eminent persons; for example, a former governor, a former chief justice and a former governor-general, who put forward one or two names for consideration; the premier then chooses a candidate and clears this with the leader of the opposition. The agreed candidate is then formally endorsed by a joint sitting of parliament.

Under this system the constitutional council could have the power to dismiss the governor and be bound to exercise the power on the advice of the premier, in accordance with the same conventions which now bind the Queen.

It could be provided that such dismissal be no more justiciable by the courts than a dismissal by the Queen would be now. The other powers which the Queen has now in respect of Western Australia, could be transferred to the governor. If those provisions were made, the governor would have all the powers of head of state in respect of Western Australia.

It has been suggested that there might well be merit in retaining the title "governor" for the Western Australian head of state. Well over 160 years of experience has made the community and potential heads of state familiar with what governors do and what they don't do in performing their constitutional and public functions. If a new title was given to the head of state it might be far less clear to all concerned what the ambit of the new office was. England experienced this difficulty when Cromwell became "lord protector".

It is easy to miss the practical significance of the **choice** of the head of state being made by the premier (in consultation with the leader of the opposition), but the **appointment** to that position being made by the Queen in a monarchy or by the suggested constitutional council in a republic. At first sight it might seem that if it is the premier who decides on the head of state, the premier should make the appointment. That would abandon the good built-in check which has developed in our system, through the

effective decision on the exercise of power being made by ministers, but the power being **exercised** by another person or body with the actual power. Let me explain.

While the Queen or the constitutional council would be bound by convention to comply with what the premier finally advised, there are inherent advantages in having the appointment made in that way. The prospect of a suitable person being chosen is enhanced by the premier knowing that the Queen or constitutional council might question the appropriateness of the choice and could counsel against the appointment. It could be said that as a matter of sociological reality, appointment by an apolitical personage or council standing high in community respect marks the appointment as an apolitical one and tends to confer an aura on the appointee. This increased the feeling in the community that both the office and its occupant are apolitical and to be respected.

It may also be seen that there is a practical advantage in the articulated system of dismissal, where the premier decided to advise dismissal but the Queen or constitutional council dismisses. The prospect that the Queen or constitutional council might question the justification for the advised dismissal would cause the premier to consider carefully whether advice to dismiss would be justifiable. It has been suggested that the articulated nature of the process of dismissal would provide at least some days for second thoughts. The Queen or constitutional council would be likely to take that time to obtain necessary information, make inquiries and consider whether to counsel against the course advised. The views of the governor or head of state would in all probability be sought. The likely political consequences of dismissal could be so severe, a premier could hardly advise it without informing cabinet colleagues. If the premier had not done this, in one way or another they would be likely to find out. If cabinet colleagues considered the advice to dismiss was unjustified, the political process would be likely to lead to the advice being withdrawn within a few days. The articulated process renders it unlikely that a governor or head of state would be dismissed without justification. There

would not be that safeguard if the premier, on deciding that dismissal was justified, had power to dismiss.

The McGarvie proposal just outlined, might be seen by some to provide the best prospect of producing a governor who has had time to build the reputation, display the leadership qualities and acquire the knowledge and experience appropriate for a governor; who will be regarded as independent of any political party, but is supported by both and who has been selected in a way which still gives incentive to act on the advice of the government and not as its rival. An interesting point of view. And, I might add, easily adapted to a continuation of our constitutional monarchic system.

In summary, I have outlined the history of governorship within Western Australia, highlighted its evolving role; discussed the functions of a modern-day governor, looked at some examples of executive and non-executive functions of overseas heads of state and examined some of the issues the community will need to address in any proposed changes to the selection of governor as the head of state.



FREEDOM WEARS A CROWN
by John Farthing

Few appreciate or understand today the impact of Christianity on the development of British Constitutionalism and the priceless heritage of the Common Law.

Monarchists everywhere will find a new edition of Freedom wears a Crown most opportune as the question of Monarchy continues to be debated. It is not too much to say that the future of Western Civilisation may be decided by the outcome of this debate.

\$13 Posted

A SERGEANT WENT TO GAOL

The Star Witness was drunk

THERE was once a topsy-turvy murder trial in Australia, not unattended by humour, which ended with the accused man being acquitted and one of the chief witnesses against him being gaoled for contempt of court.

The trial was at Goulburn, in southern NSW, in September 1863. Henry Gross, who seems to have been somewhat of a wanderer, was charged with the murder of Alexander Kette, a German gold miner, who migrated to this country in 1859. The trial was before one of Australia's most famous jurists, Sir Alfred Stephen, then Chief Justice of NSW.

Like so many Judges of his day, Stephen was a great stickler for procedure, and it was on a point of procedure that Gross was acquitted. The evidence against Gross was rather thin. It centred on some human bones, hair and rotted clothing found in a waterhole at Boyle's Creek, about 20 miles from Boorowa in southern NSW. It was alleged that the bones were those of Kette and that Gross had killed and robbed him.

The second witness was Senior-Sergeant Edward Thomas Richards, who was in charge of police at Boorowa. Almost as soon as Richards entered the witness-box it became clear that he had been drinking and within a few minutes it was plain that he was quite unfit to give evidence. He was so drunk that, although he had remembered to bring the skull to Court, he had forgotten to bring the clothing - which might have helped identification.

Judge Stephen ordered Richards from the box and directed he be placed in the custody of a constable, who should take him outside and throw a bucket of cold water over him. This

was done, but it did not sober Richards enough to enable him to continue his evidence.

The jury heard the rest of the brief evidence, then the Judge had Richards brought back into Court. The day was a Tuesday and Richards said he had been drinking in Goulburn since the previous Friday. He said he didn't think he would be fit to give evidence for the rest of the day. The jury agreed, saying that though Richards would be better in a few hours, he would be still better the following morning. But Judge Stephen would not agree to an adjournment. He said he knew of no similar case in British history, and he doubted whether he had the power to adjourn because of the drunkenness of a Crown witness. He said he had been so concerned about what course of action he should take that he had sent telegrams to his brother judges in Sydney, seeking their views. At that stage he had not received any replies.

"In all the circumstances, I consider the best course will be to direct an acquittal," he said. "Where the sacrifice of human life is concerned it appears to be important to avoid anything approaching irregularity. It would be better that the ends of justice should be defeated than that any decision of mine should hereafter be used as a precedent to justify a course open to anything like objection."

The jury thereupon acquitted Gross and the Judge sentenced Richards to six months of imprisonment for contempt of Court. As a final touch of irony, it may be recorded that although Richards was a senior sergeant he had never previously given evidence in a court of law. The Gross trial was his first and, as it turned out, his only appearance.

People, 7 January 1959.

*Letters
to the
Editor*



THE THREE DEGREE STRIP TO THE WEST OF QUEENSLAND

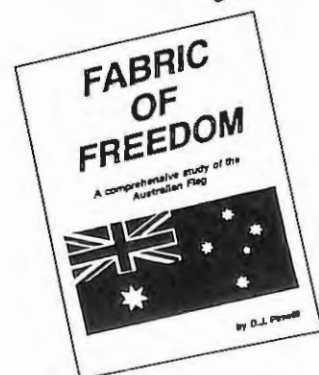
This evening the news service of the Australian Broadcasting Service twice announced that a Mr B. Hayden, a former Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, has been appointed to resolve the difficulty of placing a zinc mine in the above strip, apparently against the will of certain aboriginals. The appointment was made by the present Premier of Queensland, though no authority was stated. As the strip is not controlled by the Commonwealth of Australia, none of its statutes can apply there.

It is suggested that this is a sensational breach of constitutional law, and is worth denunciation.

K.T. Borrow.
Adelaide, South Australia.

RECOMMENDED READING

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meanings of our national symbol.*

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PRISONERS OF WAR AT SEA

BY REG. A. WATSON

As author of a book dealing with Tasmanian fatalities in World War II, I became aware of the tragically high number of POWs who were killed or drowned while being transported by the Japanese. Sadly the unmarked and sometimes unescorted vessels carrying POWs were torpedoed by American submarines, but the fault rests entirely with the Japanese.



OUR Australian POWs, along with British, Dutch and American POWs, were incarcerated deep within the ships' hulls under inhumane conditions. The Japanese made no effort to alert enemy submarines to the fact that they were carrying prisoners of war. The Japanese thought their best defence was to sail at top speed, but still that was not fast enough for them to avoid contact with the sophisticated American submarines. The Americans, unaware of the human cargo, thought the transports were genuine enemy targets.

Three Japanese transports were sunk in this way -- *Montevideo Maru* (July 1942), *Tamahoko Maru* (24 June 1944) and *Rakuyo Maru* (September 1944) -- as well as the Dutch steamer *S.S. Van Waerwijck* (June 1944) which sank in the Malacca Strait. Tasmanian POWs were aboard all four though most were on the *Tamahoko Maru* which was sunk off Nagasaki, Japan.

The *Tamahoko Maru* was ordered to take only "fit" POWs to Japan and one can scarcely imagine the conditions the 777 Australians endured after the ship left Singapore, landing at Manila and then being reshipped to Japan aboard *Tamahoko Maru*. On the night of 24 June, Commander Richard O'Kane of *USS Tang* struck, eventually sinking the *Tamahoko Maru*. Of those who were picked up by the Japanese, many died later from pneumonia and other illnesses, and only 77 Australians were to survive.

The 7267-ton *Montevideo Maru* had departed from Rabaul carrying 853 prisoners and 205 civilians. It was sunk off Luzon by *USS Sturgeon* in six minutes. The U.S. Navy, it should be repeated, had no knowledge that the ship was carrying POWs and this sinking can only be put down to the tragedy of war. In his log, the submarine's skipper, Commander Wright, wrote of "a darkened ship" making 17 knots. Details of this sinking were not released to the public for over 3 years (September 1945), although there were a few survivors and the Prisoner-of-War Information Bureau had received the details from the Navy Department in January 1943.

The *Rakuyo Maru* left Singapore early in September 1944 with nearly 1300 POWs, many of whom were weak and sick. Aboard, dysentery spread. The destination was Japan, but at no time did the Japanese request safe passage. On 6 September 1944, Commander Paul Summers of *USS Pampanito*, one of a pack, hit *Rakuyo Maru*, in the words of POW Reg Harris, "right in the guts". Later a second torpedo struck, injuring many but killing few. The crew, Japanese soldiers and POWs abandoned the stricken vessel as best they could. Some survivors spent up to five days in the water before being picked up by American submarines.

The old Dutch steamer, *SS Van Waerwijck* carried 1500 -- Dutch, British, and 49 Australians. It was struck by two torpedoes which broke

the vessel in two. Approximately 200 men were lost. The survivors were picked up by the Japanese and taken to Singapore. When the news of the fate of this vessel and of *Tamahoko Maru* was relayed, it sent a shudder of horror through other POWs who faced the prospect of the same voyage.

In all some 1800 Australian POWs and Internees lost their lives aboard Japanese transports.

For further reading about these episodes, see Don Walls' book, *Heroes at Sea*, published by the author in 1991.

[Reg. A. Watson is author of *Tasmanian fatalities of World War Two*. His book contains 1200 names with details. In a spiral-bound, near 100-page book, it is available for \$25, or \$21 for computer disk. Write ASK Society, 8 View Street, Blackmans Bay, Tasmania 7052. Fax: 03 6229 1177.]



CONTRIBUTIONS WELCOMED

ARTICLES and other contributions, together with suggestions for suitable material for HERITAGE, will be welcomed by the Editor.

However, those requiring unused material to be returned, should enclose a stamped and addressed envelope.

One of the most frequently heard criticisms of monarchy is that it is an expensive form of government. This criticism is most often uttered with the British monarchy in mind. Although we have never been slow to point out that the British monarch is also Queen of Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Canada, Grenada, Jamaica, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, St. Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, the Solomon Islands, and Tuvalu, in this instance we will consider Her Majesty strictly in her capacity as Queen of the United Kingdom. The facts about the cost of this monarchy need to be repeated and broadcast, because this is one of the most misunderstood aspects of modern monarchy in the United Kingdom.



THE COST OF IT ALL

by Randall J. Dicks

THOSE facts are set out in detail in a booklet published by Buckingham Palace, called *Royal Finances*. At the outset, we should concede that the British monarchy is expensive, which is hardly surprising if one compares it to a corporation employing hundreds if not thousands of people, a corporation which has been in existence, more or less, for a thousand years, and whose functions and services and products are, and must be, on call every day of the year, and whose enterprises are always at the centre of public and media attention.

We shall, therefore, narrow the terms of our enquiry: What are the costs of the British monarchy in terms of public funds?

The British monarchy -- or the British monarch -- derives income from four principal sources: the Civil

List, the Grant-in-Aid, the Privy Purse, and the monarch's personal income.

The Civil List is a fixed annual sum provided by Parliament to meet official expenses incurred by the Royal Household so that the Queen can fulfil her role as head of state. About 70% of the Civil List goes to staff salaries, and a good deal of the rest goes toward official entertaining -- the Queen entertains some 40,000 people every year, at garden parties and other functions.

The Civil List, under the current system, is fixed for a ten-year period. Any amount not needed for official expenses in one year will be carried forward to subsequent years in the cycle. Any excess at the end of the ten-year period is carried forward to reduce the amount needed for the next ten-year period. Starting 1 January 1991, the Civil List was set at £7.9 million per year, a figure which includes

factors for both inflation and efficient management. The current surplus (since 1991) is about £16.9 million.

The Grant-in-Aid is a sum provided annually to the Royal Household by the Department of National Heritage, for property services in what are called the "Occupied Palaces" -- Buckingham Palace, St. James's Palace, Clarence House, Marlborough House Mews, Kensington Palace, Windsor Castle, Frogmore House, and Hampton Court Mews and Paddocks. This amounts to some 350 properties, although the state apartments at Buckingham Palace, St. James's Palace, and Windsor Castle, plus offices, service areas, storage, coach houses, stables, and garages account for 75% of the total area. (The Unoccupied or Historic Royal Palaces are those which are not used by the Queen for official purposes, including Hampton Court, the Tower of London, the Banqueting House in Whitehall, Kew Palace, and others, and they are

looked after by the Historic Royal Palaces Agency.)

The Occupied Palaces are used by the Queen as head of state, and for ceremonial purposes; they provide residences for Her Majesty and other members of the Royal Family, employees, and pensioners, and provide offices and workshops. About 1,000 people work in these Palaces, and there are about 48,000 guests per year. The largest part of the Grant-in-Aid is spent on maintenance and conservation of these Palaces, which are an important part of the national heritage, a heritage shared by persons of British ancestry throughout the world. Since 1991, the Royal Household has taken responsibility for management of property services in the Occupied Palaces, and has achieved considerable savings. The Grant-in-Aid for 1995 was £20,541,000. The Royal Household hopes to reduce this to £15 million by the end of the decade, and if this is done, savings of around £70 million will have been achieved.

The Privy Purse derives its revenues principally from the Duchy of Lancaster, landed estates which have been passed to each reigning monarch since 1399. The Duchy revenues provide a source of income separate and distinct from other Crown inheritances. The estate, comprised of some 50,000 acres, achieved a net surplus for the year ended September 1994 of £3.9 million. These revenues (which are not public funds) are used to cover official expenses incurred by the Queen as Sovereign, which have not historically been charged to the Civil List, as well as some private expenses. Official expenses include official expenses of certain members of the Royal Family, as well as expenses of the Royal Household when the Queen is residing at Balmoral and Sandringham (estates which are her property personally).

The Queen's private income is just that, private, and Her Majesty voluntarily pays income tax on it, and also on that portion of the Privy Purse which is not used to meet official expenditure.

H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, as heir to the throne, is also 24th Duke of

Cornwall, a landed estate which was created in 1337 to provide an income from its assets for the Prince of Wales and his family. The Duchy, nearly seven centuries later, owns some 130,000 acres in 23 counties, mainly agricultural lands. The Prince of Wales voluntarily pays tax on his income (£4.5 million, before tax, in 1994).

Other members of the Royal Family, under the terms of the Civil List Acts, are paid Parliamentary annuities, primarily to meet their official expenses. Since 1975, however, the Queen has reimbursed Parliament for annuities paid to the Duke of Kent, the Duke of Gloucester, and Princess Alexandra, and since 1993 the Queen has reimbursed annuities paid to all other members of the Royal Family except for Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother and the Duke of Edinburgh. In effect, then, Her Majesty pays the annuities to all members of the Royal Family who are entitled to them, except for Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, widow of a monarch, and the Duke of Edinburgh, consort of the present monarch.

The annuity amounts set by Parliament for this decade are as follows:

H.M. Queen Elizabeth	
The Queen Mother	£643,000
H.R.H. The Prince Philip,	
Duke of Edinburgh	£359,000
H.R.H. The Duke of York	£249,000
H.R.H. The Prince Edward	£96,000
H.R.H. The Princess Royal	£228,000
H.R.H. The Princess Margaret,	
Countess of Snowdon	£219,000
H.R.H. Princess Alice,	
Duchess of Gloucester	£87,000
H.R.H. The Duke of Gloucester	£175,000
H.R.H. The Duke of Kent	£236,000
H.R.H. Princess Alexandra, the	
Honourable Lady Ogilvy	£225,000

It should be noted, then, that no members of the Royal Family other than Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother and the Duke of Edinburgh receive any public funds which are not

reimbursed by the Queen. The Prince of Wales receives no public funds. Diana, Princess of Wales never received any public funds, nor did Sarah, Duchess of York.

There are other expenses, as well which include primarily:

- * Foreign and Commonwealth Office (Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps): **£63,061**
- * Foreign and Commonwealth Office (overseas visits at the request of Government departments): **£558,268**
- * Department of Transport (official travel by train and maintenance of Royal Train): **£2,469,000**
- * Treasury (Central Chancery of Orders of Knighthood): **£201,000**
- * Ministry of Defence (Royal Yacht): **£11,424,000**
- * Ministry of Defence (No. 32 (The Royal) Squadron, not used solely by the Royal Family, however): **£8,960,445**
- * Ministry of Defence (Royal flights in civil aircraft): **£160,000**
- * Ministry of Defence (Equeries): **£224,000**
- * Central Office of Information (publicity services) amount not available (**£308,104 for 1993-94**)

After listing all these costs, there is good news. One needs to know the history of the present royal financial arrangements. The Civil List dates back to the Restoration, at which time an annual grant was made to the King which, in effect, was a Parliamentary contribution to help cover the "expenses of Civil Government", including the judiciary and foreign service. When King George III came to the throne in 1760, it was decided that the whole of the cost of the Civil List should be provided by Parliament in return for the surrender of the hereditary revenues, the Crown Estate (not including the Duchy of Lancaster) by the King for the duration of his reign. Under this arrangement, at the beginning of each reign the Sovereign agrees to continue the surrender of the hereditary revenues (£88.4 million in

1994) in return for the receipt of an annual Civil List, and the arrangement has continued to the present. The current system is for the annual amount of the Civil List to be fixed every ten years; it will thus be considered again in the year 2000.

If the revenues from the Crown Estate had not been surrendered to the Government at the start of the present Queen's reign in 1952, she would have received £88.4 million in 1994. Instead, the total of the figures cited above (including even those which, in fairness, should not be attributed entirely as costs of the monarchy, such as No. 32 (The Royal) Squadron, which is not used exclusively by the Royal Family) is £53,810,878. Not all of the figures cited above apply to precisely the same time periods, but they are close enough, and show that revenues from the Crown Estate contribute about £35 million more to Government coffers than the sums which are paid out in support of the monarchy.

An important point should not be missed in all these numbers. The Queen herself receives no public funds for her own services, a lifetime of services: there is no salary, no remuneration paid to the monarch. The Queen not only receives nothing herself, she pays the annuities of all but two members of the Royal Family. At this point, comparisons of the monarchy to a major corporation fail, as no chief executive officer or managing director would preside over a £53 million enterprise with no financial return for himself.

The good news for Australia is that its monarchy itself costs the people of Australia nothing. Australia has no civil list, and pays nothing toward Her Majesty's expenses, other than providing transport and accommodation when she visits Australia. The Queen does have a permanent representative in Australia, of course, the Governor-General, who receives a salary of Aus\$95,000 per year, and whose establishment (salaries, administrative expenses, legal services, property operating expenses, Australian Honours insignia, building works, plant, and equipment, etc.) cost

something over 9 million dollars (Australian) per year. This sum covers far more than his personal expenses, however, including a wide range of official duties, activities, and projects.

To bring matters into perspective, one might consider the costs of a large republic: the United States of America, for instance, which this year has once more gone through the quadrennial exercise of electing its president.

The President receives a salary of US\$200,000, and a non-taxable expense allowance of \$50,000; so far, reasonable enough. Then, for necessary expenses of the White House, US\$40,193,000; "for the care, maintenance, repair ... of the Executive Residence at the White House and official entertainment expenses of the President", \$7,827,000 "for necessary expenses to enable the Vice-President to provide assistance to the President in connection with specially assigned functions: \$3,280,000; official residence of the Vice-President and official entertainment. \$324,000. These figures do not include the costs of travel aboard Air Force One and Air Force Two, or United States Marine Corps aircraft, which would certainly eclipse the costs of No. 32 (The Royal) Squadron. The cost of security (the United States Secret Service and other security personnel) are more or less a secret, on the theory that if one knows the cost of security one can calculate how much security there is; the costs are quite high.

The total current budget for the Executive Office of the President and other funds appropriated to the President is US\$310,441,000.

Former presidents require care and feeding, as well. Including pension (US\$148,400 per year), staff salaries, staff benefits, travel, office rental, telephone, postage, printing, supplies and materials, equipment, and other services, the costs are:

Hon. Gerald R. Ford	\$446,330
Hon. Jimmy Carter	\$442,474
Hon. Ronald Reagan	\$727,566
Hon. George Bush	\$574,406

In addition, Mrs Lyndon B. Johnson, the only surviving presidential widow, receives an annuity of \$20,000. Former Presidents and widows of former Presidents also receive certain medical benefits and free postage. The figures shown do not include the costs of Secret Service protection.

Public funds are expended not only on presidents and former presidents but on would-be presidents. In this election year some of the costs for 1996 Presidential Election Campaign have been:

- Clinton-Gore campaign
US\$61,820,000
- Dole-Kemp campaign
US\$61,820,000
- Federal primary matching funds
(among 11 candidates)
US\$50,863,260
- Federal funds for Democratic and
Republican nominating conventions
US\$24,728,000
- Preliminary total
US\$199,231,260

This is only the publicly-funded portion of the election campaign expenses. The latest estimates for the overall cost of the 1996 presidential election campaign suggest a figure of US\$800 million (about three times as much as the 1992 campaign).

Perhaps the simplest lesson to be drawn from these figures is that **government** is not cheap, whether monarchy or republic. However, it is certainly neither fair nor accurate to suggest that monarchy is any more expensive than a republic in comparable circumstances. Cost is one of the perennial criticisms of monarchy which is wrapped in layers of misinformation and misunderstanding. It is a criticism which does not stand up, examined either individually or in comparison to costs of other forms of government. Indeed, in the case of the British monarchy, it seems that the monarchy not only supports itself, but brings in a tidy profit.

GHOSTS LAID TO REST

FOR former Numurkah soldier-settler, Tom Fielder the ghosts of World War II have never truly been laid to rest -- that was until recently when he undertook a pilgrimage to the prison camp in Germany where he spent almost two years as a prisoner-of-war.

Mr Fielder exorcised his ghosts on the visit which took in the town of Muhlberg and the war-time prison compound, Stalag IVB, in which he 'celebrated' his 21st and 22nd birthdays. "Memories of this place haunted me for more than 50 years," Mr Fielder said on his return to his Melbourne home. "Returning to find the site a peaceful natural birch forest laid the ghosts to rest."

Prior to his capture in Italy in early 1944, he was a flyer with the RAF's 40th Sqdn, crewing on a Wellington bomber.

Mr Fielder and his son, Douglas, made the pilgrimage to Germany as the guests of the Mayor of Muhlberg, Mrs Hannelore Brendel, where the trio laid a wreath at the memorial plaque marking the main



Presentation of documents to museum.



Tom Fielder with son Douglas & Mayor of Muhlberg place flowers at side of main entrance to Stalag IVB

entrance to the camp. A museum has been established in the town and a support group maintains walking tracks and finger posts pointing out some of the main features of the former prison camp.

During the visit, Mr Fielder was able to identify the exact position of the hut in which he spent much of his time. Later, the pilgrimage included a visit to the nearby cemetery where a memorial commemorates the deaths of 4,300 prisoners who died during the war.

Before leaving Muhlberg, the Fielders were interviewed and photographed by the local media as they presented documents and artifacts to the museum committee.

Many of our readers would know of the sterling work done by Tom Fielder, with the help of his wife, through M.E.A. Tapes. Tom's patriotic zeal didn't atrophy when he returned to civvie street but has continued unabated as he strives to educate and alert his fellow Australians to the dangers facing his own nation "from within".

M.E.A. Tapes, Box 184, The Basin, Victoria 3154.



Remnants of hut (latrine pit) foundations.

TSAR SIMEON RETURNS HOME TO BULGARIA

AFTER fifty years in exile Tsar Simeon of the Bulgarians, accompanied by Tsaritsa Margarita, returned to his homeland on 25 May 1996. The socialist (former Communist) government made no official arrangements and sent no representative to the airport, where the Tsar was greeted by the Mayor of Sofia and Archbishop Simeon, who offered the traditional bread and salt and said, "Your Majesty, welcome to your capital!" People, many in tears, surged forward and presented the Tsar and Tsaritsa with flowers. As the sound of church bells began to ring out across the city to mark his arrival the Tsar could no longer control his emotion and he was unable to make a statement to the waiting press.

So huge were the crowds the nine-kilometre drive to the city centre took two and one-half hours. It is estimated there were over half a million people -- including well-known Communists -- waving royal flags and chanting "Simeon" and "We want our Tsar!" It was the largest spontaneous gathering since the people of Bulgaria lined the streets of the capital as the funeral procession of Boris III passed by. It exceeded even the demonstration when the communist dictatorship fell in 1989 and, contrary to what some British newspapers reported, there were people of all ages in the crowds, not just elderly nostalgists.

SOFIA AT STANDSTILL

People climbed trees and sat on top of buses and trams to catch sight of the Tsar. Many held pictures of him, or carried geraniums, a Bulgarian symbol of good fortune. Because the visit is considered by the government to be strictly private there were no police on duty to control the traffic, but the centre of Sofia was brought to a standstill by the press of people.

At the Eagle Bridge, which marks the site of one of the former gates to the city, a security guard roughly pushed back the crowds and an elderly man fell to the ground. The Tsar witnessed

the incident and leaped out of his car, shouting to the guard "Don't ever treat Bulgarians like that in my presence." Word of the Tsar's intervention quickly spread around the city.

Bulgarian state-run television and radio referred only briefly to a private visit by Simeon Coburg-Gotha, while Russian television, which is receivable in Bulgaria, spoke of His Majesty Tsar Simeon. As one Bulgarian later commented, "the Russians don't back losers". Others spoke of the Tsar "healing wounds" and his presence symbolising "the triumph over communism".

In central Sofia he went straight to the Alexander Nevsky Cathedral. As the bells rang out he recalled with tears in his eyes that the last time he had heard them was when they tolled for the death of his father.

DIFFICULT MISSION

As was reported in the December 1995 issue of *Monarchy*, the visit is in response to an invitation from 101 Bulgarian intellectuals, and within a few hours of his arrival the Tsar had a meeting with them. He also gave a brief press conference at which he said that while his belief in the advantages of constitutional monarchy as the best way forward for Bulgaria remains unshakeable, he fully respects the country's present institutions.

Just before his departure, the Secretary-General sent the Tsar a letter on behalf of the members of the Monarchist League wishing him success with the visit. In his handwritten note in reply, the Tsar said, "I am off on a difficult yet unique mission, trusting that it will give a positive image of Bulgaria and its evolution towards a fully fledged European democracy."

President Zhelev entertained the Tsar and Tsaritsa to lunch on Sunday, 26 May, and it was noted that he now refers to 'Simeon II', not 'Simeon Borisov'. Even the Communist Party newspaper *Duma*, which used to say 'Citizen Simeon', now says 'ex-King

Simeon'. But the television and radio stations controlled by the government have been instructed to use the form 'citizen Simeon Coburg', and on no account 'King' or 'Simeon II'.

Earlier that day he had visited several churches in the capital, including the tiny Byzantine basilica of St Sofia which gives the city its name. There he asked the cheering congregation for silence so he could pray quietly "for Bulgaria".

In the evening the Tsar and Tsaritsa dined with the Mayor of Sofia. Although most of the attention has centred on Tsar Simeon, the Spanish-born Tsaritsa has made a great impression on the people, especially because of her fluency in Bulgarian.

HECTIC SCHEDULE

Next day, in a hectic schedule he met staff and students at the University, and was awarded an honorary doctorate by the National Sports Academy. At Boyana he visited the grave of Queen Eleanor, second wife of his grandfather, Tsar Ferdinand.

When the communist prime minister Jean Videnov returned to Sofia from a visit to China and Vietnam he was greeted at the airport, not by cheering crowds but by a handful of reporters asking for his reaction to the Tsar's arrival the day before. "The visit of this gentleman is of no interest to me," he said. "I have more important things to think about, such as discussions with the IMF."

In Blagoevgrad on the 28 May, Tsar Simeon found a waiting crowd of 15,000, out of a population of 80,000, and that on a working day. The socialist mayor gave him an official welcome and invited him to address the multitude from a platform specially constructed in front of the town hall. Later the Tsar and Tsaritsa visited the American University and the old town, all the time surrounded by crowds of people wanting to touch and even kiss them. Blagoevgrad is the nearest city to Rila Monastery where the heart of Tsar Boris III, Simeon's father, is

(2) TSAR SIMEON RETURNS HOME TO BULGARIA

buried. His visit to Rila was a highly emotional experience for the Tsar. He stood in silent remembrance at the foot of his father's tomb, and then attended a mass during which the Abbot, unable to hold back his tears, spoke of having taken part in Tsar Boris' funeral, and recounted how the communists had desecrated his grave, driven the monks from Rila and converted the monastery into a museum.

As the visit progressed, more and more socialists have indicated their support for the Tsar. The much respected Svetlin Rusev, writing in the Bulgarian newspaper *Trud*, said that the Videnov government had completely failed, and if it was not willing to leave with dignity it must go by force.

During the Tsar and Tsaritsa's train journey from Sofia to Varna crowds exceeded expectations. Between Sofia and Plevan the train halted for one minute at each station, and each time it was surrounded by people desperate for a glimpse of the Royal Couple. There was a longer stop at Cherven Bryag to change engines. The town is

known as a communist stronghold, but this did not prevent thousands of its citizens turning out, many holding photographs of the young Simeon which they had kept hidden away during the long years of repression.

Emulating his father, an enthusiastic engine driver, the Tsar took over the controls of the train for twenty minutes. At Plevan the number of people was so great it was as if a human avalanche had fallen on the Tsar and Tsaritsa, threatening to engulf them completely. The socialist town council, which hoped to ignore the event, was obliged to send in police reinforcements to avert a tragedy.

At their destination, Varna, on the Black Sea coast, there were yet more huge crowds. A mass was held during which the presiding bishop referred to "our Tsar Simeon and Tsaritsa Margarita", confirming that the Bulgarian Orthodox Church has no doubt where its loyalty lies.

In an interview with the *Daily Telegraph* on 29 May, the Tsar described how he felt overwhelmed by the welcome he and Tsaritsa Margarita

had received: "It is premature to answer this, but if the Bulgarian people want me, it's not a question of my being willing. It is my duty."

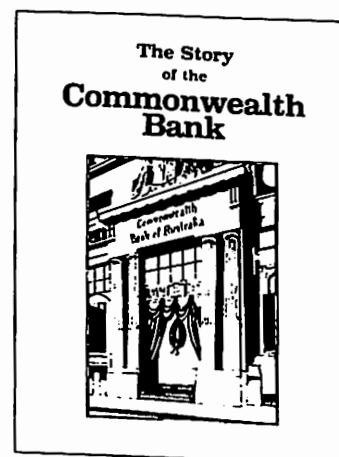
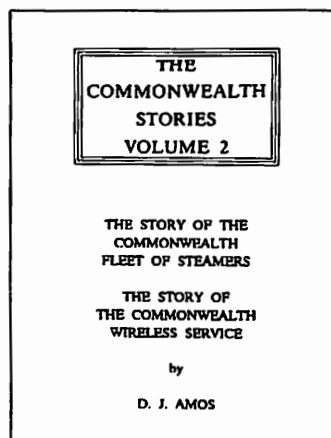
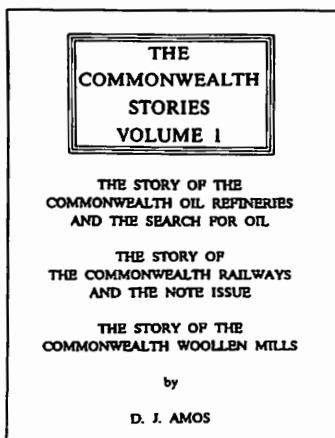
The Tsar spent a few days in Varna where he rested after the emotional and physical strain of the first week in his homeland, but also found time to visit local towns as well as the seaport of Burgas, prior to making his way back to Sofia.

DANGER

The danger -- and the Tsar is well aware of this -- is that so many Bulgarians see him as a kind of Messiah with the ability to save the country from the institutional and economic chaos into which it has collapsed. No one person could ever be able to do that much, but, as monarchists, we share their belief that Bulgaria is more likely to return to normality with Tsar Simeon as constitutional monarch, than by prolonging what has proved to be a disastrous experiment with republicanism.

[*Monarchy*, June 1996]

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT UPDATE

by Christopher Ashton

IN 1986 the former Governor of South Australia, Sir Donald Dunstan, in his forward to the South Australian Civic Record commented that "South Australia had been the cradle of many important and durable benefits in diverse fields -- social, political and technological. Developments such as the Torrens Title system, votes for women and the application of agricultural trace elements are well known. Not so well known is the fact that Adelaide in 1840 had the first elected Municipal Council in Australia ... after its first twenty years, the colony had 46 local government areas."

He went on to point out that "in England, local management of local affairs was long established, providing a driving force for rapid development ..." This theme was emphasised by Charles Fenner, former lecturer in Geography at the University of Adelaide and a former Director of Education in S.A., in his book *A Geography of South Australia*: "... a general **unity of conditions** and a **community of interest** among the inhabitants within the geographical region of S.A."

Within ten years of 1840 the fledgling S.A. Parliament passed laws to establish Local Governments, first in the City of Adelaide followed by Kensington and Norwood and twenty-one district councils, extending from Clare in the north to Encounter Bay in the south. After its first twenty years the colony had 46 local government areas.

Prior to Federation, South Australia had already made giant strides -- a bicameral parliament, a constitution reflecting hundreds of years of Common Law principles, well-established and competent Local Government, roads, railways, ports and gracious public buildings.

The State Constitution, in simple effect, made the whole structure of law and government local. It did not change the constitutional structure itself; it did not throw out the Magna Carta or the Bill of Rights; it just established the mechanism for implementing them locally, not on the other side of the world.

Local government was born and developed as a statute of the State in British history following the signing of the Magna Carta, and the laws that grew out of Magna Carta were known as "Forest Laws" because all things pertaining to land, forests and rivers, and roads were made accessible to local people.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT: MOST PRECIOUS POWER IS TO CONTROL LAND

Local Government is a Statute Act of the Constitution of each State.

The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia came about when the States concluded, after consultation with their people, that it would be in their best interest to co-operate for certain restrictive and particular purposes -- it is a restrictive document enacted by legislation so that there could be no mistaking the agreements to the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution. Local Government is not recognised in the Commonwealth Constitution deliberately because it is already recognised in each State's Constitution. This was reaffirmed in 1988 by Australians in the national referendum. Being recognised federally simply gives control of Local Government to the Federal Government.

Why, one may ask, do we then have a Federal Minister and a Department of Local Government?

The most precious power of Local Government is the authority to control land. The Federal Government would love to have these powers because, at

present, they control very little land.

The Federal Government's current 'control' of Local Government dates back to 1973 when the newly-elected government led by Fabian Socialist, E.G. Whitlam, legislated to provide untied grants annually to councils. He said in part in his Second Reading Speech introducing the Grants Commission Bill to the House of Representatives on 17 May "... This Bill is designed to place Local Government firmly within the framework of the Federal System."

At the time, Justice Sir Else-Mitchell in W.A. is recorded as saying "... wherever this Federal money goes, so will the hot breath of every Federal politician".

The circumstantial evidence supports the view that grants used to promote everything from regional tourism, child care, women's health services, community gardens, local hospitals, etc. to capital works projects such as roads, bridges and drainage, are either reduced or discontinued once the venture is up and running so that the burden of maintaining these programmes falls upon local resources. Projects which local people would never consider embarking upon are put in place and by their very existence create a dependence upon them with the passage of time.

Administrative posts reflect the move to a more diverse and professional level of staffing to fall in with Australia's greater emphasis on the tertiary-training industry, giving reign to the proliferation of specialist jobs. A Local Government Qualification Committee helps to achieve and maintain standards of education, experience and suitability of officers performing certain prescribed functions.

The 'Local Government Industry', with well over 7,000 employees, has,

as the Local Government Association would have it, "developed valuable career opportunities with improvements in salaries and conditions ... enhancing the long-term viability of the industry".

**COMPETITION POLICY
A WORLD-WIDE
CONTROL MEASURE**

When we look at the frantic pace at which Australia is changing, we can see two organisations 'directing the traffic'. The Council of Australian Governments (COAG) and the General Assembly of Local Governments. Both organisations do not have any statutory standing in either State or Federal Parliaments. They are associations or lobby-groups working outside our Parliaments. The messenger for these two organisations seems to be the Institute of Municipal Management (IMM).

On 11 April 1995 the Commonwealth and States signed three inter-governmental agreements: 1. The Conduct Code Agreement 2. Competition Related Reforms Agreement 3. Competition Principles Agreement. This "National Competition Policy" or "Hilmer Policy" after its author, Professor Fred Hilmer, is now a statute of the Commonwealth. There is a \$10 million fine for the abuse of any competition rules.

From 11 April 1995 all states have agreed to run local government as a business or corporate entity. The Competition Policy is not unique to Australia, as with A.A.S. 27 Accrual accounting. This Competition Policy is a world-wide control measure.

**LIBERALS HAVE
ABSOLUTELY NO MANDATE**

The new Local Government Acts (the S.A. legislation will be introduced to State Parliament in mid-1997) will remove the immunity Government agencies or enterprises used to enjoy when conducting a business -- if our Councils win contracts, then the profits will be taxable. Local Government

will also have to pay sales tax because it would give it a walk-up start against big businesses who build roads. Local Government is meant to go corporate. Benchmarking will be the ultimate form of proof by competition.

In Australia we have seen a mass "sell off" of the people's assets -- electricity, water, Qantas, Commonwealth Bank, etc. These examples will be insignificant compared with what will happen when we become regionalised and Local Government uses local freehold land and public utilities such as hospitals and schools to fund their regions. These items will be identified through the A.A.S. 27 systems of asset-registering -- 50-year-old cast iron pipes, bridges and gravel roads will all be asset-registered.

The new Liberal Minister for Local Government in Canberra, Mr Warwick Smith, is ideologically in the same mould as Mr Brian Howe of the previous Labor Government. In a speech to the Institute of Municipal Management on 22 May 1996, Mr Warwick Smith said that "the Commonwealth provided \$1.2 billion in funding to Local Government and while there were no plans at this stage to review the basis of funding, under the Local Government Financial Assistance Act it is possible that at a future date the Commonwealth may seek to link funding to the number of councils in a particular State".

When in opposition, the Liberal Party strongly objected to forced Council amalgamations and promised to continue their opposition to these initiatives if elected. Why are they now enforcing what was a Labor Party initiative? The Liberals have absolutely no "mandate" for such enforcement.

In South Australia the Brown Liberal Government has tabled a "Draft Local Government (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill 1996" for the October 1996 Parliamentary sitting. "Three-year terms of office were proposed for

all Council members to assist Councils in corporate planning and management." Local Government rating powers for 1997/98 and 1998/99 have been limited. This means that the rates for 1997/98 will be limited to the rate revenue for 1995/96 plus CPI for two years to March 1997. The rates of 1998/99 will be kept the same as the figure for the previous year. This will mask any immediate budgetary blow-outs caused by amalgamations not being able to deliver economies of scale.

On the positive side, all Councils will have the option of conducting elections by postal voting. Further, public access provisions for Council meetings are to be amended ensuring that the public are not excluded from Council meetings unless absolutely necessary.

Does anyone benefit from amalgamation? Yes. Under the new regionalised Local Government regime, Chief Executives will have greatly increased salaries and each Councillor (previously serving in an honorary position) will receive a salary.

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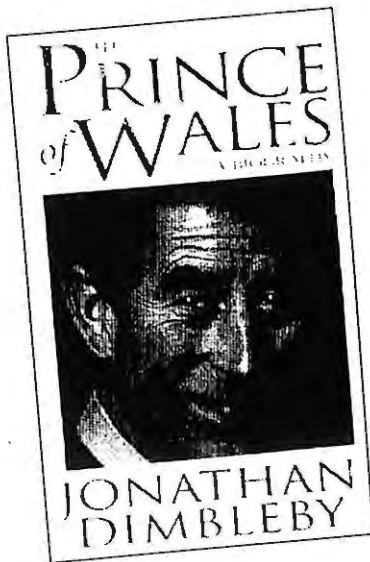


MONEY CREATION: The Great Confidence Trick

E. L. Burgi

"It is well that the people do not understand our banking system, for if they did, there would be a revolution before tomorrow morning" – Henry Ford

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'By allowing an outsider to intrude into his life, the Prince of Wales took a gamble of trust. I hope I have not violated that trust but I have also had another imperative: to be true to myself and to my readers. At the very least I hope those who read this long and detailed biography will emerge at the other end feeling that they have come to know the heir to the throne as they never could before – and that he is well worth knowing . . . I have experienced a wide range of emotions in writing this book; boredom has never been one of them'

Jonathon Dimbleby (from the Preface)

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TREASON AT MAASTRICHT The Destruction of the Nation State

Rodney Atkinson & Norris McWhirter

On 9th September 1993 in Hexham, Northumberland and on the 20th September in Lerwick Scotland, under the Common Law process of "misprision", Atkinson and McWhirter laid eight charges of treason against Government Ministers for signing the Maastricht Treaty. In this the second edition the authors describe the eight treason cases, making comparisons to Hitler's vision of a united Europe.

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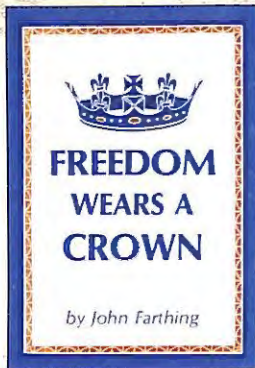


ANSWER TO LAST ISSUE'S MYSTERY PICTURE No. 7

Captain William Bligh 1754 - 1817

A controversial and much maligned figure in British Naval history, yet his skilful seamanship and disciplinarian qualities gained him much respect.

RECOMMENDED READING



FREEDOM WEARS A CROWN John Farthing

Few appreciate or understand today the impact of Christianity on the development of British Constitutionalism and the priceless heritage of the Common Law.

Monarchists will find this new edition most opportune as the question of Monarchy continues to be debated. It is not too much to say that the future of Western Civilisation may be decided by the outcome of this debate.

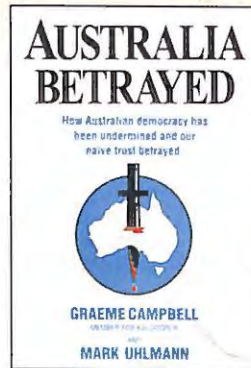
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THE MUDDLE HEADED REPUBLIC Alan Atkinson

The Muddle-Headed Republic is the most eloquent defence of the monarchy to be published in this country. Written by a leading historian, it shows what the monarchy meant for Australians in the past and now. It shows where the new vision of a republic has come from. Alan Atkinson argues that the vision is muddle-headed, full of tension and contradictions.

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AUSTRALIA BETRAYED Graeme Campbell MHR and Mark Uhlmann

Australian leadership elites in politics, the bureaucracy, academia, big business, the churches and the media have effectively cut themselves adrift from the interests of the majority of Australians. Many have betrayed the trust of the people they are supposed to represent. If you want to understand at least part of the reason why Australia is in serious difficulties, you should read this book.

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DISCRIMINATE OR BE DAMNED! John Fairbanks Kerr

No greater deception has been perpetrated on the public in recent years than the allegation that we should not discriminate.

John Fairbanks Kerr describes the many injustices and absurdities that have resulted from anti-discrimination measures in Great Britain, America and Australia. Many are denied their natural rights by the tyranny of anti-discrimination administrations.

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THE STRUGGLE FOR TRUE AUSTRALIAN INDEPENDENCE Graeme Campbell MHR

We need to counter those who have bled and undermined this country with their anti-Australian propaganda.

We need to assert the great positives of our history and heritage, not in a narrow way but in order to provide that boost to morale and confidence which is fundamental to social and economic health.

The Fourth Annual D.H Drummond Memorial Address presented at Drummond College, University of New England, Armidale N.S.W., September 2, 1994

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